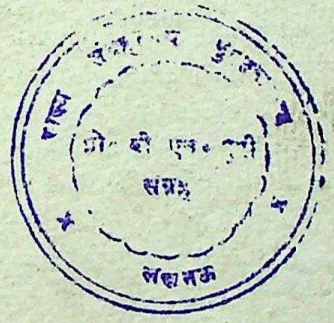
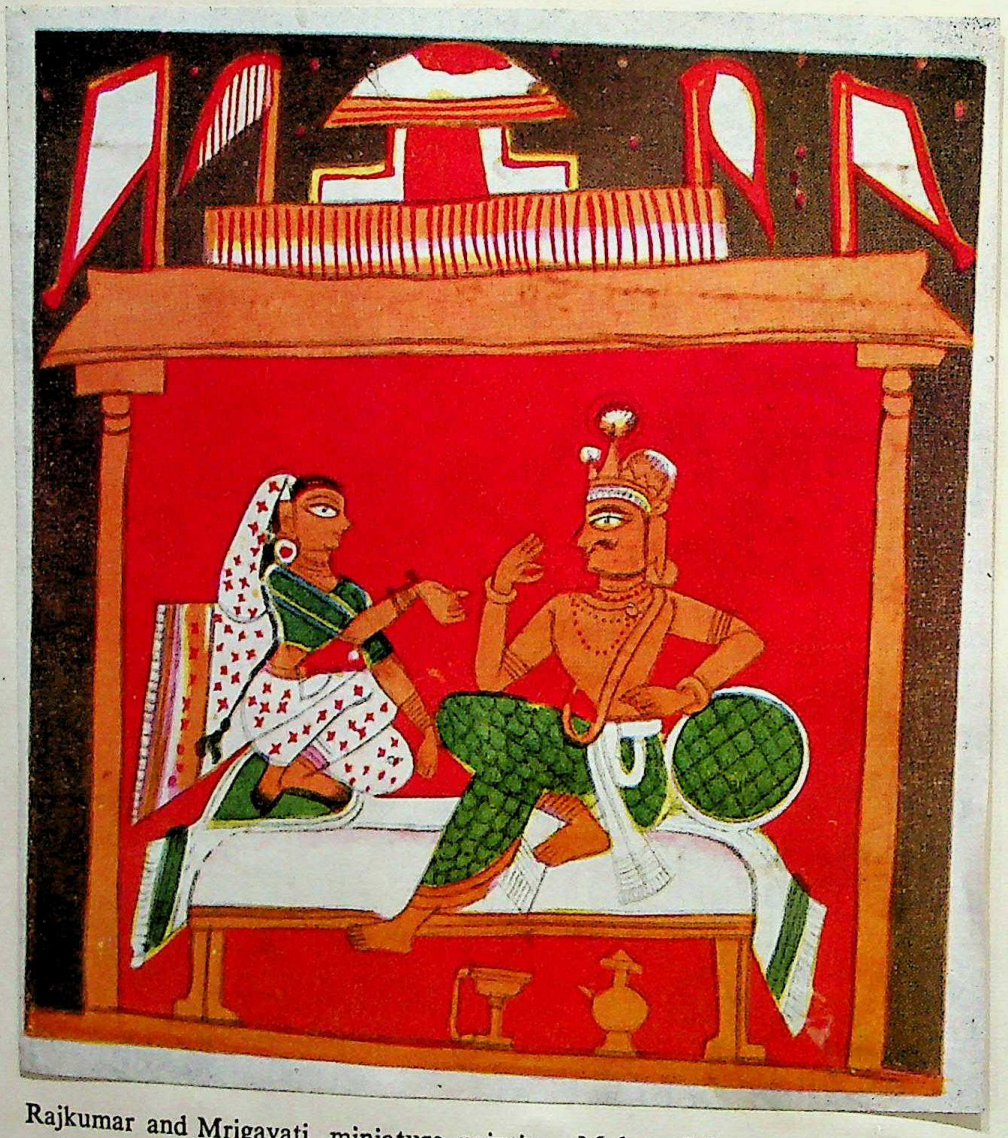
MANUSCRIPTS FROM INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Descriptive Catalogue



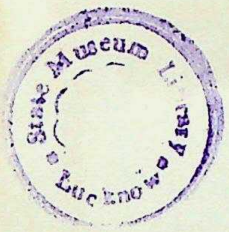
NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI

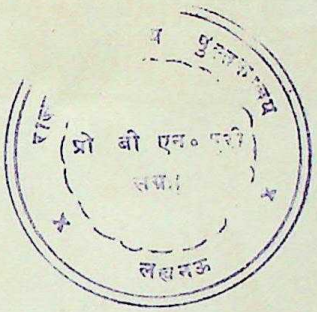
DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS



Rajkumar and Mrigavati, miniature painting, Malwa School, 17th century, from the *Mrigavati*.
Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM INDIAN COLLECTIONS





DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI.

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National Museum,
New Delhi.

January, 1964

In honour of
the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists
(January 4 - 11, 1964) an exhibition of selected
manuscripts from Indian collections.

Published by the National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi and printed at
Printcraft, Puri Building, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, New Delhi-1.

INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts in India have a long tradition. They were produced in all parts of the country ; they are in many languages and scripts and on a wide range of religious, philosophical, historical, literary and scientific subjects. Frequently they have rich illuminations and illustrations of outstanding quality, in a great variety of schools and styles of miniature painting. In some periods and places in India their importance to the history of the development of painting is great. Everywhere they are a reflection of profound and wide-ranging learning, and of the richness, variety and long history of Indian culture.

The exhibition of manuscripts described in this catalogue, organized on the occasion of the meeting in New Delhi of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, surveys in less than two hundred examples the history of manuscripts in India, as represented by surviving works. The majority of important manuscript collections in the country have been generous in lending to it. Obviously not all the great manuscripts of India and in India are included, but many of the finest in their respective categories have been brought to Delhi for the exhibition. The exhibition therefore provides a rare and convenient means of obtaining a sampling of the quality and variety of this field, and brings together for comparison some works normally far distant from one another.

Some of the manuscripts in the exhibition have been published, or at least have been described or referred to in publications familiar to experts ; most are undoubtedly known to some specialists ; others are probably brought to the attention of international scholarship for the first time in this exhibition and its catalogue. For that reason as thorough descriptions as possible, in those respects useful for scholarly reference, have been provided. These descriptions are based on the detailed information furnished by the lenders, which they sent most conscientiously, and for which the National Museum is most grateful to them. Illustrations were a greater problem and unfortunately had to be limited to a few from outstanding manuscripts for which colour blocks could be secured.

Selection of the works exhibited has been strict, for the exhibition had to be limited in size and it had to be representative in all possible ways. Therefore, from the many manuscripts proposed by potential lenders, the oldest or rarest or otherwise most notable of those in each category were invited. This selection is based in the first instance on reports of their rarer holdings, sent by a large majority of the libraries and museums with manuscript collections, in response to a general questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Joint Secretary of the Organizing Committee, in June, 1963. Previously, a preliminary study of manuscript resources in the country and suggestions from the expert advisers on the Committee had supplied a basic list of manuscripts that they knew and considered indispensable for the exhibition. In some cases, the replies to the questionnaire of June were delayed until the organization of the exhibition had progressed to a point where the suggestions could no longer be acted upon. In a few cases no reply at all was received. These circumstances explain several omissions in the lenders' list which are greatly to be regretted. This first stage of selection was followed by a second, to which the expert advisers on the Organizing Committee of the Congress, the specialists in all parts of India who generously responded to requests for advice, for information and for help in securing loans, and the staff members of the National Museum, competent in the various languages and scripts and in the field of manuscript studies, contributed significantly and appropriately.

Special thanks should be expressed to these two expert advisers of the Organizing Committee, Dr. M. Nizamuddin of Hyderabad, and Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras, who guided the project from its beginnings. In addition, gratitude must be recorded to the numerous scholars throughout India who made suggestions and gave advice on specific manuscripts required to make the exhibition as representative and as complete as possible and indicated likely sources from which to secure them. It would have been impossible to present this exhibition without their generous help, for many important manuscripts did not come to attention as a result of the first general inquiry nor even after the several subsequent ones. Special mention should be made here of Dr. Moti Chandra and Shri Pramod Chandra of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, of Dr. Z.A. Desai, Superintendent for Persian and Arabic

Inscriptions, the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, of Shri Rai Krishnadasa and of Dr. Anand Krishna of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, for their suggestions and generous assistance.

The actual work of assembling the material, describing it for the catalogue and labels, editing the catalogue and seeing it through the press was carried out by a special unit in the National Museum appointed for the purpose, headed by Dr. P. Banerjee, Superintendent of Publications and Keeper of the Central Asian Antiquities, whose competence in Sanskrit and Buddhist studies as well as technical publication experience provided the required background for the work. All the scholarly and technical resources of the National Museum staff were, of course, made available as required at every stage of organizing and presenting the exhibition and of producing the catalogue.

The thanks of scholars and public, both Indian and foreign, who will enjoy this exhibition, as well as of the Organizing Committee and of the National Museum which have presented it, must be expressed here in most appreciative terms to the many lenders. Not only have these lenders deprived themselves for a time of works that they value greatly, but they have in many cases delegated, at great inconvenience, responsible staff members to convey them safely to Delhi. Some of these representatives have arranged to remain here for a part or for the entire period of the exhibition in order to serve as experts familiar with the manuscripts to consult with scholars, especially those assembled for the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists to whom this exhibition may be considered to be dedicated. The National Museum is glad to have been entrusted with the responsibility of assembling this exhibition and it is honoured to serve as host to so distinguished a group of the great manuscripts of India.

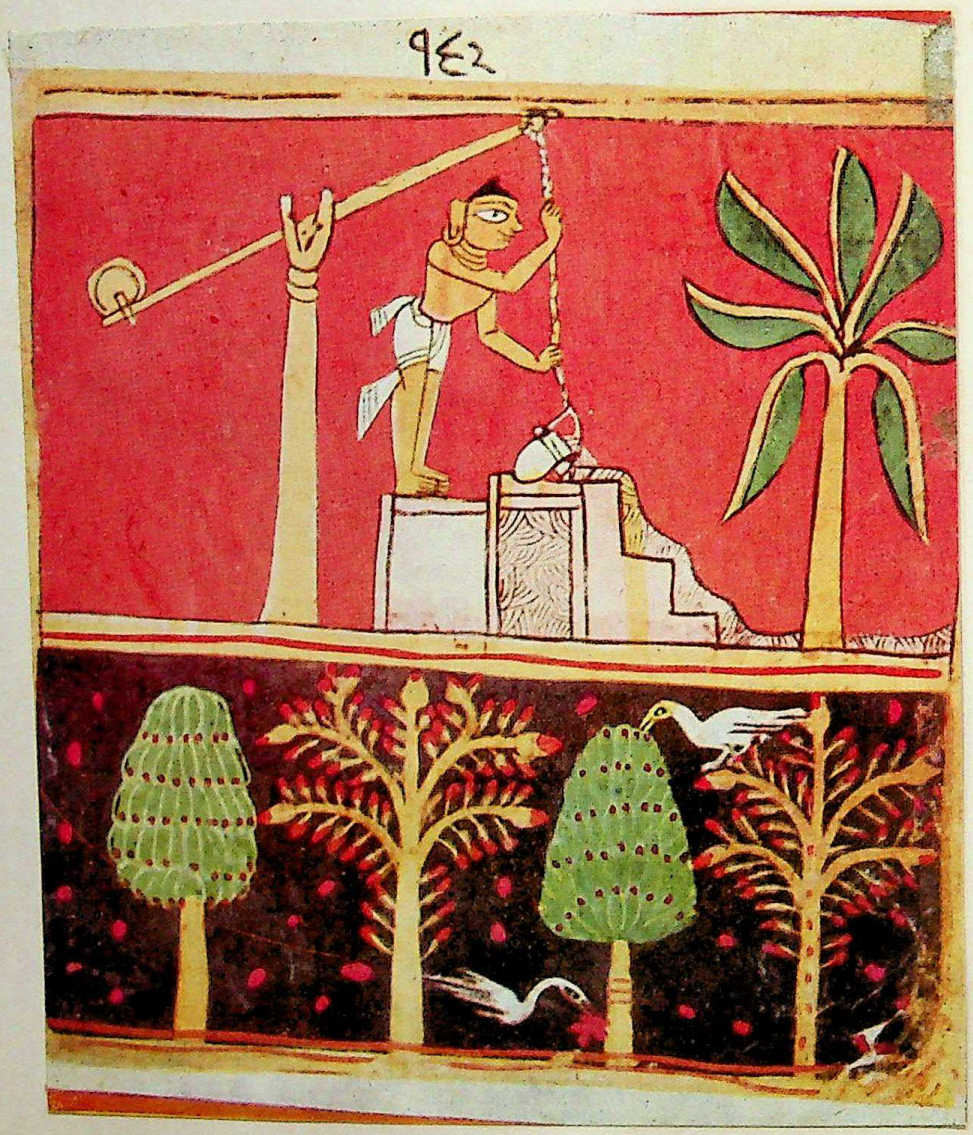
National Museum,
New Delhi, 1st January, 1964.

G. MORLEY
Director

Note : Dimensions of manuscripts : horizontal measurements first for palm-leaf, birch-bark and other early works following this format; in other cases, vertical measurements first.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

९६२



Rajkumar at the well, miniature painting, Malwa School, 17th century, from the *Mrigavati*.
Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

FRAGMENTS OF BIRCH-BARK MANUSCRIPT FROM TAXILA

Fragments, nos. 1, 3, 7 and 8; length 12.5 cm ; Brāhmī script of the 5th century A.D. ; Sanskrit.

No. 1. (two pieces, A, B.)

Obv. A, line 3...la (sattitmā ?) sadyaṁ tā ye tasthū.
4...(kshatri) ya-brahmaṇa-viṭ-cchūdrā...

B, 3...cha kuśalaṁ karma samādāna (taṁ tena)...
4...(ṁ m)ūlasutra kena vādī karma ko.....

Rev. A, 2...(he) mabhava...

B, 2...mahāgu(na)...
3...tra..cha mahāyānasya=āvatāra

No. 3. (two pieces, A, B.)

Obv. A, line 3...bhavataḥ katame....

B, 2...rāchhi
3...karme...

No. 7. (three pieces, A, B, C.)

Obv. A, line 1...ryakaiḥ dharme.
2...dyākuśala(ṁ)karma.

B, 3 yacchati chā ke.

C, 2 sa satai daśayati tatra tatr-aikam.
3...nāśayati yena samādhyaḥ

Rev. Nil

No. 8. (three pieces, A, B, C.)

Obv. A, line 1 hetuvādināṁ nā...

B, 1. panneshu kechid...panna...
2..p(ra)tijñā

C, 4..kuśalamūlaṁ...

Rev. C, 2..sattitmā...
3..daśayati yena..di-karme

Terms, like mahāyāna, kuśalamūla and hetuvādin show that the manuscript was Buddhist.

The manuscript was discovered at Taxila by Sir John Marshall.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

BHAISHAJYAGURU-VAIḌŪRYAPRABHASŪTRA
(A Buddhist religious text)

Foll. one; size 38.5×6.5 cm; birch-bark; Gupta script of the 5th-6th century A.D.; 6 lines on each side of the leaf ; Sanskrit.

Begins : Bhaishajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasya tathāgatasya nāmadheyaṁ śrutaṁ bhavishyati.

Ends : imaṁ sūtraratnaṁ dhārayishyati tasya bhagavato bhaishajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasya tathāgatasya.

Lent by the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

FRAGMENTS OF PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ MANUSCRIPT FROM CENTRAL ASIA
(A Buddhist religious text)

Four leaves; size 25.4×23.5 cm; paper; Gupta script of the 6th century A.D.; Sanskrit.

Begins :	M18(a)	(Obverse)	...	[ni]nopapadyate parāṁścha dhyāneshu samādā [pa]
		(Reverse)	...	ya : tat kasmāddheto...
	M18(b)	(Obverse)	...	[skṛtā] naṁ dharmāṇāṁ.
		(Reverse)	...	ho nāma samādhi...
	M18(c)	(Obverse)	...	[k] āyakalāsaṁprathamano...
		(Reverse)	...	nirukti nirdeśaṁpraveśayatyayamuchyate.
	M18(d)	(Obverse)	...	[sarvba] guṇa...
		(Reverse)	...	bhi praviśyatyayamuchyate...
Ends :	M18(a)	(Obverse)	...	śūnyā akūṭasthāvināśatāmupādāya: ta.
		(Reverse)	...	duḥkhaṁ anubhavana la.
	M18(b)	(Obverse)	...	samādhi sarvbadharmasamasara
		(Reverse)	...	samādhi.
	M18(c)	(Obverse)	...	samudgachchhatyamuchyate samu.
		(Reverse)	...	śuddhasāro nā [ma.]
	M18(d)	(Obverse)	...	bhavatalavikiraṇaḥ samādhi.
		(Reverse)	...	samanvāga [to.]

The manuscript appears to be a condensed version of the *Satasahasrika Prajnaparamita*, books 7 to 11.

Lent by the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

JYOTISHA ŚĀSTRA

(A work on astronomy)

Foll. 90 ; size 26×20 cm ; birch-bark ; Sharda script ; 16 to 17 lines to a page ; Sanskrit.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ भौमादीनां स्फुटीकरणे विधिमाह ।

On palaeographical grounds, the manuscript can be attributed to the 8th-9th century A.D. The topics dealt with are the origin of the lunar and solar eclipses, movements of planets and the festivals celebrated in Kashmir.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

UPAMITIBHAVAPRAPAÑCHAKATHĀ

(A Jaina allegorical work on the evolution of the soul)

Foll. 178; size 67×5 cm; palm-leaf; Devanāgarī script; 5 to 7 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 962 (A.D. 906). Author : Siddharshi (10th century A.D.).

Begins : ॥ ६० ॥ ॐ नमः सर्व्वज्ञाय ॥ ॐ नमः परमात्मने ॥ ॐ नमः श्रुतदेवतायै ॥
नमो निर्नाशिताशेषमहामोंहहिमार्त्तये लोकालोकामलालोकभास्वते परमात्माने ॥

Ends : मा च राज्यं शरीरं च यशश्च शशिनिर्मलं ।

Incomplete; the oldest palm-leaf manuscript in the collection.

Lent by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

ASHṬASĀHASRIKĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ

(A Buddhist religious text)

Foll. 203 (of which some are missing); size 54×6 cm; palm-leaf; Kuṭila script; Sanskrit; dated 10th century A.D. Scribe : Kalyāṇamitra Chintāmaṇika.

Colophon : इत्यार्याष्टसाहस्त्रिकायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां परीन्दनापरिवर्तो नाम द्वात्रिंशत्तमः ॥ स(मा)प्ता
चेयं भगवत्यार्याष्टसाहस्त्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता सर्वतथागतजननी·····विहरन्तु सदार्थिन इति ।

12 illustrated panels, depicting the events in the life of the Buddha and other Mahāyāna Buddhist divinities.

Copied in the sixth year of Mahīpāla-deva (c.A.D. 994) at Nalanda.

An almost similar manuscript copied in the fifth year of the same king is now in the Cambridge University Library.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

ASHṬASĀHASRIKĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ

(A Buddhist religious text)

Foll. 178; size 55×6.7 cm; palm-leaf; Devanāgarī script; 6 lines to a page; Sanskrit.

20 illustrations on four folios and two painted covers in Pāla style of the 10th - 11th century A.D.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

SĀRATAMĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ ṬIKĀ

(Condensed version of the Prajñāpāramitā with commentary)

Foll. 72 ; size 58×6 cm; palm-leaf ; Newari script; 6 to 7 lines to a page ; Sanskrit. Author : Ratnākaraśānti (teacher of Atīśa, A.D. 982-1054).

Begins : यतोऽस्याम् श्रुतसमाधिनिश्रितोमहान् ।
धर्माविभागस्तस्मात् प्रभाकरी ॥ यतोऽस्यां
वो(बो)धिपक्षैः.....दहनं तस्मात् ॥

Ends : परीन्दनाभिधायी परिवर्त्तः परीन्दनापरिवर्त्तः ॥
.....ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतोह्यवद-
त्तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एवं वादी महाश्रमणः ॥
१ सम्वत्.....३ राज्ञः श्रीहर्षदेवराजः
श्रीगण्डिगुल्मविषये कुलपुत्रकायस्थः
पण्डित श्रीजीवधरशि(सि)हस्य पुस्तकोय-
मिति (पुस्तकमिदमिति) ॥

The manuscript originally belonged to a Śāky Monastery in Central

Tibet (South). It was obtained for the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim in October, 1958. The Lamas concerned were of opinion that it was brought to Tibet from India before A.D. 1200. On palaeographical grounds, the manuscript belongs to the 11th century A.D.

Lent by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim).

PAÑCHARAKSHĀMAṆḌALA

(On the worship of the 5 goddesses constituting the Pañcharakshā group)

Foll. 83 pages; size 58.5×6.5 cm; palm-leaf; Newari script; Sanskrit.

5 illustrations in Pāla style and painted wooden covers.

According to the colophon the manuscript was copied in the reign of king Śivadeva of Nepal for whom we have Newari Samvat 239 and 240, corresponding to A.D. 1119 and 1120, as known from two manuscripts from Nepal.

Lent by the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta.

BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

(Deals mainly with the glories and exploits of Kṛishṇa)

Foll. 440; size 56×11 cm; paper; mixed script of the 12th century; 7 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author: Vyāsadeva (according to traditional belief).

Begins : ...प्यधीतानि धर्मशास्त्राणि यान्युत । यानि वेदविदां श्रेष्ठो भगवान् बादरायणः ।
अन्ये च मुनयः सूत परावरविदो विदुः ।

Ends : (४४७ प० सं० अन्तिम पंक्ति)—तथेति स स्मयन्प्रागाद् वदर्याश्रममीश्वरः ।
तमेव चिन्तयन्नर्थमृषिः स्वाश्रम एव सः ।

Original colophon bore the date, Samvat 1181 (A.D. 1124); marginal

notes dated A.D. 1381. This seems to refute the theory of Bopadeva's authorship of the *Bhagavata*, for Bopadeva was born after the date of this manuscript.

Lent by the Sarasvati Bhavan, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

ŚRĪBHOJADEVASAṀGRAHA

(A miscellaneous collection of social rites and ceremonies)

Foll. 89; size 28.6×5 cm; palm-leaf; Newari script; 5 to 6 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Newari Samvat 309 (A.D. 1189).

Begins : ओं नमो गणपतये । वर्ग (भर्ग) उवाच ॥ कस्मिन्काले तु कर्तव्या प्रतिष्ठा भृगुनन्दन । कस्मिन्काले कृते काले तथा भवति कीदृशी ॥ मार्कण्डेय उवाच । शृणु कालं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रतिष्ठाकरणेन च । यस्मिन् यस्मिन् कृते काले यथा भवति यावद् ॥

Ends : श्री भोजदेवसंग्रह (:) समाप्त: संवत् ३०९ माघा (घे) कृष्ण-अष्टमी बुधवासरे । विशाख-नक्षत्र (त्रे) लिखितमिति ॥

33 illustrations of the Pāla-Nepal school and painted covers.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

YUDDHAJAYĀRṆAVATANTRA

(An astrological work)

Foll. 82; size 20×4 cm; palm-leaf; Newari script; Sanskrit; dated Newari Samvat 390 (A.D. 1270). Author : Bhaṭṭotpala (c.10th century); scribe : Daivajñaja Sarvabala (?).

Begins : मोहान्धकारमग्नानां जनानां ज्ञानरश्मिभि: ।
कृतमुद्धरणं येन तं नौमि शिवभास्करम् ॥
कैलासशिखरासीनं देवदेवमहेश्वरं ।
गणसिद्धसमाकीर्णं मुनिसंघनिषेवितन् ॥
अपृच्छज्जगतो देवी पार्वती पतिवल्लभा—

Ends : दातव्यमेव देवेशि शास्त्रं परमदुर्लभं ।

सिद्धकुबलयाख्योऽयं भक्तिमान् वृषभध्वजे ॥
तेन स्वरोदयं शास्त्रं मर्त्यलोकेऽवतारितम् ।

Colophon : तन्त्रप्रकाशाधिकारो नाम दशम: पटल: ।
समाप्तमिदं भट्टोत्पलविरचितमिदं युद्धजयार्णवमिति ॥

This work was quoted by Raghunandana in *Jyotishatattva*. Bhaṭṭotpala composed his *Jagachchandrika Brihajjatakatika* in A.D. 966.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

ŚRUTIVIKĀŚA

(Pre-Sāyaṇa commentary on the 8th Ashṭaka of the *Rigveda*)

Foll. 57; size 32.4×13.7 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 16 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1367 (A.D. 1310). Author: Govinda Bhaṭṭa.

Begins : ओं स्वस्ति प्रहोतेति । प्रकर्षेण यजतो होता महानादिशब्दस्य बोद्धा । तस्मादेव जात: तत आह ते वायुनान्तरिक्षं प्रापित: ।

Ends : अस्माकं द्विपदे पुत्रपौत्रादिरूपाय चतुष्पदे च गवादिकाय श्रेयो इति श्रीगोविन्दविरचिते श्रुतिविकाशाख्ये चतु:षष्टि-विवरणे चतु:षष्टोऽध्याय: समाप्त: ।

Lent by the Sarasvati Bhavan, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

CHIKITSĀSĀRASANGRAHA

(A work on medicine)

Foll. 104; size 29×12 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 13 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1376 (A.D. 1320). Author: Vangadatta (12th century A.D.); scribe: Raṇasiṁha.

Begins : ओं नमो विनायकाय ॥ ओं नमो वैद्यनाथाय ॥
स्निग्धा सव्वर्ण्णा ग्रथिता नीरुजा मुद्गसन्निभा ।
कफवातोत्थिता ज्ञेया बालानामजगल्लिका ॥

Ends : योयं मया चिरपरिश्रमतः कथंचित्
संवर्द्धितो जगतिकीर्त्तिलताप्ररोहः ।
सोयं भवेन्न यदि गोभिरलं खलानां
छिन्नो युक्तेन नसा कौतुकमीक्षितः ॥

Colophon : कृतिरियंवैद्यश्रीगदाधरसुतवैद्याचार्यश्रीवंगसेनस्येति ॥ संवत् १३७६ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुन शुदि १३ शनौ अद्येह बीजापुरवास्तव्यनागद्रहज्ञातीय ठ० जालासुत ठ० रणसिंहेन आत्मनोऽध्ययनार्थं खंडद्वयेन पुस्तकमलेखि । मंगलं महाश्रीः । शुभं भवतु । लेखकपाठकयोः । यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयताम् ॥

Oldest dated paper manuscript in the collection.

Lent by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

KUMĀRASAMBHAVA

(A classical poem on the birth of Kumāra)

Foll.63; size 21 × 8.5 cm ; paper ; Devanāgarī script; 8 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1431 (A.D. 1374). Author: Kālidāsa.

Begins : ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥
अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥

Ends : समदिवसनिशीथं सङ्गिनस्तत्र शंभोः
शतमगमदृतूनां सार्धमेका नीशेव ।
न स सुरतसुखेभ्यश्छिन्नतृष्णो बभूव
ज्वलन इव समुद्रान्तर्गतस्तज्जलौघैः ॥ ९१ ॥

Colophon : इति कुमारसंभवे महाकाव्ये श्री कालिदासकृतौ सुरतवर्णनो नाम अष्टमः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ शुभं भवतु । स्वस्ति संवत् १४३१ वर्षे द्वितीय श्रावण शुदि १४ शुक्रे····मूडरठी ग्रामे राज श्री.....।

One of the oldest known manuscripts of this *kavya.*

Lent by the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

KĀDAMBARĪ

(A prose romance narrating the fortunes of the princess called Kādambarī)

Foll. 289; size 32×11 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 9 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1435 (A.D. 1378). Author: Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Pulinda (Pulina) (7th century A.D.); scribe: Maṇḍana.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ।
रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमःस्पृशे ।
अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ।।

Ends : न केवलं चन्द्रमाः कादम्बर्या सह, कादम्बरी महाश्वेतया
(सह, महाश्वेता) पुण्डरीकेण सह, पुण्डरीकोऽपि चन्द्रमसा सह
परस्परावियोगेन सर्व एव सर्वकालं सुखमनुभवन्तः परां
कोटिमानन्दस्याध्यगच्छन् ।

Colophon : इति पुलिन्द(न)रचित कादम्बरीखण्डं द्वितीयं समाप्तम् ।
यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ।।
इति चन्द्रं (श्रीः)

संवत् नेत्रनवांघ्रिचन्द्रसमये मासे शुचौ पाण्डुरे
पक्षे पंचमके तिथौ भृगुदिने श्रीमण्डपे क्ष्माभृति ।
आ सङ्गे ऽवनिमासमुद्रमखिलां शासत्यमात्येश्वरे
श्री···घटयत्यनौद्धतमिह व्यापारमादेशतः ।। १ ।।

* * * * * * *

श्री मण्डनेन स्वाध्ययनार्थमलेखि ।

* * * * * * *

One of the earliest manuscripts of Bāṇa's *Kadambari* along with a supplement by his son, Pulinda (Pulina).

Lent by the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Punjab).

NIRUKTA WITH BHĀSHYA

(Etymological interpretation of Vedic words)

Foll. 360; size 31×12 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 10 lines to a page;

Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1444 (A.D. 1387). Authors of the text and the commentary: Yāska and Durgāchārya respectively.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ।
आदितः पाणिनीयं तु शिक्षा ज्योतिस्ततः छन्दः ।
पंचाध्यायीनिघण्टोश्च निरुक्तमुपरि स्थितम् ॥
प्रणम्य तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि रुद्रायामिततेजसे ।
स मे दिशतु सुप्रीतो वाग्धियोः शिष्टसम्मतिम् ।
समाम्नायः समाम्नातः । स व्याख्यातव्यः ।

Ends : गुणोऽपि गणनादेव असावपि हि ग्रन्थत एव ।
द्विगुणःत्रिगुण इति । निगमप्रसक्तमेतदुक्तम् ।
अधुनाऽऽस्य मंत्रस्य भाष्यकारः समाम्नानमाह ।

Colophon : एकादशोध्यायः ।
यावन्तो मंत्रा सर्वशाखा·····नि गुणपदानि लक्षणोद्देशतः·····सर्वाण्यपि व्याख्यातानि ।
संवत् १४४४ वा सी श्रा० शुसोमे·····

Lent by the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Punjab).

KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA

(A classical poem based on the Mahābhārata)

Foll. 53; size 27.5×11 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 12 to 13 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1499 (A.D. 1442). Author : Bhāravi.

Begins : नमः श्री सर्वज्ञाय ॥
श्रियः कुरूणामधिपस्य पालनीं प्रजासुवृत्तिं यमयुङ्क्त वेदितुम् ।
स वर्णिलिंगी विदितः समाययौ युधिष्ठिरं द्वैतवने वनेचरः ॥

Ends : व्रज जय रिपुलोकं पादपद्मानतः सन्
गदित इति भवेन श्लाघितो देवसङ्घैः ।
निजगृहमथ गत्वा सादरं पाण्डुपुत्रो
धृतगुरुजयलक्ष्मीर्धर्मसूनुं ननाम ॥

Colophon : इति किरातार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये महावैयाकरणस्य श्रीमद्भारवे किरातार्जुनीये किरताष्टदशः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥
१८ सं० १४९९ पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे नवम्यां तिथौ सोमवासरे ॥ श्री ॥ आसलकोट नगरे लिखितं शुभं भवतु। उपकेशगच्छीय श्री श्री श्री कक्कसूरीणां शिष्यानुशिष्यधनसारेण लिखापितं

आत्मपठनार्थं लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भूयात् ॥

A pupil of the line of Kakkasūri of Upakeśagachchha, named Dhanasāra, had the manuscript written at Āsalakoṭa for his study.

Lent by the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

SANGĪTAŚIROMAṆI

(A musical text)

Foll. 174; size 25.5×8.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 6 lines to a page; Sanskrit, dated Samvat 1544 (A.D. 1487). Author: Pandits from different parts of the country; scribe: Vega Rāya Kāyastha.

Begins : ...तो माध्यन्दिनीं विदुः । पंचमो धैवतश्चेतौ स्वरौ कौशुमशाखिनौ ।
काण्वशाख निषादस्य स्वरशाखा क्रमादमूः ॥

Ends : संगीतांबुधिमंदरीकृतनिजप्रज्ञैरभिज्ञैर्जगद्रक्षायोद्धृतकार्मुकस्य धवलं सन्नाहमामुञ्चता ॥
वीरश्रीसुरुताणसाहिनृपतेरादेशतो निर्म्मिते श्रीसंगीतशिरोमणावयमगाद्गीतप्रकाशोद्गमः ॥

Colophon : इति श्री संगीतशिरोमणौ मलिक शार्क श्री सुलुता(ण)शाहिमलिकाज्ञया नानादेशीयपंडित-मंडलीविरचिते गीतप्रकाशो नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥
स्वास्ति श्री भूमिग्रामशुभस्थाने । महाराजाधिराज श्री खरगसिंघदेवभुज्यमानराज्ये महाराजा-श्री खरगसिंघदेव आत्मपठनार्थं परोपकारार्थं लिखापितं ॥ ॥ लिखितं गौडान्वयकायस्थवेगरा-येन ॥ संवत् १५४४ वर्षे भाद्रवदि १० भौमवासरे ॥ ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

The language is corrupt at places.

Composed by a set of Pandits under orders of Malik Śārka(?) Sultan Shah. Written by Vega Rāya Kāyastha of the Gauḍa family at the instance of King Kharag Singha Deva.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

DURGĀSAPTAŚATĪ

(Verses extolling the deeds of Durgā)

Foll. 72; size 17.5×9.3 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; Sanskrit; dated

Samvat 1544 (A.D. 1487). Author : Vyāsadeva (according to traditional belief).

Begins : सावर्णिः सूर्यतनयो यो मनुः कथ्यतेष्टमः ।

Ends : सूर्याजन्म समासाद्य सावर्णिः स पिता मनुः ।

16 illustrations in Western Indian style; the manuscript was written in Pipalner, Malwa during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

VYĀKARAṆA MAHĀBHĀSHYA

(Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī)

Foll. 209; 48 × 13 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 17 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1546 (A.D. 1490). Author : Patañjali (2nd century B.C.); scribe: Jogeśvara.

Begins : ॐ नमो गणपतये ॥ श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः अथ शब्दानुशासनं ॥ अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते ॥ शब्दानुशासनं शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यं ॥ केषां शब्दानां ॥ लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च ॥

Ends : एकशेषनिर्देशात् वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धं । एकशेषनिर्द्देशोयं ॥ अ अ अ इति ॥ ॥

Colophon : इति श्री भगवत्पतंजलिविरचिते श्रीमहाभाष्ये अष्टमस्याध्यायस्य चतुर्थपादे प्रथममाह्निकं ॥ अध्यायश्चाष्टमः समाप्तः ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १५४६ वर्षे मार्गशीर्षमासे कृष्णपक्षे ८ अष्टम्यां भौमदिने अद्येह श्रीवृद्धनगरे परमकारुणिकयतिः श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री अनन्त सरस्वती एतेषां पठनार्थं श्रीचरणदासानुदासेन जोगेश्वरेण लिखितं ॥ मंगलमस्तु ॥

Lent by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

SAUNDARYALAHARĪ WITH COMMENTARY

(A work of Śankarāchārya)

Foll. 44; size 28 × 12.7 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 19 to 22 lines to

a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1634 (A.D. 1577). Author of commentary : Rāmachandra Miśra.

Begins : श्रीमद्गणपतिचरणं स्मरणीयमत: परं। श्री भवान्यै नम: ।
शिव: शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्त: प्रभवितुं ।

Ends : श्रीमत्सार्ङ्गधर: काश्यां महादेवाग्निहोत्रिज: ।
…अलीलिखदद: स्तोत्रं क्षिप्तव्याख्यानपूर्वकम् ॥ सम्वत् १६३४ श्रा.

An important text with several commentaries, the present commentary bears the above date.

Lent by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna (Bihar).

KUMĀRASAMBHAVA WITH COMMENTARY

(A classical poem on the birth of Kumāra)

Foll. 57 (nos 1-9 and 15 missing); size 26×11.2 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 19 lines to a page; dated Samvat 1701 (A.D. 1644). Author: Kālidāsa (4th century A.D.); scribe : Harshasoma.

Ends : इति श्री कुमारसंभवमहाकाव्ये उमापरिणयो नाम सप्तम: सर्ग: शुभं भवतु ।

Colophon : संवच्चन्द्राकाशमुनिभूवर्षे श्री नौतनपुरे फागुनि वदि ११ दिने वा० यश:कुशलगणि-शिष्य-मुख्य पं० श्री लाभकीर्तिगणिशिष्य पं० हर्षसोमेन लिखितम् ।

5 illustrations in Mughal style.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

HARIBHAKTIDĪPIKĀ

(A work on sacrificial rites and devotion)

Foll. 294; size 38.1×5.1 cm; palm-leaf; Maithilī script; 5 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Lakshmaṇasena Samvat 525 (A.D. 1644). Author: Gaṇeśa Miśra; scribe: Śrī Hariśankara Karaṇa.

Begins : ओं नम: श्री कृष्णाय ॥ सकलपुमर्थापारं श्रुतिकलकुक्षीविहारसहकारं ।
अद्वैतराजहंसीकमलाकरमेकमच्युतं वन्दे ॥

Ends : इति परमवैष्णवश्रीमाधवदासकारिता श्रीगणेशमिश्रकृता ।। हरिभक्तिदीपिका समाप्ता ।।

Colophon : लसं ५२५ फाल्गुन कृष्णचतुर्थ्यां कुजे नेहराग्रामे श्रीमत्सदानन्दस्य निदेशेनालिखदिदं श्रीहरि-शङ्करकरण एवाशु शिवं ।।

Lent by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna (Bihar).

BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA
WITH ŚRĪDHARA'S COMMENTARY

(Deals mainly with the glories and exploits of Kṛishṇa)

Foll. 334; size 40×22 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 15 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1705 (A.D. 1648). Author: Vyāsadeva (according to traditional belief) ; scribe : Bhaṭṭāraka Jasavant.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ।। ॐ नमः श्री परमहंसास्वादितचरणकमलचिन्मकरंदाय भक्तजनमानस-निवासाय ।.....मुदितः परिपप्रच्छ सर्वमन्वंतरस्थितिं ।

Ends : नामसंकीर्तनं यस्य सर्वपापप्रणाशनं
प्रणामो दुःखशमनस्तं नमामि हरिं परं ।। २२ ।।
इति श्री भागवते महापुराणे द्वादशस्कंधे सूतोक्ते त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ।।

Colophon : इति श्री भागवतभावार्थदीपिकायां श्रीधरस्वामिविरचितायां द्वादशस्कंधे त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः..... श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७०५ वर्षे भाद्रवा सुदि २ गुरौ लिखितेयं(तमिदं)पुस्तकं ।। श्रीउदयपुरनगरे ।।

129 illustrations, by the artist Sāhabadī, of the Rajasthani school.

Lent by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

RĀMĀYAṆA
(Araṇyakāṇḍam)

Foll. 36; size 39.5×24.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 13 to 20 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1708 (A.D. 1651). Author : Maharshi Vālmīki; scribe : Mahātmā Hirāṇanda.

Begins : श्री रामाय नमः। रामायणमपि नावं संसारार्णवतारणम् यश्चकार मुनिः सम्यक् तस्मै वाल्मीकये नमः ।

Ends : इत्यार्षे रामायणे दंडकारण्ये रामोन्मादो नाम सर्गः शुभं भवतु ।
संवत् १७०८ वर्षे कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे नवम्यां तिथौ रविवासरे - मेदपाटदेसे(शे) - चित्रोड़गढ़े । महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्रीजगत्सिंघजी विजैराज्य । श्री एकलिंगप्रसादात् - यादृषं (शं) पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृषं (शं) लिखितं मया - यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते । मंगलं लेखकानां च पाठकां (कानां) च मंगलम् - मंगलं सर्वलोकानां भूमि भूपति मंगलम् । महात्मा हीराणंद लिखितं ।

Lines at the beginning and the end in corrupt language; 32 beautiful illustrations of the Mewar school.

Lent by the Saraswati Bhawan, Udaipur (Rajasthan).

MEGHADŪTA

(Well-known Sanskrit Iyric)

Foll. 8; size 25.5×11 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 17 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1726 (A.D. 1669). Author : Kālidāsa; scribe: Muni Udayaharsha.

Begins : कश्चित्कान्ता विरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारात् प्रमत्तः

Ends : श्रुत्वा वार्तां जलदकथितां तां धनेशोऽपि सद्यः

Colophon : रसपक्षमुनिशर्वरीपतिप्रमिते वर्षे मार्गशीर्षमासे शुक्लपक्षैकादशीतिथौ श्री आसणीकोट्टमध्ये श्रीमत् खरतरगच्छेभट्टारकश्रीमच्छीजिनचन्द्रसूरि विजयराज्ये वाचनाचार्यवर्य श्रीहीरराजगणि-पदपंकज सेवाचंचरी···पं उदयहर्षसाधुभिर्लिखितं ।। छ ।। शिष्य चिरं० मतिविमलपठनार्थम् ॥

5 illustrations in Mughal style; only known illustrated manuscript of the *Meghadutam*.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

MATSYAPURĀṆA

Foll. 330 (some missing); size 32.5×17.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī

script; 14 to 15 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1733 (A.D. 1676). Author : Vyāsadeva (according to traditional belief); scribe : Kāśirāma.

Begins : ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । श्री मत्स्यरुपाय नमः ।
ॐ प्रचण्डताण्डवाटोपप्राक्षिप्तौक्षिप्तदिग्गजाः ।
भवन्तु विविधाकाराः विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये ॥ १ ॥

Ends : इति मत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चानुकीर्तनं नाम ।
समाप्तं चेदं मत्स्यपुराणम् ।
शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतां परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणा :।
दोषाः प्रयान्तु शान्ति सर्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः ॥

Colophon : ॐ संवत् १७३३ माघशुदि सप्तम्यां रविवासरान्वितायां लिखितं पंडितकाशीरामेण इह काश्मीर-मण्डलायां-शुभमस्तु ॥

3 illustrations in Kashmir style.

Lent by the Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, City Palace, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

DAŚAKUMĀRAKATHĀ
(Adventures of Ten Princes)

Foll. 99; size 29×13 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 15 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1734 (A.D. 1677). Author : Gopīnātha Dvijādhīśa; scribe : Badrīdāsa.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ सर्वकामप्रदामिष्टदेवतां भुवनेश्वरीम् ।
प्रणम्य परया भक्त्या गणानामधिपं तथा ॥१॥

Ends : परस्परमैकमत्येन वर्तमाना पुरंदरप्रभृतिभिरप्यतिदुर्लभानि राज्यसुखान्यन्वभूवन् ॥

Colophon : इति श्रीमहाराजाधिर·····श्री गोपीनाथसंशोधितदशकुमारकथायां सकलसमागमो नाम एकादश उच्छ्वासः । समाप्तेयं कथा दशकुमाराणाम् ॥ संवत् १७३४ शाके १५९८ प्रवर्तमाने माससुदि नवम्यां सोमे लिखितेयं कथा दशकुमाराणां बद्रीदासेन योधपुरमध्ये ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥

A rare copy, based on Daṇḍin's *Dasakumaracharita.*

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

BĀLACHARITA, ABHISHEKANĀṬAKA, AVIMĀRAKA, DŪTAGHAṬOTKACHA, KARṆAKAVACHA-HARAṆA AND ŪRUBHANGA

(Well-known dramas of Bhāsa)

Foll. 66; size 49×5.5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 9 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Bhāsa.

Begins : ഹരി: ശ്രീ ഗണപതയെനമഃ
(നാന്ദ്യന്തേ തതഃപ്രവിശതി സൂത്രധാരഃ)
സൂത്രധാരഃ—
ശംഖക്ഷീരവപുഃ പുരാകൃതയുഗേ നാമ്നാ ത്ു നാരായണ-
സ്തേതായാംത്രിപദാപ്പിതത്രിഭുവനോ വിഷ്ണുഃ സുവർണ്ണപ്രഭഃ|
ദ്വാപ്രാശ്യാമനിഭഃ സ രാവണവധേ രാമോ യുഗേ ദ്വാപരേ
നിത്യംയോജ്ഞനസന്നിഭഃ കലിയുഗേ വഃ പാതു ദാമോദരഃ||
ഏവമാര്യമിശ്രാൻ വിജ്ഞാപയാമി| അയേ! കിന്നുഖലു! മയി
വിജ്ഞാപനവ്യഗ്രേ ശബ്ദ ഇവ ശ്രൂയതേ| അങ്ഗ! പശ്യാമി|

Ends : ബല-അയേ! അയം ഗുരുപുത്രോ.....
.....
.....യതാലംബബാഹുഃ.
സരഭസമയമുഗ്രം കാമ്പുകം കൃഷ്ണമാണഃ

Colophon : കർണ്ണകവചഹരണം സമാപ്തം

This manuscript is about 500 years old.

Lent by the Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

ṚIGARTHĀGAMASAṀHṚITI

(Commentary on the Ṛigvedasaṁhitā)

Foll. 246; size 54×5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 8 to 12 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Skandasvāmī (7th century A.D.).

Begins : ഗണപതയെ നമഃ അവിഘ്നമസ്തു.
വിഘ്നശവിഘ്നമാത്താണ്ഡചന്ദ്രേന്ദ്രോപേന്ദ്രവന്ദിത

നമോ ഗണപതെ! ത്വഭ്യംബ്രഹ്മണാംബ്രഹ്മണസ്പതെ!
മന്ത്രാണാമവബൊദ്ധവ്യാ യതൊത്ഥാങ്ഗത്വസിദ്ധയെ|
ഋഗ്വേദസ്യാത്ഥബൊധാർത്ഥമതൊ ഭാഷ്യം കരിഷ്യതേ.
തെ മന്ത്രാഃപഞ്ചപ്രകാരാഃ-പ്രൈഷാഃ കരണാഃ
ക്രിയമാണാനുവാദിനഃ ശാസ്ത്രാഭിഷ്ടവനാദിഗതാഃ
ജപാനുവചനാദിഗതാ ഇതി|

Ends : ഹെ അശ്വിനൌ. സൌഭഗെഭിഃ ഭഗ ഇതി ധനനാമ. ശൊഭനാനി ധനാനി സുഭഗാനി സുഭഗാന്യെവ സൌഭഗാനി തൈഃ സൌഭഗെഭിഃ. തൃതീയാശ്രുതെഃ സാകാംക്ഷത്വാത്.സംയോജയതമിതി വാക്യശെഷഃ. അഹിംസിതാനി ച ശൊഭനാനി ച ധനാന്യസ്മഭ്യം ദത്തമിത്യർത്ഥഃ. തന്നൊ മിത്ര ഇത്യുക്തം.

The manuscript seems to be 500 years old. Skandasvāmī is one of the earliest commentators of the Ṛigveda.

Lent by the Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

ṚIGVEDABHĀSHYA

(Commentary on the Ṛigveda)

Foll. 186; size 51 × 5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 11 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Venkaṭamādhava (c. A.D. 1100).

Begins : ഹരി: ശ്രീ ഗണപതയെ നമഃ അവിഘ്നമസ്തു.
പഞ്ചമോഥാഷ്ടകസ്യാസ്യാ-
ന്നദ്ധ്യായാദിഷു വക്ഷ്യതേ.
ഋഷിന്നാമാഷ്ഗോത്രേഷു
വിജ്ഞെയമിഹ വൈദികൈഃ.

Ends : വ്യാഖ്യദഷ്ടമ.....
മഷ്ടമസ്യാഷ്ടകസ്യ സഃ
തീരമാശ്രിത്യ നിവസൻ
കാവേര്യാ ദക്ഷിണം സുഖം.
.....തദൃഗ്വേദഭാഷ്യം സമാപ്തം
ശ്രീ: ഓം ഹരി: ഹരി: ഹരി: ശ്രീ:

Of the pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the *Rigveda*, Venkaṭamādhava was one of the foremost. A note on the first folio says that the manuscript (about 400 years old) belonged to Payyūr Bhaṭṭa's family of great repute in Kerala.

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

RĀMĀYAṆA

Foll. 337; size 31×4.5 cm; palm-leaf; Grantha script; 20 lines to a page ; Sanskrit. Author : Maharshi Vālmīki.

Begins : Śuklāṁbaradharaṁ vishṇuṁ śaśivarṇaṁ chaturbhujam;
prasannavadanaṁ dhyāyet sarvavighnopaśāntaye.
āyurārogyaputrabhāryābandhusamuchchayāḥ.
bhavantu te sadā vishṇoḥ (prasā)dādrangaśāyinaḥ.

Ends : bhavabhayaharamekam bhānukoṭiprakāśam
karadhṛitaśarachāpam kālameghāvabhāsam.
kanakaruchiravastram ratnavatkuṇḍalāḍhyam
kamalaviśadanetram sānujam rāmamīḍe.

The manuscript, about 400 years old, has very beautiful letters - very minute but clear. The metal book covers contain illustrations.

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

ARTHAŚĀSTRA

(A treatise on political science)

Foll. 167 ; size 36×5 cm ; palm-leaf ; Grantha script; 10 lines to a page ; Sanskrit. Author : Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.).

Begins : hariḥ om. namaśukrabṛihaspatibhyām prithivyā lābhe pālane cha yāvantyarthaśāstrāṇi pūrvāchāryaiḥ prasthāpitāni prā-

yaśastāni samskṛityaikamidam arthaśāstram kṛitam
tasyāyam prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśaḥ.

Ends : evam śāstramidam yuktametābhistantrayuktibhiḥ.
avāptau pālane choktam lokasyāsya parasya cha.
dharmamarthaṁ cha kāmam cha pravartayati pāti cha.
adharmānarthavidveshānidam śāstram nihanti cha.

Colophon : yena śāstram cha śastram cha nandarājagatā cha bhūḥ.
amarsheṇoddhritānyāśū tena śāstramidam kṛitam.
iti tantrayuktau prathamodhyāyaḥ.
mantram yuktayaḥ āditaḥ pañchāśachchhatodhyāyaḥ.
etāvatā kauṭilīyasyārthaśāstrasya tantrayuktiḥ pañchadaśa-
madhikaraṇam samāptam.
dṛishṭvā vipratipattim bahudhā śāstreshu bhāshyakārāṇām.
svayameva vishṇuguptaschakāra sūtram cha bhāshyam cha.

Best known manuscript of the *Arthasastra*.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

MAHĀBHĀRATA

Foll. 339 ; size 30×34 cm ; birch-bark (bhūrjapatra); Sharda script, 24 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Vyāsadeva (according to traditional belief).

Begins : वैशंपायन
स्वर्गत: स तु राजेन्द्रो निवसन्देवसद्मनि
पूजितस्त्रिदशैः साध्यैर्मरुद्भिर्वसुभिस्तदा ।

Ends : पुरा हि निर्भर्त्सनदण्डमोहिता
प्रमूढचित्ता वदनेन शुष्यता
ददाति कस्मैचिदनर्हते तनुं
वराज्यपूर्णामिव·····

Unique and valuable manuscript containing the Ādi, Sabhā and Āraṇyaka parvas. Beginning of the Ādi and end of the Āraṇyaka missing.

Lent by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

ŚLOKAVĀRTIKAVYĀKHYĀ TĀTPARYAṬĪKĀ

(Commentary on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa)

Foll. 152; size 54×5 cm; palm-leaf, Malayalam script; 12 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Umbekabhaṭṭa (8th century A.D.).

Begins : യേ നാമ കേചിദിഹ നഃ പ്രഥയന്ത്യവജ്ഞാം
ജാനന്തി തെ കിമപി താൻ പ്രതി നൈഷ യത്നഃ
ഉത്പത്സ്യതെ മമ തു കോഽപി സമാനധർമ്മാ
കാലോഹ്യയം നിരവധിർ‌വ്വിപുലാ ച പൃഥ്വീ

ഗ്രന്ഥാരംഭേഽഭിമതദേവതാം പ്രസ്തൗതി വാർത്തികകാര: —വിശ്രുതേതി.
തസ്യ ച കർത്തവ്യതായാം ശിഷ്ടാചാര : പ്രമാണം.

Ends : തദുക്തം :—
"ആധാരാത്മനി വിജ്ഞാതെ
സുഖമാധേയബോധനം" ഇതി.

Colophon : ഇതി ഭട്ടോംബേകവിരചിതായാം
താത്പര്യ ടീകായാം സ്തോടാഖ്യം പാദസ്താനേകം സമാപ്തം.

Umbekabhaṭṭa is said to have been the direct disciple of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, the famous philosopher of the Mīmāṁsā school and author of the *Slokavartika.*

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

ṚIGVEDAPADAPĀṬHA

(Text of the Ṛigveda with words in independent form)

Foll. 230; size 40.7×4.5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 8 lines to a page; Sanskrit.

Begins : അഗ്നി൦..ർ൦ളെ. പുര: ഹിതം. യജ്ഞസ്യ. ദെവം.
ഋത്വിജം. ഹൊതാരം. രത്ന. ധാതമം.

Ends : സരസ്വതി. അഭി. ന: നെഷി. വസ്യ:. മാ. അപസ്സുരീ:
പയസാ. മാ. നഃ. ആ. ധക്ഷു. ജുഷസ്വ. നഃ

സഖ്യാ. വൈശ്യാ. ച. മാ. ത്വത്. ക്ഷത്രാണി.
അരണാനി. ഗന്ധ.

Colophon : ഇതി ചതുസ്ഥാഷ്ടകൈഷ്ടമൊദ്ധ്യായഃ.

Svaras (accent marks) have been marked in excellent order.

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

ŚLOKAVĀRTIKAVYĀKHYĀ ŚARKARIKĀ

(A commentary on Kumārilabhaṭṭa's Ślokavārtika)

Foll. 152; size 54×5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 12 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Bhaṭṭaputra Jayamiśra (c. 8-9th century A.D.).

Begins : അത്ര ഭാഷ്യം. അഥ ഗൗരിത്യസ്യ
ശബ്ദസ്യ കോഽർത്ഥഃ ഇതി. തത്രാസ്യ വാച്യനിരൂപ-
ണസ്യ പ്രകൃതസംബന്ധൗത്പത്തികത്വസി-
ദ്ധാന്തോപയോഗിതാം ദർശയന്നാഹ.

Ends : ഏവമേവേന്ദ്രിയൈസ്തുല്യം
വ്യവഹാരോപലംഭനം|

Colophon : ഇതി ഭട്ടപുത്രജയമിശ്രവിരചിതായാം
ശ്ലോകവാർത്തികവ്യാഖ്യായാം ശർക്കരികായാം
ആകൃതിഗ്രന്ഥേ പ്രഥമഃ പരിച്ഛേദഃ.

The commentary is incomplete.

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

ṚIGVEDA SAṀHITĀ

Foll. 69; size 35.5×3.5 cm; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī script; 5 to 6 lines to a page.

Begins : श्री गणेशशारदागुरुभ्यो नमः । हरिः ओं ॥ अग्निमीले पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥

Ends : इन्द्रो यातोऽवसितस्य राजा शमस्य च शृङ्गिणो वज्रबाहुः ।
सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनामरान्न नेमिः परिता बभूव ।। हरिः ओं
अयं देवाया व यो व यन्ति यच्चिद्धि शश्वता शश्वदिन्द्रोऽष्टौ ।।

Colophon : इति प्रथमाष्टके द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।।

Accent marks in *Samhita* in Nandināgarī.

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

ṚIGVEDA

Foll. 14 sheets (first bundle) and 16 sheets (2nd bundle); size 28×11 cm; Devanāgarī script; 7 lines to a page; Sanskrit.

Begins : हरिः ॐ अग्निमीले पुरोहितं
हरिः ओं ।। अयं देवाय जन्मने श्री महागणपतिर्जयति ।।
हरिः ॐ ।। प्रवः पांतं
हरिः ॐ ।। सुषुमा यातमद्रिभिः

Ends : इति प्रथमाष्टके प्रथमोध्यायः ।। १
इति प्रथमाष्टके द्वितीयोध्यायः ।। २ ।। एतायामोपगव्यं त इद्रं ।।
इति द्वितीयाष्टके प्रथमोध्यायः ।। १ ।। सुषुमायातमद्रिभिः ।।
इति द्वितीयाष्टके द्वितीयोध्यायः ।। २ ।। वसुरुद्रा पुरुमन्तूवृधंता ।।

With illustrations.

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (Madras).

ṚIGVEDAPADAPĀṬHA

(Text of the Ṛigveda with words in independent form)

Foll. 147 ; size 39.2×3.9 cm ; palm-leaf ; Telugu script ; 7 lines to a page ; Sanskrit.

Begins : శ్రీ గణాధిపతయేనమః । గురుభ్యోనమః । హరిః ఓం । అగ్నిం । ఈళే । పురః-
హితం । యజ్ఞస్య । దేవం । ఋత్విజం । హోతారం । రత్న-ధాతమం ॥

Ends : అహం। గర్భం। అదధాం। ఓషధీషు। అహం। విశ్వేషు। భువనేషు। అంతరితి। అహం। ప్రజాః। అజనయం। పృథివ్యాం। అహం। జనిభ్యః। అపరీషు। పుత్రాన్ ॥

Important because of accent marks and *padapatha* in Telugu.

Lent by the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

ŚRĪDEVĪMĀHĀTMYAM

(Hymns in honour of the Devī, the supreme female goddess)

Foll. 75 ; size 8×4 cm ; palm-leaf, Telugu script ; 24 lines per folio; Sanskrit.

Begins : శ్రీ గురుభ్యోనమః। శ్రీ శారదాంబాయైనమః। .... పురసుందర్యైనమః। శ్రీ చాముండాయైనమః।....ఏవంగుణ శుభతిథౌ శ్రీ మహాకాళీ మహాలక్ష్మీ మహాసరస్వతీ దేవతా ప్రీత్యర్థ్యం-సప్తశతీస్తోత్ర....కరిష్యే। అథ ధ్యానం॥ యా దేవీ మధుకైటభప్రమథినీ యామాహిషోన్మూళినీ యా ధూమ్రేక్షణచండముండశమనీ యాభక్తి....శినీ। యా శుమ్భాసురనిశుమ్భదైత్యదమనీ యా సిద్ధలక్ష్మీపరా। సా చండీ నవకోటిమూర్తిసహితా మాం పాతు విశ్వేశ్వరీ ॥.

Ends : సీమంతే తే భగవతి మయా సాదరం న్యస్తమేత
త్సిందూరం మే హృదయకమలే హర్షవర్షం తనోతు.
బాలాదిత్యద్యుతిరివ సదాలోహితా యస్యకాంతి
రంతర్ధ్వాంతం హరతు సకలం చేతసా చింతయామి.

A manuscript with beautiful handwriting in microscopic form.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

VIVARAṆADARPAṆA

(A work on philosophy)

Foll. 162; size 45×3.5 cm; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī script; 5 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Rangarājādhvarī, father of Appaya Dīkshita (16th century A.D.).

Begins : प्रधानादिवारणेन ईश्वरस्य सिद्धेरिति च का योजना
यद्वा अद्वितीयं इति कुतः शास्त्रयोनित्वाद्यपेक्षया
प्राक् द्वितीयसूत्रे अन्यत्सर्वं पूर्ववत् । अत्र प्रथमयोजना श्रेष्ठतमा ।
तं पक्षमाश्रित्येमं श्लोकं व्याख्यास्ये द्वितीये सूत्रे ।
जन्माद्यस्य यत इति ।।

Ends : तस्माज्ज्ञानग्राहकसामग्रीमात्रसाध्यं ज्ञानस्य त·····मिति सिद्धम् ।
न च तत्र प्रमाणाभाव इति वाच्यम् ।
विचारस्य च प्रमात्वं विज्ञा·····नुमानादि प्रसिद्धसाधनतापरि·····रात्वम् ।
विवादेति विशेषणं गुणत्वादिषु व्यभिचारपरिहारार्थम्·····।।

A rare manuscript of a work of Rangarājādhvarī known from a verse of Vīrarāghava-kavi in Achchāndīkshitavaṁśāvalī.

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (Madras).

ŚILPAPRAKĀŚA

(Canons of temple architecture in Orissa)

Foll. 96 ; size 38.5×4 cm ; palm-leaf ; Oriya script ; 4 lines to a page; Sanskrit ; dated 11th year of the reign of Rājā Gopīnāthadeva, i.e. A.D. 1731. Author : Rāmachandra Mahāpātra (between 11th and 13th century) ; scribe : Narasiṁha Dvija.

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀଗଣେଶାୟ ନମଃ
ଐରାବତସମାରୁଢ଼ଂ ନାନାମଣି ବିଭୂଷିତମ୍
ଚତୁଃଷଷ୍ଟିକଳା ବି(ଦ୍ୟା)ନିପୁଣଂ ବଦନୋଜ୍ଜ୍ୱଳମ୍ ।।
ପୀତବସ୍ତ୍ର ପରୀ(ରି)ଧାନଂ କେୟୁରହାର ମଣ୍ଡିତମ୍
ଚତୁର୍ଭୁଜଧରଦେବଂ ପ୍ରଶାନ୍ତ ବଦନଂ ମହତ୍ ।।
ଭୂଜଦ୍ୱୟେ ସୁଗର୍ଭା ଚ ଅପରେମାନଧାରଣଂ
ବନ୍ଦେବିଷ୍ଣୁମହାତେଜାଂ ବିଶ୍ୱକର୍ମା ନମୋସ୍ତୁତେ ।।

Ends : ଋଷିକୁଲ୍ୟାତଟେଗ୍ରାମଂ ଶୋଭନପୁର ବାସିନ
କପିଂଜଳକ୍ଷ ଗୋତ୍ରାୟ ନରସିଂହଦ୍ୱିଜୋତ୍ତମଂ ।।
ଲିଖିତମିଦ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥୋୟମ୍ ଗୋପୀନାଥନରୋତ୍ତମ
ରାଜଦ୍ୱେ ରୁଦ୍ରବର୍ଷିୟେଲିଖିତମିଦପୁସ୍ତକମ୍ ।।

Colophon : ଇତି ଶ୍ରୀ କୌଳାଚାରପରାୟଣ ଭଟ୍ଟାରକ ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ମହାପାତ୍ରୋଦ୍‌ଗାଥା
ଶିଳ୍ପୀପ୍ରବରେଣ ବିରଚିତା ଶିଳ୍ପପ୍ରକାଶୋୟମ୍ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥ
ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ପ୍ରକାଶଃ ସମାପ୍ତ ଶ୍ୱାୟଗ୍ରନ୍ଥଃ

This text gives principles and descriptions of the construction of the Vaḍabhī type of temples of Orissa in the medieval period, such as the Vaitāl Deul and the Gaurī temple in Bhubaneswar, the Vārāhī temple in Chaurāsi and the Gangeśvarī temple.

The language of the text is corrupt at places.

Lent by the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

SĀDHANAMĀLĀ

(A work on Buddhist Iconography)

Foll. in folder form; size 38 × 18.5 cm; Newari script; Sanskrit.

Written during the reign of Jayaprakāśamalla of Nepal (c.1760 A.D.).

155 illustrations of Nepal school.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

PRAYOGARATNAMĀLĀ VYĀKARAṆA

(A work on Grammar)

Foll. 151; size 47 × 10 cm; Tulā pāt; Assamese script; 6 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Śaka 1695 (A.D. 1773). Author : Mahāmahopādhyāya Purushottama Vidyā Vāgiśa Bhaṭṭāchārya (16th century A.D.).

Begins : ওম্ নমো গণেশায়।
শ্রীনন্দসূনোর্বদনাৰবিন্দমুপাস্মহে যত্র নিতান্তমেব।

Ends : ইতি মহামহোপাধ্যায় শ্রীবিদ্যাৱাগীশ-
ভট্টাচার্য্যনির্ম্মিতায়াং প্রয়োগৰত্নমালায়াং
তদ্ধিতবিন্যাসঃ সমাপ্তঃ ॥

Colophon : শ্রীমল্লদেৱস্য গুণৈকসিন্ধোর্মহীমহেন্দ্রস্য যথানিদেশম্ ।
যত্নাত্ প্রয়োগোত্তমৰত্নমালা বিতন্যতে শ্রীপুরুষোত্তমেন ॥
ভূতগ্রহ ৰসাঙ্কেচ শাকে সিংহগতেৰবৌ ।
শ্রীশম্ভূনাথো ব্যলিখত্ হ্যশীতে ৰত্নমালকম্ ॥

The manuscript contains the entire text from *Sandhi* to *Taddhita-vinyasa*. It was written by the author at the instance of the Koch king, Naranārāyaṇa of the 16th century.

Lent by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati (Assam).

ŚILPAPRAKĀŚA

(Canons of temple architecture in Orissa)

Foll. 73 ; size 34.5×4 cm ; palm-leaf ; Oriya script ; 5 lines to a page; Sanskrit ; dated 4th Anka of Divyasiṁhadeva, Utkala era, i.e. 1198 (A.D. 1791). Author : Rāmachandra Mahāpātra (between 11th and 13th century); scribe : Bhuvaneśvara Miśra.

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀଗଣେଶାୟ ନମଃ ବିଶ୍ୱକର୍ମା-ପ୍ରତିମାଧ୍ୟାନଂ
ଐରାବତସମାରୂଢ଼ଂ ନାନାମଣିବିଭୂଷିତମ୍
ଚତୁଷଷ୍ଠି କଳାବିଦ୍ୟାନିପୁଣଂ ବଦନୋଜ୍ଜନମ୍ ॥

Ends : ସର୍ବଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୋତ ମଶିଲ୍ପଂ ବିଶ୍ୱକର୍ମାନୁଶାସନମ୍
କୀର୍ତ୍ତିର୍ଦ୍ଧମୁକ୍ତିଦଂଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠଂ ସର୍ବସିଦ୍ଧିଃ ପ୍ରଦାୟକମ୍
ସର୍ବଭାଗଃସମାଯୁକ୍ତେ ସର୍ବକର୍ମା ଙ୍ଗ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟଃ
ବକ୍ଷାମି ଶିଲ୍ପ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରାଙ୍ଗଂ ଶିଲ୍ପ-ପ୍ରକାଶ-ସଜ୍ଜକଃ ।

Colophon : ଇତିଶ୍ରୀ ଅଶୋକମଣ୍ଡଳାନ୍ତର୍ଗତଃ ନାରାୟଣପୁରବାସିନଃ
କୌସୁସଗୋତ୍ର ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର ମିଶ୍ରେଣ ଲିଖିତଃ ଦିବ୍ୟସିଂହଦେବସ୍ୟ
ଚତୁର୍ଥାଙ୍କେ ଉତ୍କଳାବ୍ଦେ ୧୧୯୮ କନ୍ୟା ଶୁକ୍ଳଦଶମ୍ୟାତିଥୌ
ପଣ୍ଡିତ ବାସରେ ଲିପ୍ୟାନୁବାଦଃ ସମାପ୍ତ ।

The language of the text is corrupt at places.

The text gives principles and descriptions of the construction of Vaḍabhi types of temples.

Lent by the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

ŚILPAPRAKĀŚA

(Canons of temple architecture in Orissa)

Foll. 108 ; size 39×4 cm ; palm-leaf ; Oriya script ; 4 lines to a page ; Sanskrit ; dated Śaka 1715 (A.D. 1793). Author : Rāmachandra Mahāpātra (between 11th and 13th century) ; scribe : Govindadāsa.

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀଗଣେଶାୟ ନମଃ . ଓଁ ବିଶ୍ୱକର୍ମଣେ ନମଃ

ଶ୍ରୀନୀଳାଦ୍ରି ନାଥାୟ ନମଃ ବିଶ୍ୱକର୍ମା-ପ୍ରତିମାଖ୍ୟାନମ୍ ।

ଔରାବତସମାରୂଢଂ ନାନା ମଣି ବିଭୂଷିତମ୍

ଚତୁଷଷ୍ଟି କଳାବିଦ୍ୟା ନିପୁଣାଂ ବଦନୋଜ୍ଜଳମ୍ । (୧)

ଯନ୍ତ୍ର ମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ମହାକାଳୀ ସର୍ବ ବିଦ୍ୟା ସ୍ୱରୂପିଣୀ

ସର୍ବ ଶିଳ୍ପମୟୀ ଜଡ୍ୟା ସର୍ବାନନ୍ଦ ପ୍ରଦାୟିନୀ । (୪)

Ends : ପ୍ରଣମାମି ମହାଶକ୍ତି ଦୁର୍ଗା ଚରଣ ପଙ୍କଜେ

ଲିଖିତଂ ପୁ ସ୍ତକସାର ଶ୍ରୀନିବାସ ନୃପାର୍ଥତଯୈ

ଶାକେ ବାଣଂ ତଥା ଇନ୍ଦୁଂସିନ୍ଧୁ ନକ୍ଷତ୍ର ନାୟକେ

ଲିଖିତୋୟଂ-ମିଦମ୍ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥଂ ଯଥା ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରାନ୍ତରେ ତଥା ॥

69 illustrated pages (Orissan school). The text gives principles and descriptions of the construction of the Vadabhi types of temples.

The language of the text is corrupt at places.

In private collection of Miss Alice Boner, Varanasi; lent through the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

AMARUŚATAKA

(One hundred stanzas of Amaru on love)

Foll. 26; size 28×4.2 cm; palm-leaf; Oriya script; 7 to 8 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Amaru (c. 8th century A.D.).

Begins : ଜ୍ୟାକୃଷ୍ଟି-ବଦ୍ଧ-ଗଣ୍ଠିକା ମୁଖ-ପାଣି ପୃଷ୍ଠୁ...

Ends : ସଖ୍ୟକି ଗୁଣମା କଳ ଇତ୍ୟାଦ୍ଧ

96 illustrations of the Orissan school, 18th century.

Lent by the office of the Museum and Archaeology, Bhubaneshwar (Orissa).

GĪTAGOVINDA

(A lyrical drama depicting the love of Kṛishṇa for Rādhā)

Foll. 7 ; size 30×4 cm ; palm-leaf ; Oriya script ; 12 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author : Jayadeva (12th century A.D.).

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣାୟ୍ନମଃ

ମେଘୈର୍ମେଦୁରମମ୍ବର ବନଭୁବଃ ଶ୍ୟାମାସ୍ତମାଳଦ୍ରୁମୈ
ର୍ନକ୍ତଂ ଭୀରୁରୟ୍ ତ୍ୱମେବ ତଦିମଂ ରାଧଗୃହପ୍ରାପୟ୍

Ends : କଦମ୍ବନତମ୍ବ ଇତ୍ୟାଦ୍ଧ

Colophon : ଇତିଶ୍ରୀ ଗୀତଗୋବନ୍ଦେ ମହାକାବ୍ୟେ କବରାଜ
ଜୟ୍ଦେବ କୃତୌ ମୁଗ୍ଧମଧୁସ୍ଦନୋ ନାମ ତୃତୀୟ୍ସଗଃ ॥
ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣାୟ୍ ନମଃ ।

7 illustrations of the Orissan school, 18th century. The writing is disposed in such a way that from a distance it appears like the design of a Pīḍhā temple.

Lent by the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

VIDAGDHAMĀDHAVA
(A drama on Kṛishṇa)

Foll. 64; size 35.7×4.4 cm; palm-leaf; Oriya script; 6 to 7 lines to a page ; Sanskrit. Author: Rūpagoswāmi (16th centuryA.D.).

Begins : ସୁଧାନା-ଚାନ୍ଦ୍ରାଣମପି ମଧୁରିମୋନ୍ମାଦ ବଦନୀ

Ends : ପୌର୍ଣ୍ଣମାସୀ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

106 illustrations of the Orissan school.

Lent by the office of the Museum and Archaeology, Bhubaneswar (Orissa).

UKARA
(An astronomical work)

Foll. 36; size 32×13 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1865 (A.D. 1808). Author : Nayanasukhopādhyāya.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नम: अथ उकराख्यो ग्रंथसावजूसकृतो लिख्यते । तत्रास्य त्रयोदशाध्याये एकोन षष्टितुल्यानि ५९ क्षेत्राणि संति । परं च क्वचित्पुस्तकेषु पंचाश ५० न्मितान्येव क्षेत्राणि संति । तत्र प्रयोजनद्वयस्यैकक्षेत्रमेव कृतंइदं युनानीभाषात: अरब-भाषायां अबुल अच्चास अहसहस्याज्ञया कुस्ता बिबिलूका वालूवहीसंज्ञेन तृतीयाध्यायस्य पंचमक्षेत्रपर्यंतं ग्रथितं शेषमन्यैर्ग्रथितंनरसीरसंज्ञेन टीका कृता । सेयं संस्कृतशब्दैर्नयनसुखोपाध्यायै- र्निबध्यते ॥ अथ प्रथमाध्याय:

Ends : संवत् १८६५ मिति ज्येष्ठशुक्ल शनिवार श्रीरामचन्द्राय नम: श्री गंगादेव्यै नम: श्री विश्वेश्राय नम: श्री राम जी ।

Contains several geometrical diagrams.

The original of this Sanskrit text was in Greek. It was translated into Arabic by Kustabi-Biluka-valuvabi at the instance of Abul-Achchāsa-Ahaska. Nayanasukhāchārya translated it into Sanskrit with the help of Abīda, an Arabic scholar.

Lent by the Oriental Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

TANTRASĀRA

(Essentials of Tantric rites)

Foll. 262; size 54×13 cm; paper; Bengali script; 8 lines to a page; Sanskrit; dated Saka 1733 (A.D. 1811). Author : Kṛishṇānanda Āgama-vāgīśa (17th century).

Begins : নত্বা কৃষ্ণপদদ্বন্দং ব্রহ্মাদিসুরবন্দিতম্ ।
গুরুং চ জ্ঞানদাতারং কৃষ্ণানন্দেন ধীমতা ॥

Ends : যদ্ যদ্ ময়া নাথ বিমূঢ়বুদ্ধ্যা
স্পষ্টীকৃতং গুহ্যতমং চ তন্ত্রে ।
ক্ষন্তব্যমেতৎ করুণানিধান
ক্রোধো ন চার্হঃ খলুপামরেষু ॥

Colophon : ইতি শ্রীমহামহোপাধ্যায় শ্রীকৃষ্ণানন্দভট্টাচার্য্যকৃততন্ত্রসারঃ সমাপ্তঃ ।

10 illustrations; this manual of Tantric rituals is very popular in Bengal.

Lent by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

GAJAŚĀSTRAM

(On elephants of different regions)

Foll. 332 plates; size 40×25 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; Sanskrit and Marathi. Authors : Pālakāpyamuni, and Śarabhojirājā (A. D. 1798-1832) respectively of Sanskrit and Marathi versions.

Begins : (Sanskrit) ओंकारात्मकशालायां नादस्तम्भे महोत्तरे
निबद्ध्य ध्यानपाशेन कलये कलभाननम् ॥
(Marathi) श्लोक ॥ ओंकारात्मक दिव्यभव्य बरवी शालाविशालामहानादस्तंभ अभंग-सुंदरलसे तीमाजि भारीपण । त्याशीं श्रीकलभानना कबलुनी संध्यानपाशीं पंदी ध्यांतो त्या निजवल्लभा प्रतिवशा जो डोल तोंकी मंदी ॥ १ ॥

Ends : (Sanskrit) आसनत्रितयेप्येवं सौष्ठवं परिकल्पयेत् ।
गजस्य प्रेरणार्थाय पुरस्तादासनं जगुः ॥ ३
एतदेवमुत्कृष्टमित्याहु : ॥
(Marathi) मंदादिजांतीयुद्धार्थ उत्कृष्टासन बोलिलें गजसामान्यसंग्रामीं तेंचि पैंजाण-नेमिलें ॥ ४

Colophon : इति पालकाप्ये ॥ ९ ॥ नवमप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ॥
इति श्री शरभेंद्रमहाराजविरचिते गजशास्त्रभाषाप्रबंधे गजगतिदोषगुणनिरूपणं नाम ॥ ९ ॥
नवमप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ।

Pictures, over 600 in number, illustrations of elephants with different temperaments and of how the elephants were captured, tamed and trained for fighting; some pictures are of ailing elephants.

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library. Tanjore (Madras).

AŚVAŚĀSTRA

(On horses of different breeds and their chief characteristics)

Foll. 174 sheets ; size 40×25 cm ; paper ; Devanāgarī script, Author : Nakula (according to traditional belief).

Begins : आलिंग्य देवीं हरितां निषण्णां संध्यारुणं पाशसृणीर्वहन्तम् ।
परस्परस्पृष्टकटीनिवेशं भयापहं शक्तिगणेशमीडे ॥

Ends : वाहनेषु च ये वर्गा : कुर्वन्ति हरिवाहनम् ।
सुहृदस्तव वाहानामन्ये तु हरयस्तव ॥
इति वाहनाध्यायः ॥

Colophon : दृष्ट्वा समस्तं नकुलः शास्त्रं तच्छालिहोत्रीयं ।
ब्रूते तत्त्वार्थमनघं शास्त्रं कृत्वा समासतः ॥

275 illustrations of the Maratha school of Tanjore (A.D. 1800-1832).

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (Madras).

CHATURANGAVIHĀRA

(Moves of dice in chess)

Foll. 32 ; size 20.6×18.2 cm ; paper ; Devanāgarī script ; 15 to 25 lines to a page ; Sanskrit and Marathi. Author : Kṛishneṇdramahārāja of Mysore.

Begins : श्री चामुण्डा प्रश्नचक्रम्हाणायाचा ३२४ घरांचा चक्रांत १४४ घरांचें आणि ६४ घरांचें ही बुधबल्पटगर्भित होऊण १ या आंखास विभागरीत्या आठादि शांत ही गांठ पडल्या अश्वगती कडून संपूर्ण श्सलें आहे याचक्राचा अंकोद्धार श्लोकाचा अनुलोम विलोम गती केडून १०६४ भेदचक्रें उत्पन्न होतात ॥

Ends : या ६४ घरांचा बुधबलपटांत चित्र विचित्रवाणी तेरीज व्हावयाचा या जगन्मोहन चक्रांत-मध्ये १६ घरांत दंडपार्श्व इत्यादि ५६ प्रकारानेहि १५४ तेरी जहोईजेसव भोंवतें १ वल्यांत बारा खंडांतं ही चार-चार घरांस १२२ तेरीज होईजे संही एकाश्वगति चालविली आहेयाचे १२९ भेदचक्रें उत्पन्न होतात ॥

Colophon : श्रीमत्समस्तधरणीमंडलपुण्डरीककर्णिकायमान कर्णाटकजनपदमध्य-विद्योतमान निः-समानवैभवभवनायमान श्रीमन्महीशूरपुरवराधीश राजाधिराज चामराजधर्मपत्नी रत्नकें पनं जां……

श्री चामुण्डादयासांद्र श्री कृष्णेन्द्रविनिर्म्मिता । आचन्द्रतारकं जीयात् प्रश्नचक्रे हयप्लुतिः ६४॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

ABHINAYACHANDRIKĀ

(On a classical dance of Orissa called the oḍisi dance)

Foll. 47; size 39×4 cm; palm-leaf; Oriya script; 2 lines to a page; Sanskrit. Author: Maheśvara Mahāpātra (A.D. 1764); scribe: Gopīpātra.

Begins :

ନମୋହେରେମ୍ବ ବିଘ୍ନେଶ କଲବୃକ୍ଷୋଧବାସୀନ
ଉମାପୁତ୍ର ମହାକାୟ ଦନ୍ତୀ ନୃତ୍ୟ ବିଶାରଦ
ତାଣ୍ଡବପ୍ରିୟ ପୁତ୍ରାୟ ତାଣ୍ଡବ ପ୍ରିୟ-ଧୁର୍ଜଟେ
ନମୋ ଚିନ୍ତାମଣି ନିତ୍ୟଂ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ-ବୁଦ୍ଧି ପ୍ରଦାୟକ ।

Ends :

ନୃତ୍ୟଭାବତଥାଛନ୍ଦଂ ଯଥାଶାସ୍ତ୍ରାନୁମୋଦିତଂ
ଖଣ୍ଡତ୍ରୟ ସମାବେଶେ ନୃତ୍ୟାଭିନୟ ଲକ୍ଷଣମ୍ ॥
ଖେମୁଣ୍ଡିମଣ୍ଡଳାଧୀଶ ନାରାୟଣ-ମହିପତିଂ
ପରିତୋଶାଥ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥୋୟଂ କରିନୃତ୍ୟାର୍ଥମୋଦକମ୍ ॥
ଉଡ୍ରଦେଶାନୁସାରେଣ ଯଥାଚାରସମର୍ଥିତଂ
ତଥାଶ୍ଳୋକାନୁବନ୍ଧେନ ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥାଭିନୟ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରିକା ॥

Colophon : ଇତିଶ୍ରୀ ଗଜପତି ନାରାୟଣଦେବ ଅନଙ୍ଗଭୀମ ମହାରାଜସ୍ୟ
ରାଜସଭାପଣ୍ଡିତ ପଣ୍ଡିତରାଜ ବରୂପାତ୍ର ମହାପାତ୍ରସ୍ୟ ସୁନୁ
ରାଜ ବସ୍ତ୍ରସ ଗୋତ୍ରାମୃ ମହେଶ୍ୱର ମହାପାତ୍ର ବରଚିତ
ଅଭିନୟ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରିକା ନୃତ୍ୟଖଣ୍ଡ ॥ ଗୋପୀ ପାତ୍ରେନ ଲିଖିତମିଦଗ୍ରନ୍ଥଃ ।

The language is corrupt at places.

50 illustrations of the Orissan school. The author was the son of Virūpāksha Mahāpātra, court poet of King Anangabhīma.

Lent by the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

PREMARĀMĀYAṆA

(Sanskrit translation of the Hindi Rāmacharitamānasa of Tulasīdāsa)

Foll. 224; size 29×12 cm; paper; Oriya script : 8 lines to a page; Sanskrit and Hindi. Author : Dāśarathi Kavichandra; scribe: the author himself.

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀଗଣେଶଗଣାଧ୍ୟକ୍ଷଂ ଗଜବକ୍ତ୍ରଂ ମହାନନଂ
ଯସ୍ୟ ସ୍ମରଣମାତ୍ରେଣ ସିଦ୍ଧିର୍ଭବତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତମ୍ ॥
ଯୋ ସୁମିରନ ସିଦ୍ଧି ହୋଇ ଗନ ନାୟକ କରିବର ବଦନ ।

Colophon : ଇତି ଶ୍ରୀ ଦାଶରଥି କବିଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଅଙ୍ଗାବଧାନ କୃତା
ପ୍ରେମରାମାୟଣ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣଃ

The language is corrupt at places.

This is the only known Sanskrit translation of the *Ramacharitamanasa.*

In private custody ; but lent through the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

YĀGAVEDI - CHITRĀṆI

(Diagrams of Śrauta sacrifices)

Size 62.2×47.1 cm; paper; Devanāgarī, Grantha and Roman scripts.

42 illustrations showing diagrams of altars for various sacrifices, like the Agnishṭoma, etc.

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

PALI AND PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

SHAṬKHAṆḌĀGAMA (DHAVALĀ)

(A work on the Karma philosophy of the Jainas)

Foll. 777; size 75×6 cm; palm-leaf; Kanarese script; 12 to 14 lines to a page; Prākṛit; dated 1113 A.D.; the commentaries are in Prākṛit alternating with Sanskrit. Authors: Dharasena and Pushpadanta; commentator: Vīrasena (9th century A.D.).

Begins : ಣಮೋ ಅರಿಹಂತಾಣಂ ಣಮೋ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಣಂ ಣಮೋ ಆ ಇರಿಯೋಣಂ| ಣಮೋ ಉವಜ್ಝಾ
ಯಾಣಂ, ಣಮೋ ಲೋಏ ಸಬ್ಬ ಸಾಹೂಣಂ ॥ ೧ ॥

2 illustrated folios.

Āchārya Dharasena taught the *Shatkhandagama* and the *Mahabandha* to Āchāryas Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali. Āchārya Vīrasena wrote an exhaustive commentary on the *Shatkhandagama* in 72,000 *slokas* and this is known as the *Dhavala*.

Lent by the Trustees of the Siddhānta Bāsadi at Moodbidri (South Kanara) through the kind courtesy of Babu Chhotelal Jain of Calcutta.

MAHĀBANDHA (MAHĀDHAVALĀ)

(A work on the Karma philosophy of the Jainas)

Foll. 219; size 72.5×7 cm; palm-leaf; Kanarese script; 12 to 14 lines to a page; Prākṛit. Authors: Dharasena and Bhūtabali (1st century A.D.); scribe: Ugrāditya.

Begins : ಣಮೋ ಜಿಣಾಣಂ ॥ ೧ ॥
ಣಮೋ ಅತಿಜಿಣಾಣಂ ॥ ೧ ॥

7 illustrated folios.

Āchārya Bhūtabali wrote the *Mahabandha* (*Mahadhavala*). It is the longest Prākṛit Sūtra consisting of 40,000 *slokas*.

The colophon of the *Mahadhavala* manuscript states that it was copied through the munificence of Śāntisena's queen, Mallikabbe for the purpose of presentation to an erudite sage, Māghanandi.

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KASHĀYAPĀHUḌA (JAYADHAVALĀ)

(On the Karma philosophy of the Jainas)

Foll. 516; size 68.5×7 cm; palm-leaf; Kanarese script; 12 to 14 lines to a page; Prākṛit; the commentaries in Prākṛit alternating with Sanskrit. Author: Guṇadhara (1st century B.C.); commentators: Yativṛishabha (6th century A.D.) and Vīrasena (9th century A.D.).

Begins : ಪುಬ್ಬಮ್ಮಿ ಪಂಚಮ್ಮಿ ದು ದಸಮೇ ವತ್ಥುಮ್ಹಿ ಪಾಹುಡೆ ತದಿಏ। ಪೀಜ್ಜಂತಿ ಪಾಹುಡಮ್ಮಿ ದು ಹವದಿ ಕಸಾಯಾಣ ಪಾಹುಡಂ ಣಾಮ ॥ ೧ ॥

The colophon states that a certain Bhujabali Annā Śreshṭhī got it copied and presented it to Padmasena Muni.

The teachings of the Jaina Tirthankara, Mahāvīra (6th century B.C.) were arranged into twelve angas by his pupil, Indrabhūti Gautama, and were orally handed down from generation to generation. But gradually they fell into oblivion. According to the Digambara tradition the canons of the twelve angas are forgotten ; only a portion of them was known to Āchārya Guṇadhara (1st century B.C.) and Āchārya Dharasena (1st century A.D.) and whatever of it survived is preserved in the ancient scriptures known as the *Kashayapahuda* of Guṇadhara and the *Shatkhandagama* and the *Mahabandha* of Dharasena.

Āchārya Guṇadhara wrote the Kashāyapāhuḍa in 233 Gāthā Sūtras.

Āchārya Yativṛishabha (6th century A.D.) wrote *churni sutras* on it in 6000 *slokas*. Thereafter, in the 9th century A.D., Āchārya Vīrasena wrote an exhaustive commentary on it in 20000 *slokas*; this was, however, completed by his pupil Jinasena by the addition of another 40000 *slokas*. This commentary is known as the *Jayadhavala*.

14 illustrated folios.

Lent by the Trustees of the Siddhānta Bāsadi at Moodbidri (South Kanara) through the kind courtesy of Babu Chhotelal Jain of Calcutta.

ŚĀNTINĀTHA KALAŚA

(Jaina text)

Foll. 21; size 20.5×7.7 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 9 lines to a page; Apabhraṁśa; dated Samvat 1350 (A.D. 1293). Author: Jineśvara-sūri (A.D. 1275-1300); scribe: Vinayasamudra, pupil of Jineśvara.

Begins : असुरसुरिंदनरिंदविंदवंदिय पयपउमह । संतिजिणिंदह न्हवणु समउवज्जिछलछोमह ।

Colophon : संवत् १३५० चैत्र सुदि १ रवौ रेवती नक्षत्रे श्री जिनेश्वरसूरिशिष्येण विनयसमुद्रे मुनि देवराजपुरस्थितेन महाधरपुत्र मोल्हणनिमित्तं कलसबोलिपत्राणि लिखितमिति ।

Incomplete; the oldest paper manuscript in the collection.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

UTTARAPURĀṆA

(Life-story of the Tīrthankaras after Ṛishabhadeva)

Foll. 398; size 30×10 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 10 lines to a page; Apabhraṁśa; dated Samvat 1391 (A.D. 1334). Author: Pushpadanta (10th century A.D.); scribe : Vahad Rāja-deva.

Begins : ऊं नमो वीतरागाय .
वंभहो वंभालय सामिय हो ईस हो ईसरचँद हो ।
अजिय हो जियकाम हो पणवेवि परमजिणिंद हो ।। छ ।।

Ends : सिरिनिरह हो वहुगुणहो कइकुलतिलयं मासिउ ।
सुपहाणु पुराणु तिसट्ठिहिमि पुरिसह चरिउ समासिउ ।। १४ ।।
इति महापुराणे तिसट्ठिमहापुरिसगुणालंकारे महाकइ पुप्फयंतविरइस महाभव्वभरहाणु मणि-
णए महाकव्वे वीरणाहणिव्वाणगमणं त्रावितिसट्ठिपुरिस वण्णणं णाम दिउत्तरूसयसंधी
समत्तो । उत्तर पुराण समाप्तं मिति ।। संधि १०२ ।।

Colophon : संवत्सरेस्मिन् श्री विक्रमादित्यगताब्दः संवत् १३९१ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ वदि ९ गुरुवासरे अद्येह श्री योगिनीपुरे समस्तराजावलीशिरोमुकुटमाणिक्यखचितनखरश्मौ सुरत्राण श्री महम्मदसाहि-नाम्नि महीं विभ्रति सति अस्मिन् राज्ये योगिनीपुरस्थित अग्रोतकान्वय नभः शशांक सा. महिपालपुत्रै जिनचरणकमलचंचरीकैः सा. खेतूफैरा साढा महराजा रूपा, एतैः सा. खेता पुत्र गल्हा आजा एतौ । सा. फेरा पुत्र वीधा हेमराज एतौ धर्म्मकर्म्मणि सद्योद्यमपरै ज्ञानावरणीय क्षयाय भव्यजनानां पठनाय उत्तरपुराणपुस्तकं लिखापितं । लिखितं गौडान्वय कायस्थपंडित गन्धर्वपुत्रवाहदराजदेवेन ।

Second part of the Mahāpurāṇa written by Pushpadanta; one of the best works of Apabhraṁśa literature. The manuscript was written at Yoginīpura (Delhi).

Lent by the Shri Digambar Jain Atisaya Kshetra, Shri Mahavirji, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

KALPASŪTRA AND KĀLAKĀCHĀRYAKATHĀ

(Biographies of the Jinas and rules for ascetics;
the story of Kalakāchārya)

Four folios from a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakāchāryakathā; size 30.5×9 cm; Devanāgarī script; 7 lines to a page; Prākṛit and Sanskrit. Author of the Kalpasūtra: Bhadrabāhu (4th century B.C.).

5 illustrations in Western Indian style of the late 14th century; a very

early illustrated manuscript of excellent workmanship.

Lent by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

KAMMAVACHA

(A Pali Buddhist text)

16 copper plates; size 55 × 10 cm; Siamese script; Pali.

Begins : Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa paṭhamaṁ upajjhaṁ gāhāpetabbo upajjhaṁ gāhāpetvā pattachīvaraṁ āchikkhitabbaṁ.

Ends : Sammatā saṁghena itthannāmassa bhikkuno nissayamuttasammuti.
khamati saṁghassa tasmā tunhī evaṁ etaṁ dhārayāmīti...

10 illustrations, good examples of Thai art of the middle period (c. 14th century A.D.).

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

UPADEŚAMĀLĀ WITH COMMENTARY

(A poem containing moral instructions for laymen and nuns)

Foll. 2-231; size 30.8 × 11 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 15 lines to a page; text in Prākṛit; commentary in Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1457 (A.D. 1400). Author: Dharmadāsagaṇi; scribe: Rāmāka.

Ends : इत्याचार्य श्री उदयप्रभसूरिदेवसंघटितायां उपदेशकर्णिकायां विशेषवृत्तो तृतीय: परिवेष: संपूर्ण: । ग्रं० ३७१४ एतावता संपूर्णा उपदेशमालाया: कर्णिकाख्यविशेषवृत्तिरिति ॥ छ ॥ आदितो ग्रन्थाग्रं १२३७४ ॥ शिवमस्तु ॥

Colophon : स्वस्ति श्री नृपविक्रमकालातीतसंव(त्) १४५७ श्रावणवदि १२ शनौ अद्येह श्रीमद्दण हिल्लपुरेनगरे प्राग्वाटज्ञाती-हंसरवणसुत रामाकेन श्रीउपदेशमालाविशेषवृत्तिर्लिखिता ॥

Two illustrations in Western Indian style; commentary unpublished.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

KALPASŪTRA

(Biographies of the Jinas and rules for ascetics)

Foll. 72; size 27×10 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 7 lines to a page; Prākṛit; dated Samvat 1486 (A.D. 1429). Author: Bhadrabāhu (c. 4th century B.C.).

Begins : नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ।। नमो अरहंताणं ।।
नमो सिद्धाणं । नमो आयरियाणं ।।
नमो उवज्झायणं । नमो लोए···
·····मों पंच नमुक्कारों·····।

Ends : संवत् १४८६ वर्षे श्री मण्डपमहादुर्गे पातिसाहि
श्री महम्मदराज्ये वाचनाचार्यवर्ये·····
कीर्तिगणिवराणां विनयवर्यो: श्री क्षेमहंसगणिभि:·····
मुदहर्षगणि·····भावराजगणिक्षेमराजगणि
प्रमुख मुनिपरिकरस श्रीकै: श्री कल्य·····
स्ववाचनहेतोर्लिखापितं वाच्यमानं चिरकालं नंदतु ।
भद्रं भवतु·····श्रीसंघभट्टारकः ।। श्री ।। श्री ।।

33 illustrations; the manuscript was written at Mandu.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

UTTARĀDHYAYANASŪTRA WITH AVACHŪRI

(A Jaina text containing sermons and admonitions to pupils and monks)

Foll. 61; size 26×11 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 17 lines to a page; text in Prākṛit; Avachūri in Sanskrit; dated Samvat 1551 (A.D. 1494).

Begins : संजोगा विप्पमुक्कस्स अणगारस्स भिक्खुणो ।

Ends : इइ पाउक्करे बुद्धे नायए परिनिव्वुए । छत्तीसं उत्तरज्झाणए भवसिद्धी सम्मएत्ति बेमि ॥६७॥

Colophon : संवत् १५५१ वर्षे माघवदि ७ सोमे लिखितं दघालियानगरे ॥ शुभंभवतु ।

The manuscript is an example of *Rikta-lipi*, i.e. copied in such a way that the blank space gives the designs.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

ĀDIPURĀṆA

(Life-story of the first Jaina Tīrthankara, Ṛishabhadeva)

Foll. 344 (some missing); size 28 × 12 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 13 lines to a page; Apabhraṁśa; dated Samvat 1597 (A.D. 1540). Author : Pushpadanta (10th century); scribe : Vishṇudāsa.

Begins : ॐ नमो श्री वीतरागाय ॥ णमो अरिहंताणं । णमो सिद्धाणं ।
णमो आयरियाणं । णमो उवज्झायाणं । णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ।
एसो पंच नमुक्कारो सव्वपावणासणो । मंगलाणं च सव्वेसिं पढमं हवइ मंगलं ।
सिद्धिसहू मणरंजणु परमणिरंजणु भुवनकमल सरणेसरू ।
पणविवि विग्घविणासणु णिरूवमसासणु रिसहणहु परमेसरू ॥

Ends : ....भरहु विमोक्खु विसुद्धमइ विविहकम्मवंधाहिचुउ ।
फणिखेयर किण्णर पवरनर पुप्फदंत गणसंथुउ ॥ २५ ॥
इय महापुराणे तिसट्ठि महापुरसि गुणालंकारे महाकइ पुप्फयंत
विरयए महाभव्व भरहाणुमणिण्णए महाकव्वे सगणहररिसहनाह
अरहणिक्वाण गमणं णाम सत्ततीसमो परिछेड समत्तो ॥ ३७ ॥
आदिपुराणखंडद्वयेन जातश्लोकमानेनाष्टसहस्राणि अंकतो ग्रंथाग्रं ८००० ।
अक्षरमात्रपदस्वरहीनं व्यंजनसंधिविवर्जितरेफं ।
साधुभिरेष मम क्षमितव्यं को न विमुह्यति शास्त्रसमुद्रे ॥ १ ॥

Colophon : अथसंवत्सरेस्मिन् श्रीनृपविक्रमादित्य राज्ये संवत् १५९७ वर्षे फाल्गुनमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदस्यां

१३ तिथौ भौमवासरे कुरु श्री जोगिनीपुरुमहादुर्गे सुरित्राण श्री साहिआलम्मुपातिसाहिराज्य-प्रवर्तमाने श्री पालंव शुभस्थाने श्री काष्ठासंवे मथुरान्वये पुष्करगणे उभयभाषा-प्रवीणातपोनिधि भट्टारक श्री देवसेनदेवान्·····एतेषां मध्ये सर्वज्ञध्वनिनिर्गत जीवादिपदार्थ षट्द्रव्यगुण पर्याय श्रद्धापर शास्त्र दाननिरितपरोपकारीसाधु लाध सुत चौधरी राइमल तेन इदं महापुराण आदि खंड अष्ट सहस्त्रप्रमिदं कर्मक्षयनिमित्तं लिखापितं। जिनशासनं। सचित्र कारापितं राइमल। कृतं हरिनाथकायस्थ सपरिवारेण लिखितं विष्णुदास ऊधा सुतेन ब्राह्मणेन सिष्य श्री बा. श्री जयमेर मिश्र शुभं भुयात।

First part of the *Mahapurana* written by Pushpadanta, one of the best works of Apabhraṁśa literature.

558 illustrations by the artist Harinātha Kāyastha of the Delhi school. A striking feature of the composition is the enlarged pictorial area to cover sometimes the entire folio.

Lent by the Shri Digambar Jain Atisaya Kshetra, Shri Mahavirji, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

JASAHARACHARIYA

(On the life of Mahārāja Yaśodhara)

Foll. 94; size 29×11.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 9 lines to a page; Apabhraṁśa; dated Samvat 1647 (A.D. 1590). Author: Pushpadanta (10th century A.D.).

Begins : ऊं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ अथ यशोधर चरित्र लिख्यते ॥

तिहुयण सिरिकंत हो, अइसयवंत हो अरहंत हो हय वम्मह हो।
पणविवि परमेट्ठिहे पविमलदिट्ठिहे चलण जुअलु णयसयमह हो।
कोडिणगोत णहदिणयरासु वल्लहणरिंद घर महयरासु।
णणणहो मंदिरे णिवसंतु संतु, अहिमाण मेरु कई पुप्फयंतु।
चिंतइ हो धणणारी कहाए, पज्जतउ कयदुक्किय पहाए।
कह धम्मणिवद्धी कावि कहमि, कहियाए जाए लहु मोक्खु लहम्मि।

Ends : तं माइ महासइ देवि सरासइ णिहयसयल संदेहदुह ।
महु खयउ भडारी चिहुणसारी पुप्फयंत जिणवयणरूह ॥ ३० ॥
इय जसहर महाराय चरिये महामल्लण.....हरणो कइ
पुप्फयत विरइये महाकव्वे चंडमारिय देवय मारिदत्तराय
धम्मलाहो अणेवि सग्ग गमणं णाम चउत्थो संधी परिछेवो सम्मत्तो ॥ ६ ॥
सन्धि ४ इति यशोधरचरित्रं समाप्तं ।

Colophon : अथास्मिन् संवतु संवत् १६४७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठे सुदि तृतीयायां भूमवासरे पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रे श्री नेमिनाथजिनचैत्यालये अम्बावती वास्तव्ये महाराजाधिराज श्री मानसिंहराज्यप्रवर्त्तमाने श्री मूलसंघे नंद्याम्नाये वलात्कारगणे सरस्वती गच्छे कुंदकुंदाचार्यान्वये भ० श्री प्रभाचंद्रदेवा तात्सिष्य मं. श्री धर्मचंद्रदेवा तत्सिष्य मं. श्री ललितकीर्त्तिदेवा तत्सिष्य मं. श्री चन्द्रकीर्ति देवास्तदाम्नाये खंडेलवालान्वेये गोधा गोत्रे सा० ठाकुर तद्भार्ये देवे प्र० डी डी द्विव लाछि तयो पुत्राः सप्त प्र० सा० श्री तेजपाल तेद्भार्ये देवे , प्र० त्रिभुवनदे द्विव, ल्होडी तयो पुत्रौ द्वौ प्र०.....

70 illustrations in Rajasthani style. The manuscript was written at Amber during the reign of Raja Mānasiṁha.

Lent by the Shri Digambar Jain Atisaya Kshetra, Shri Mahavirji, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ

(Anthology of 700 verses by Śālivāhana)

Foll. 73; size 26.2×13 cm; paper; Maithilī script, 5 to 6 lines to a page; Prākṛit; dated Lakshmaṇasena Samvat 566 (A.D 1685). Author : Śālivāhana (Hala); scribe: Kamalanārāyaṇa Śarmā.

Begins : [illegible]ें नमो महागणेशाय । पसुवइणोरोस्सारुणपडिमासङ्कन्त गोरिमुहअन्दं ।

Ends : [illegible]ःवडा अभरण वश अणं गंगा असहर ॥ ३६ ॥

Colophon : इ[illegible]ी महाराज शालिवाहनविरचितं सप्तशतकं षट्त्रिंशद्गाथाधिकं समाप्तम् । ल.स. ५६ [illegible]गद्रसित त्रयोदश्यां ब्रह्मपुरा ग्रामे ॥

Lent by Patna University, Patna (Bihar).

ĀDIPURĀṆA

(Life-story of the first Tīrthankara, Ṛishabhadeva, his sons Bharata and Bahubali)

Foll. 142 ; size 28.5×8.3 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 13 lines to a page; Apabhraṁśa. Author: Pushpadanta (10th century).

Begins : ओं नमो वीतरागाय ।

142 illustrations. Pushpadanta was patronized by Bharata, Minister of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 939-968). So he has composed his verses with double meaning - applicable to the events in the life of Bharata, son of Ṛishabhadeva, as well as to that of his own patron of the same name.

Lent by Shri Panna Lal Jain Agrawala, Delhi.

MANUSCRIPTS IN OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES

Rajkumar and Mrigavati, miniature painting, Malwa School, 17th century, from the *Mrigavati*.
Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

MAHĀBHĀRATA - ŚALYAPARVA

Foll. 112; size 65×18 cm; Sāñchi Pāt (leaves made of bark of aloe wood); Assâmese script; 10 lines to a page; Assamese. Author: Bholanatha Dvija alias Ātmarāma (A.D. 1740).

Ends :

ধৃতবাষ্ট্র নৰপতি আছে জিতো থানে।
বিদুৰো চলিলা তাক মহা অপমানে॥ ১৭৪৭
বৈস্যাশতে জাত বীৰ জুযুৎসু নামত।
থাকিলা ৰজনি সিতো আপোন গৃহত॥
পৰদিনে স্নান কৰি ধর্ম্ম নৃপতিৰ।
সমিপক চলি গৈলা জুযুৎসু সুধিৰ। ১৭৪৮

Colophon :

দ্বিজ ভোলানাথে ভনে এড়ি আন কাম।
সঘনে ঘুসিয়ো দামোদৰ কৃষ্ণ ৰাম॥
তাহাৰ অর্থক সুনি আনন্দিত মনে।
সিৰসিংহ নৰপতি বুলিলা তেখন॥
তাসম্বাৰ মধ্যে এক দ্বিজ আত্মৰাম।
বিৰচিলা পদ ইতো শৈলপর্ব্ব নাম॥

Every page is illustrated. The illustrations present good examples of the Assam school of painting, based on weaving designs for which Assam has been so famous since early times.

The manuscript is the author's original copy. Every page of the folios contains different varieties of floral and creeper designs in colours. The manuscript was compiled under the orders of the Ahom king, Śiva Singha.

Lent by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati (Assam).

Rajkumar and Mrigavati, miniature painting, Malwa School, 17th century, from the *Mrigavati*.
Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

MAHĀBHĀRATA - ŚALYAPARVA

Foll. 112; size 65×18 cm; Sāñchi Pāt (leaves made of bark of aloe wood); Assâmese script; 10 lines to a page; Assamese. Author: Bholanatha Dvija alias Ātmarāma (A.D. 1740).

Ends :

ধৃতবাষ্ট্র নৰপতি আছে জিতো থানে।
বিদুৰো চলিলা তাক মহা অপমানে॥ ১৭৪৭
বৈস্যাশতে জাত বীৰ জুযুৎসু নামত।
থাকিলা ৰজনি সিতো আপোন গৃহত॥
পৰদিনে স্নান কৰি ধর্ম্ম নৃপতিৰ।
সমিপক চলি গৈলা জুযুৎসু সুধিৰ। ১৭৪৮

Colophon :

দ্বিজ ভোলানাথে ভনে এড়ি আন কাম।
সঘনে ঘুসিয়ো দামোদৰ কৃষ্ণ ৰাম॥
তাহাৰ অর্থক সুনি আনন্দিত মনে।
সিৰসিংহ নৰপতি বুলিলা তেখন॥
তাসম্বাৰ মধ্যে এক দ্বিজ আত্মৰাম।
বিৰচিলা পদ ইতো শৈলপর্ব্ব নাম॥

Every page is illustrated. The illustrations present good examples of the Assam school of painting, based on weaving designs for which Assam has been so famous since early times.

The manuscript is the author's original copy. Every page of the folios contains different varieties of floral and creeper designs in colours. The manuscript was compiled under the orders of the Ahom king, Śiva Singha.

Lent by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati (Assam).

HASTIVIDYĀRṆAVA

(On the science of treatment of elephants)

Foll. 129; size 58 × 16 cm; Sāñchi Pāt; Assamese script; 10 lines to a page; Assamese. Author: Sukumār Barkāith, Śaka 1656 (A.D. 1734).

Begins :

পর্ব্বতৰপৰা ওলাই আহি সোণৰ সৰপহুএ
পানীৰ মুখত কঁটালি খালেহি। সেই
পহুৰেপৰা কতোদিন থাকি দঁতাল, মাখুঁদি
দুটা হাতি হৈ হাবিত্ বন-পচলা
খাই ফুৰে। সকল জুৰিএ গুঁজৰি ফুৰে।
তাৰেপৰা অনেক লাখ-বিলাখ হাতি হুঁল।

Ends :

নদী পাৰ হোৱা বাঘৰ মাংসগুটি, পিত
লঁব। মতা ভালুকৰ মাংসগুটি, পিত লঁব।
চিকা মাৰি লঁব। জি হস্তিৰ বঁলিযা লেতেৰা
গন্ধাই সেই বঁলিয়া লঁব। সমস্তকে মিসলাই
বাটি লঁব। জেতিয়া হস্তি জুঝাবলৈ নিএ
এই ঔষধ কপালত ঘঁসিব। গন্ধমাত্রতে
হস্তি পলাই। আকে মঙ্গলবাৰে দেওবাৰে
হস্তিৰ খিন কুম্ভত ঘঁসিলে কুম্ভ পুৰ হয়।

Colophon :

সৌমাৰ পিঠৰ ইশ্বৰ শ্রীযুত শ্রীমন্ত
শিৱসিংহ নাম জি মহাৰাজা আৰু তানে
মহিষী....জি শ্রীশ্রী অম্বিকা নাম মহাদেৱী
সেই দুই জনাৰ আজ্ঞা ৰত্নমালাক
শিৰত ধঁৰি সুকুমাৰ বড়কাথে
এই হস্তিবিদ্যার্ণৱ সাৰসংগ্রহক ৰচিলে।
শক ১৬৫৬ ॥ আতে চিত্র কৰিবলৈ আজ্ঞা
কৰিলে দিষৰ দোষায় দুই লিখকক ॥

167 illustrations of the Assam school of Painting with Mughal features by the artists, Dilbar and Doshai.

The work was composed under the orders of the Ahom king, Śiva Singha.

Lent by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati (Assam).

KṚISHṆAKĪRTANA

(Poems in honour of Kṛishṇa)

Foll. 206; size 34×9 cm; paper; Bengali script; 8 lines to a page; Bengali. Author: Baḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa (c. 15th century).

Begins: সভাপতি আর সব সভাসদজন ।
আলপমতীঞ তোহ্মাতে শরণ ॥

Ends: মথুরা আইলা হোঁ তেজি গোকুলের বাস ।
মন কৈলোঁ করিবোঁ মো কংসের বিনাস ॥

Supposed to be the oldest known manuscript in Bengali.

Lent by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

VIKRAMĀDITYA - KHĀPARĀCHORA-CHAUPAÏ

(A popular story)

Foll. 30; size 26.9×10.8 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 12 lines to a page; old Gujarati. Author : Lābhavardhana, Samvat 1727 (A.D. 1670).

Begins : पुरिसादांणी पणमियै परतिख पासजिणंद ।
समरंता सुखसंपदा दिन दिन अधिक आणंद ॥

Ends : श्रवणे सुणै बहुभावसुं जे चतुर सुघट सुजाण भ० ।
कहे लाभवरधन तेहनै हुवै कल्याण भ० १३
इति श्री विक्रमादित्य खापराचोरसंवादोचोपई संपूरणं ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

56 illustrations in late Mughal style.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

PAÑCHANĀMĀ

(A document)

Foll. one; size 67×33.2 cm; paper; Devanāgarī, Kaithi and Arabic scripts; a sloka in 5 lines and signatures of more than thirty persons; Sanskrit, Hindi and Persian; dated A.D. 1669. Authors and scribes: Goswamī Tulasīdāsa (c.A.D. 1543-1623) and others.

Begins : श्री जानकीबल्लभो विजयते । द्विश्शरन्नाभिसंधत्ते द्विस्स्थापयति नाश्रितान् द्विर्ददाति न चार्थिभ्यो रामो द्विर्नैव भाषते ।।१।।

Ends : साछी पीतंवर दसवधी पुरन सुत साछी रामराइ गरीव.....म० पु रिफर्नसुर साछी धनीराम मथुराये सुत ।

Deed of arbitration regarding the settlement of property of a local Zamindar in which the poet Goswamī Tulasīdāsa was one of the arbitrators and the first 5 lines are in his own handwriting. This is the only known handwriting of this great saint.

The deed has been authenticated by the Quazi of Banaras.

Lent by the All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi.

RĀMACHARITAMĀNASA

(Poem on the life of Rāma)

Foll. 339; size 21.3×12.2 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 8 lines to a page; Hindi; dated Samvat 1704 (A.D. 1647). Author: Goswāmi Tulasīdāsa ; scribe: Raghu Tiwari.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः । श्री जानकीबल्लभो विजयते ।। वर्णानामर्थसंघानां रसानां छन्दसामपि ।
मंगलानां च कर्त्तारौ वन्दे वाणीविनायकौ ।। १ ।।

Ends : श्रीमद्रामचरित्रमानसमिदं भक्त्यावगाहन्ति ये ।
ते संसारपतंगघोरकिरणैर्दह्यन्ति नो मानवाः ।। २ ।।

Colophon : इति श्री रामचरितमानसे सकलकलिकलुषविध्वंसने अविरलहरिभक्तिसंपादिनी नाम सप्तमसोपानः समाप्तः । शुभमस्तु । मंगलमस्तु ।।

Only copy of the complete *Ramacharitamanasa* (an original composition on the life of Rāma) written in A.D. 1647, only 24 years after the death of the famous poet and saint, Tulsidas.

Lent by the All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi.

MṚIGĀVATĪ

(Romantic poem of an Indian love story)

Foll. 250; size 18.7×17.4 cm; paper; Kaithi script; Hindi (Avadhi dialect). Author: Kutban (A.D. 1615).

All the 250 folios have on their obverse appropriate full-page paintings of the Malwa school.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

AVATĀRAGĪTĀ BHĀSHĀ ŚIROMAṆI

(Describes incarnations of Vishṇu)

Foll. 629; paper; Devanāgarī script; Hindi (Avadhi dialect); dated Samvat 1733 (A. D. 1676). Author : Naraharadasa (middle of the 16th century).

Begins : ।।९०।। श्री गणेशाय नमः ।। श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।। अथ अवतारगीताभाषा बारहट नरहरदास कृत लिख्यते ।। अथ साठक ।। सुंडादंडप्रचंडमेकदसणं मदगंधगलस्थलं । सिन्दूरारुणतुंडमंडित-मुखं भृंगस्य गुंजारवं ।।

Ends : दूहा—सोरह सहस अरु आठसै, इकसठ ऊपर आंन ।
छंद अनुष्टुप करि सकल, पूरन ग्रंथ प्रमांन ।। १ ।।

मै जोई सुन्यौ पुरानमहि ।। क्रक जोई वर्णन कीन ।
श्रोता पाठक हेतिसौं, पावै भक्ति प्रवीन ।। २ ।।
इति श्री चतुर्विंशतिअवतारचरित्रे महामुक्तिमार्गे भाषा बारहट नरहरदासेन विरचित ग्रंथानाभ अवतार चरित्रं भाषा शिरोमणी संपूर्ण ।। श्री ।। शुभै भवतु ।। कल्याण-मस्तु ।। श्रीरस्तु ।।

31 illustrations of the Rajasthani (Mewar) school.

Lent by the Allahabad Museum, Allahabad.

VIDYĀPATI - PADĀVALI

(Poems of Vidyāpati)

Foll. 34; size 32×5.5 cm; palm-leaf; Maithilī script; 5 lines to a page ; Maithilī. Author : Vidyāpati Ṭhākur (14th century).

Begins : .....सम्रो रहव अनधि भए लाजे ।

Ends : प्रथमहि हाथ पयोधर लागु पुलके प्रमोदे मनोभव ।

These are collections of Vidyāpati's poems. The manuscript seems to be 300 years old.

Lent by Patna University, Patna (Bihar).

ŚAKUNTALĀNĀṬAKAKATHĀ

(Hindi version of the well-known Sanskrit drama, the Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam, by Kālidāsa)

Foll. 47 ; Size 23.5×15.3 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 16 lines to a page ; Hindi; dated Samvat 1845(A.D. 1788). Author: Kavi Nivāj.

Begins : श्री गणेशाय नमः ।। अथ सकुंतला नाटक लिख्यते ।। कवित्त ।। राखत न सूरज ससी की परवाहि निसिवासर प्रफुल्लित रहत एक बानी के ।। ध्यान हूकियेते देत ग्यान मकरंद वास नाक में लहै कहै या जिनकी कहानी के ।।

Ends : इति श्री सकुंतलानाटककथायां चतुर्थः तरंगः समाप्तं शुभं ॥ माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथौ पूर्णिमायां संवत् १८४५ ।

12 illustrations in Mewar style.
Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

ĀDIPURĀṆA

(Life-story of the first Jaina Tīrthankara, Ādinātha)

Foll. 189; size 51.7×4.5 cm; palm-leaf; Kannaḍa script; 7 lines to a page; Kannaḍa; Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1378). Author: Pampa, Śaka 863 (A.D. 941); scribe: Abhayachandra Saiddhānti.

Begins : ಶ್ರೀ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಂದಿತ ಗುಣವ್ರಾತಂಜಗತ್ಸ್ವಾಮಿಸಂ-
ದಾದಿಬ್ರಹ್ಮನಗಾಧಬೋಧನಿಲಯಂ ದುರ್ವಾರ ಸಂಸಾರವಿ- ।
ಚ್ಛೇದೋಪಾಯನಿಯುಕ್ತಸೂಕ್ತಿವೃಷ ಮಾರ್ಗಾಗ್ರೇಸರಂ ಪಾಪಹೃ
ತ್ಪಾದಾಬ್ಜಂ ದಯೆಗೈಯ್ವನಕ್ಕೆಮಗೆ ಮುಕ್ತಿಶ್ರೀಸುಖಾವಾಪ್ತಿಯಂ॥

Ends : ಭಾಸುರದೇವಕೋಟಿವಿಭುವಪ್ಪ ಮಹಾಧಿಕನಪ್ಪ ವಾಸವಂ-
ಗಾಸನ ಕಂಪಮಂ ಪಡೆದು ತೀರ್ಥಕರತ್ವಮನಿತ್ತನಪ್ಸರಾ-
ವಾಸಮನೈದಿಸಲ್ಕಿದುವೆ ಷೋಡಶ ಭಾವನೆಯಿಂದೆ ಷೋಡಶಾ-
ಶ್ವಾಸಮನೆಯ್ದೆ ಭಾವಿಸುಗೆ ಭವ್ಯರನಂತ ಸುಖಾಭಿಲಾಷಿಗಳ್॥

ಗದ್ಯ:—ಇದು ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಂದ್ಯಪರಮಜಿನೇಂದ್ರಮುಖ
ಚಂದ್ರವಾಕ್ಚಂದ್ರಿಕಾಪ್ರಸರಪ್ರಸಾದೋದೀರ್ಣ ಸೂಕ್ತಿಕಲ್ಲೋಲ
ಮಾಲಾಕೀರ್ಣ ಕವಿತಾ ಗುಣಾರ್ಣವ ಪ್ರಣೀತ ಮಪ್ಪಾದಿಪುರಾಣದೋಳ್ ಪರಿನಿರ್ವಾಣ
ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ ವರ್ಣನಂ ಷೋಡಶಾಶ್ವಾಸಮ್॥

Colophon : ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯ ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೩೦೧ನೆಯ ಶುಕ್ಲ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ
ಸು ೧ ಗುರುವಾರದಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಗಾಯ ರಾಜಗುರು ಮಂಡಲಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಂ ಮಹಾವಾದ
ವಾಗೀಶ್ವರರಾದ ವಾದಿಪಿತಾಮಹ ಸಕಲ ವಿದ್ವಜ್ಜನ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಸಾರತ್ರಯಾದಿ ವೇದಿಗ
ಳುಂ ದೀಷಿಯ ಗಣಾಗ್ರಗಣ್ಯರುಮಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮಲಧಾರಿ ನಾಗಚಂದ್ರ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಕರ
ಪ್ರಿಯಾಗ್ರಶಿಷ್ಯರು ಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿಕ ಜೀರ್ಣ ಜಿನಾಲಯೋದ್ಧಾರಕರುಮಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಧರ್ಮ

ಭೂಷಣ ಶ್ರೀಮದಭಯ ಚಂದ್ರ ಸೈದ್ಧಾಂತಿ ದೇವರು ಬರದ ಆದಿ ಪುರಾಣಗ್ರಂಥಕ್ಕೆ
ಮಂಗಳ ಮಹಾಶ್ರೀ ॥

Contains some geometrical drawings.

This is the earliest known *Adinathacharitra* in *champu* style ('a kind of elaborate and highly artificial composition in which the same subject is continued through alternations in prose and verse'). The author, Pampa, was one of the foremost Jaina poets.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

GADUGINA BHĀRATA

(Popular version of the Mahābhārata in Kannaḍa)

Foll. 281; size 32×5 cm; palm-leaf; Kannaḍa script; 15 lines to a page; Kannaḍa; Śaka 1476 (A.D. 1554.). Author: Nāraṇappa.

Begins :
ವೀರನಾರಾಯಣನೆ ಸುಕವಿಸೇ
ಖರಿಕುಮಾರವ್ಯಾಸ ಕೇಳುವ
ಸೂರಿಗಳು ಸನಕಾದಿಗಳು ಜಂಗಮ ಜನಾರ್ದನರೂ।
ಚಾರುಗವಿತೆಯ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲವಿ
ಚಾರಿಸುವರಳವಲ್ಲ ಚಿತ್ತವ
ಧಾರು ಹೋ ರ್ಸವಜ್ಞರಾದರಿಗೆ ಸಲುಗೆ ಬಿನ್ನಪವಾ ॥

Ends :
ಸಕಲ ಋಷಿಮತದಲಿ ಕಥಾನಾ
ಯಕನ ಗಂಧಾಕ್ಷತೆಯೊಳರ್ಚಿಸಿ
ಮಕಟ ಕರ್ಣಾಭರಣ ವೆನಿಸುವ ವಸ್ತ್ರಕನಕವನೂ।
ಭಕತಿಯಿಂದಲಿಯರ್ಘ್ಯ...ದ್ಯಾ
ನಿಕರದಲಿ ಮನ್ನಿಸಿದರಾ ಮುನಿ
ಯುಕುತಿ ಮಿಗೆ ಹರಸಿದನು ಜನಮೇಜಯಮಹೀಪತಿಯಾ ॥

Colophon :
...ಮಾನ ಆನಂದ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಶ್ರಾವಣ ಬ ೩ ಸೋಮವಾರದಲು
ಸಾತಿಗ್ರಾಮದ ಚಿಕ್ಕದೇವರಸರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಬೋಧಾನಸೂತ್ರ

ಶ್ರೀ.....ಷ್ಮಪರ್ವ × × ದಶಪರ್ವವು ೧೦ ಕೆ ಸಂಧಿ
೧೪೭ ಕಂ ಪದ ಸಾ ೭೯೭೧ ಕಂ ಶುಭಮಸ್ತು

Contains some floral designs ; oldest known manuscript of the work.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

RĀJANĪTI

(A treatise on political science)

Foll. 4; size 26 × 5 cm; palm-leaf; Kannaḍa script; Kannaḍa.

Begins : ಸಭೆಯೊಳೋಲಗದಲಿ ವಿರಿಂಚಿ
ಪ್ರಭುವಿನಭಿಮತದಿಂದ ಧರಣೀ
ವಿಭುಮಹಾಕ್ರತು ರಾಜಸೂಯವನೊಲಿದು ಕೈಕೊಂಡ

Ends : ವಲದೊಲದು ಬಿಡೆ ಭಾವದಲಿ ಕಳ
ವಳಿಸಿ ಹದುಳಿಸಿ ಮತ್ತೆ ಭೂಪತಿ
ತಿಲಕ ಚಿಂತಿಸಿ ನೆನವುತಿದ್ದನು ವೀರನರಕೆಯಣನಾ॥
"ರಾಜನೀತಿ ಸಮಾಪ್ತ ಮಂಗಳಮಹಾಶ್ರೀ"

About 400 years old: these leaves are interesting for the writing in patterns.

Lent by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

CHITRARĀMĀYAṆA

(Rāmāyaṇa in pictures)

Foll. 98; size 36 × 5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; Malayalam; dated 697 ME (A.D. 1522).

Begins : രാമായണം കഥയിൽ ഒള്ള രൂപങ്ങം എഴുതിയ ഗ്രന്ഥം

Ends : ന്നൻ൭ മകരമാസം ൭ ാമ· എഴുതിതീത്തപുസ്തകമിദം।
തസ്യൈവ ബാലകവിബിംബലിഭ്രസുരസ്യ

ശിഷ്യോऽസ്തി കൊऽപി ചരണായുധനാസദേശ്യഃ |
കായസ്ഥകാന്വയഭവസ്സച ലേഖകാരീ.
തസ്യൈവ പുസ്തകവരസ്യ ഗുരൊന്നിയൊഗാൽ ||

The story of the *Ramayana* is completely illustrated by pictures in the mode of the Kathakali costumes incised on palm-leaf. It is an old and rare manuscript.

Lent by the Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

NĀMALINGĀNUŚĀSANAṬĪKĀ AMARAPAÑCHIKĀ

(A gloss on the Nāmalingānuśāsana of Amara, the Sanskrit lexicographer)

Foll. 107; size 32×4.5 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 11 lines to a page; Malayalam. Author : Vāsudeva (A. D. 1541).

Begins : ക്ലേശാദയോ യം ന പരാമൃശന്തി
യോ വാ ബിഭർത്തീശ്വരശബ്ദമേക:
പുരാതനാനാം ഗുരവേ ഗുരൂണാം
തസ്മൈ നമോ നാഗവിഭൂഷണായ.

ആയുദ്ധനുർവ്വേദനിഘണ്ടുസാരം
വാസ്തുഗ്രഹാശ്വാദിഗജാദിശാസനം
സ്മൃതീ: പുരാണാന്യഖിലാ: സഹസ്രശ :
സമീക്ഷ്യ വക്ഷ്യേऽ മരകോശപഞ്ചികാം.

Ends : പരം വിരോധേ പൂർവ്വാപരവിരോധേ.....
ശിഷ്ടപ്രയോഗത :

Colophon : ശശധരവസുബാണപ്രാണരന്ധ്രക്ഷമേശൈ:
പരിമിതിമുപയാതെ വാസരാണാം സമൂഹെ
ഇഹ കലിയുഗഭാജാം വാസുദേവോ ദ്വിജന്മാ
വ്യലിഖദമരകോശഗ്രന്ഥതാത്പർയ്യസാരം.

The introductory verses are in Sanskrit, the rest in Malayalam.

Lent by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar (Madras).

ARTHAŚĀSTRA KERALABHĀSHĀ VYĀKHYĀ

(A commentary in Malayalam on the Arthaśāstra, a book on political science, of Kauṭilya, 4th century B.C.)

Foll. 123; size 31×3 cm; palm-leaf; Malayalam script; 5 to 6 lines to a page ; Malayalam.

Begins : ത്ഥമാനംകളൊഴിച്ചു അവരളക്കു അപകാരഞ്ചെവിതു. അനന്തരം കാപടികനായൊള്ളാനൊരു ശാസ്ത്രൻ പിന്നെ രാജാവിനാൽ പരിക്ക...ത്ഥമാനംകളെ ഉടെയനായിരിക്കുമരൻ അത്ഥമാനംകളെ പ്പരിക്കപ്പെട്ട അമാത്യരൊരൊത്തരെയെ ..... പ്പിതുഅസൽപ്രവൃത്ത ..... ഇവനെക്കൊൻറു മറൊരുത്തനെ വാഴിപ്പോമിതു എല്ലാക്കുമൊരുംപാടെനിനക്കെന്തുപക്ഷമെൻറു വിയാരിപ്പിതു.....

Ends : ആകരകമ്മാന്തപ്രവത്തനമെമ്പിതുസൂത്രം.
ആകരമാവിതു സുവണ്ണാദികം ജനിക്കുന്നദേശം.....
.....വെള്ളിയും പൊന്നും പുണല്പാനുള്ള
.....

A rare manuscript ; the commentary is considered to be a work about 1000 years old.

Lent by the Oriental Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

KATHĀKALPATARU

(An important Marathi text)

Foll. 103(of which some are missing); size 25.5×15 cm; paper, Devanāgarī script; 16 lines to a page; Marathi. Authors: Kṛishṇa Yājñavalkya (A.D. 1548-1613) and Madhukara Yājñavalkya (c.A.D. 1618).

Begins : श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ॐ नमोजी अनंता.....कैवल्यदानी ॥ १ ॥ जयजयजिमहद्भूता: तुंक.....॥ २ ॥ जयजयजी परात्परा: व्यापका अज.....॥ ३ ॥ जयजयमहद्भूता: स्थावरजंगमपूर्ण.....॥ ४ ॥ ऐसया तुह्मानमस्कार: तुं.....॥ ५ ॥

Ends : जैसे तुंबीचे फल आपण तरे काष्टे·····
कांतारीक लोक: माहापुराचा ।। ७३ ।।
कवीचा भाव ऐसा दृषी·····न करीलतुटी ।। ७४ ।।
हा ग्रंथकथाकल्पतरु येशाजीराम मोरारकरांचा हाली·····

184 illustrations of the 17th century A.D., showing the extension of Rajasthani styles into Maharashtra.

Lent by the office of Archives and Historical Monuments, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

MAHĀBHĀRATA

Foll. 3 illustrated leaves; size 42×18.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī; 13 lines to a page; Marathi; Śaka 1798 (A.D. 1876).

Begins : कोनि भूमण्डलीं । पुढें न्यायप्रकारें प्रजापालं ।।
मा गह्मणतां चि ईश्वरें वर ।।
पंचवार भ्रातार या चिले ।। ६२
शली नगरीं ।। पुष्पेंधे (मे) वोनिपहण नारी ।।
वर्षती अर्जुनसभद्रे वरी ।।

Illustrations are fine examples of Marathi painting of the Tanjore school.

Lent by the Oriental Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum (Kerala).

GAJATHAMBHA (HASTIROGACHIKITSĀ)

(On the science of treatment of elephants)

Foll. 14; size 22.3×12.3 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 12 lines to a page; Māru-Gūrjara; dated Samvat 1747 (A.D. 1690). Scribe: Dayālagira.

Begins : अथा सीतजुर कीम जाणिजे तेनी कसी पारीख्या ? उंधे अर कांपे तेहनी विचार ।। दूहा कांपे उंधे सीसज्वर अर रोमज उभां होय, दंतज धवला कुंभस्थ मोटा ऐहवइ वार करो मति कोय ।।

Colophon : संवत् १७४७ महासुद १ मंगलवार पोथी लीखतं गुसाई दयालगीर पठनारथे आतमा। शुभं भवतु ।।

11 illustrations.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

VAIDYAVINODA

(A work on medicine)

Foll. 80; size 25.5×10.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 17 lines to a page; Māru-Gūrjara; dated Samvat 1753 (A.D. 1696). Author : Rāmachandra Kharatara, Samvat 1712 (A.D. 1655); scribe: Vidyāvimalamuni.

Begins : दोहा ।। श्री सुखदायक सलहीयै जोतिरूप जगदीस ।
सकति करी सोभइ सदा श्री शंकर निसिदीस ।।

Ends : दोहा—साहानसाहि पतिराजतो औरंगसाहि नरिंद ।
तासु राजमै ए रच्यो भलोग्रंथ सुषकंद ।। ७२ ।।
गच्छ नायक है दीपता श्री जिनचंद राजान ।
सोभागी सिरसेहरो बडै सकल जहान ।। ७३ ।।
मरोटकोट शुभठौडहै वसे लोक सुपकार ।
परचना तिहांकिन रची सबही कुं हितकार ।। ७४ ।।
पर उपगारी ग्रंथ है सकल जीव सुषकार ।
थिर रहा ज्यों लगि सदा तां लगि ध्रू इक तार ।। ७५ ।।
इति श्री वाणारसपदमरंगगणिशिष्यरामचंद विरचिते श्री वैद्यविनोदे नेत्रप्रसानं कल्पना अध्याय उत्तरषंड तृतीय संपूर्ण ।।

Colophon : संवत् १७५३ वर्षे फाल्गुण मासे कृष्णपक्षे दसमीतिथौ १० शनिवासरे श्री नवरांगषंनराकोट्टमध्ये लिपीकृत्वा वा० श्री पू श्री ज्ञाननिधानगणिभिः शिष्यविद्याविमलमुनि लिखितं ।।

The manuscript was written during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

PṚITHVĪRĀJA RĀSAU

(Historical romance)

Foll. 628 illustrated pages; 42.5 × 26.5 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 2 to 4 lines to a page; Rajasthani. Author : Chand Bardai, Samvat 1183 (A.D. 1126).

Begins : रासे को पत्र ।। १ ।। षटरितु । राजा प्रीथीराज आगे सवा ने संजोगता रो वरनन कीनो। सवचन राजा रे बाण सरीखो लागो । षिन षिन साले सुवेद पुसतग देखे पन रोगु पावे नहीं। चंद सु राजा कहे है मोहे कनवज दीषावो । रूपक ।

Ends : रासे को पत्र । ६३७ । रात घडी छर ही तिणी वेलां पंग रजपता हें देस हाथी घोड़ा देने सुचता कीघा । पछ च्यार फौज करे ने च्यारी आडी थी-प्रथी·····रे आयो तदी प्रथीराज हे सुतो मेले ने सूरज उगे नहीं तठा पेला सामंते लोह काढे ने पग री फौज सो मिल्या । प्रथीराज निसंक सूतो हे ने·····गजर वाजी ।

628 illustrations of the Mewar school of the 17th century.

Lent by the Saraswati Bhawan, Udaipur (Rajasthan).

MADHUMĀLATĪ-CHAUPAĪ

(Romantic poem of an Indian love story)

Foll. 86; size 26 × 23 cm; paper; Devanāgarī script; 20 lines to a page; Rajasthani.

Begins : सरस्वुती नाम लेइ करी करै गुणपत जुहांर ।
कीवजन सांचां अंख्यंरी कहै मधुमालती कौ प्यार ।।
सकल बुध दौ सुरसती बंदु गुर कै पांअ ।
मधुमालती बीलासकौ कहे चुत्रभुज रांअ ।। २ ।।

Ends : दीनदस मधुनाम लै नयै ब्याह कै वंध ।
असते तन अनंग चढ्यै द्रिग न परे जगदंग ।। १३९९ ।।
काम सरप षाइ सवे लेहरजे मुरकी देत ।
घरी च्यार·····अपूर्ण·····

87 illustrations in Mughal style.

Lent by the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

VAIDEHĪŚAVILĀSA
(Rāmāyaṇa in Oriya)

Foll. 171; size 37×4 cm; palm-leaf; Oriya script; Oriya. Author: Upendra Bhañja ; scribe : Michchha Pattayosi (A.D. 1800-1865).

Begins : ଶ୍ରୀରାମଶରଣଂ ଶ୍ରୀଗଣେଶାୟ ନମଃ
ରାଗ ପାହାଡ଼ିକେଦାର ଶ୍ରୀବିଷ୍ଣୁରବିସ୍ତୁତିୟେ
ବନ୍ଦଇ ଦୀନବାନ୍ଧବ.....

Ends : ବୀରବରପଦ ଉପଇନ୍ଦ୍ରଭଂଜ ମୋର ନାମ
ବାରେ ବାରେ ସେ ବାରେ ମନାଇ ସୀତାରାମ ॥
ବିଚିତ୍ରକବିମନେ ପ୍ରସରିଲା ବୁଦ୍ଧି
ବିରଚିଲା ରାମାୟଣ ଏହୁ ବଡ଼ସିଦ୍ଧି ଜେ ॥

Colophon : ଗ୍ରନ୍ଥକର୍ତ୍ତା ସ୍ୱୟଂ ବ୍ୟାସୋ ଲେଖକସ୍ତୁ ବିନାୟକଃ
ତୟୋର୍ବିଚଲିତା ବୁଦ୍ଧିର୍ମନୁଷ୍ୟାଣାଂ ଚ କା କଥା ॥
ବିଦ୍ୱାନେବହି ଜାନାତି ବିଦ୍ୱଜ୍ଜନପରିଶ୍ରମଂ
ନହି ବନ୍ଧ୍ୟା ବିଜାନାତି ଗୁର୍ବୀଂ ପ୍ରସବବେଦନାଂ
ଶ୍ରୀମୁକୁନ୍ଦଦେବଂକ ୧୯ ଅଂକ ଲେଖିବାର ହେଲା ॥

Contains more than 250 illustrations ; the whole *Ramayana* is in verses and each verse begins with the letter 'va'.

Lent by the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

ŚRI GURUGRANTHASAHIB
(The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs)

Foll. 894; size 54×51 cm; paper; Gurumukhi script; 21 lines to a page; Punjabi Bhāshā, dated Samvat 1896 (A.D. 1839). Scribe: Tameshwar Prakash.

Begins : ੧ ਓ ਸਤਿਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ।

Ends : ਟਰਾ ਗਉਨ ਗਾਏ ਸੰਗਿ ਰਾਗਿਨੀ ਤੀਸ ॥
ਸਭੈ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਰਾਗੰਨ ਕੇ ਅਠਾਰਹ ਦਸ ਬੀਸ ॥

46 illustrations of the Kashmiri-Sikh school of the 19th century.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

TOLKĀPPIYAM WITH THE COMMENTARY OF IḶAMPŪRAṆAR AND NĀCHCHINĀRKINIYAR

(A work on Tamil Grammar)

Foll. 119; size 42.7×3.5 cm; palm-leaf; Tamil script; 8 lines to a page; Tamil. Author : Tolkāppiyar (c. 1st century A.D.).

Begins : இலக்கணத்தொடு தொல்காப்பியஞ்சொல்லத்-
துலக்கிய கணபதிதூயதாட்டுணையே,
குருகுதாமரையுறைகோமளவண்ண
பெருகுகாவருபதம் பேணித்தொல்காப்பியம் (பாயிரம்)
வடவேங்கடந்தென்குமரியாயிடைத்-
தமிழ்கூறு நல்லுலகத்து.

Ends : கிளந்தவல்ல செய்யுளுட்டிரிநவும் - வழங்கியன்மருங்கின் மருவொடு
திரிநவும் - விளம்பியவியற்கையின் வேறுபடத்தோன்றின
வளங்கியன் மருங்கினினுணர்தன ரொழுக்க
நன்மதி நாட்டத்தென்மனூர் புலவர்.

Colophon : பிறவுமன்ன - 77.
ஒன்பதாவது, குற்றியலுகரப்புணரியல் முற்றும்.
எழுத்ததிகாரம், இளம்பூரணர்விருத்திகாண்டிகை முற்றும்.
முருகன் துணை.

Tolkāppiyar was a member of the Second Tamil Sangam. His grammar is an authority for the Tamil language as Pāṇini's *Ashtadhyayi* is of the Sanskrit language.

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

TIRUVOYMOLI VIYĀKYĀNAM

(Commentary on the *Tiruvoymoli*, the collection of the hymns of the Ālvārs in honour of Vishnu)

Size 50.5 × 6 cm; palm-leaf; Tamil script; Tamil. Author : Vaḍakkuttiruvīdippillai.

Begins : ஸ்ரீய:பதியாய் அவாப்தஸமஸ்தகாமனுய், ஸமஸ்த கல்யாணகுணத்மகனை ஸர் வேசுவரன், மாறிமாறிப் பலபிறப்பும் பிறந்து என்கிறபடியே ஜந்மபரம்பரைகளிலே தோள்மாறி நித்யஸம்ஸாரியாய்ப்போந்த இவரை 'அடியையடைந்துள்ளந்தேறி ஈறி லின்பத் திருவெள்ளம் யான் மூழ்கினன்'' என்று முதலிலே தன்திருவாயாலே சொல்-லவல்லராம்படியாக முதலடியிலே விசேஷகடாக்ஷத்தைப் பண்ணியருளினன்.

Ends : இதன்ரே நான் உங்களுக் குடிக்கச்சொல்லுகிற வேப்பங்குடிநீர்!
தேனேமலருந்திருப்பாதத்தையிறே சேரச்சொல்லுகிறது.
ஹரி ஓம். ஆழ்வார்திருவடிகளே சரணம். வடக்குத்திருவீதிப்—
பிள்ளை திருவடிகளே சரணம். ஜீயர்திருவடிகளே சரணம்.

This is a commentary on Nammālvār's *Tiruvoymoli*. The commentary is also called *Idu* or *Nampillai Idu*.

Lent by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

TIRUVOYMOLI VĀCHAKAMĀLAI

(Collection of hymns of the Ālvārs in honour of Vishṇu)

Foll. 64; size 40 × 3.5 cm; palm-leaf; Tamil script; Tamil. Author : Koneridāsai (14th century A.D.).

Begins : தது ஆச்ரயணீயன் ஆரென னமயர்வற மதிநலமருளினன். அத்தாலே தேவதாந்தர பஜநமற்று அருளின பக்தியாலே ஸுகரமாக பகவத்ஸமாச்ரயணம் பண்ணப் பெற்றேன்.

Ends : ஆங்கீரஸ வருஷம் மார்கழி மாஸம் 26ந்தேதி உயர்வற உயர்நலமுடையவன் என்-கிற முதல் பாட்டின் விவரணசதகமென்று திருநாமமான வாசகமாலையை அபர் யாப்தன் திருவடிகளிலே ஸந்தர்ப்பமான மாலையைச் செய்நடிமை செய்தாள் திருக்-கோநேரி தாஸ்யை
கரக்ருதமபராதம் க்ஷந்துமர்ஹந்தி ஸந்த: ஹரி ஓம் சுபமஸ்து.

One illustration showing Vishṇu in late Nāyaka style (about 300 years old).

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (Madras).

RĀMĀYAṆA IN PICTURES

Foll. 3 sheets illustrating the Bālakāṇḍa, the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa and the Araṇyakāṇḍa ; size 40×15 cm ; paper ; Telugu script ; 5 rows of panels on each sheet ; Telugu.

Begins : వినాయకులు। నారదుండు। వాల్మీకి తమసానదికి పోవుట। వాల్మీకి వద్ద బ్రహ్మ వచ్చుట। దశరథుడు పుత్రకామేష్టి శాయను। రిష్యశింగుడు వచ్చుటయును.

Ends : స్వామి శబరి ఆశ్రమానికి వచ్చుట। స్వామి పంపాతీరం వచ్చి చేరుట.

Paintings in the Nāyaka style of Tanjore (17th century A.D.).

Lent by the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (Madras).

TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS

DRI-MED-ŚEL-PHREN-NAS-BŚAD-PAHI-SMAN-GYI HKHRUNS-DPE-MDZES MTSHAR-MIG RGYAN-CES-BYA-BA BZHUGS

(A work on medicine)

Foll. 47; size 60×13 cm; Tibetan paper; Tibetan script; 6 lines to a page; Tibetan.

Begins : Gan-zhig-snon-du-yons-su-bsno-ba-rnam-dag-pa.

Ends : Mangalaṁ Mangalaṁ.

The colophon says that the work was xylographed in 1910.

Profusely illustrated.

Lent by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi.

STAG-GZIG-NOR-RDSON-STOD-CHA

(On adventures and exploits of King Gesar)

Foll. 279; size 39×8 cm; Tibetan paper; Tibetan script (Umed); 6 lines to a page; Tibetan.

Gesar's exploits are described in a saga of several volumes. The present volume narrates Gesar's expedition to Ta-zig (Turkistan).

Lent by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim).

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

Illustration, Mughal School, dated 1567, from the
Deval Rani Khidr Khan
Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

HOLY QURAN

Foll. 90; size 40×30 cm; parchment; Kūfic script; 10 lines to a page; Arabic.

Begins :

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
الحمدللہ رب العالمین

2 illuminated folios. This manuscript is attributable to the 8th century A.D. and like other early copies of the *Quran*, it is written on parchment.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

MUKHTASAR-UL-KĀFĪ

Foll. 220; size 32×19 cm; paper; 55 lines to a page; early Arabic Naskh script; Arabic; dated A.H. 417 (A.D. 1027). Author : Abu'l Faḍl Muhammad bin Muhammad; scribe: Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad-ud-Dāmghānī-al-Ansārī.

Begins :

الحمدللہ رب العالمین والعاقبۃ للمتقین وصلي اللہ علي محمد وعلي آلہ
الطیبین قال ابوالفضل محمدبن احمد رضي اللہ عنہ قداودعت
کتابي هذا..... الخ

Ends :

... ابوحنیفۃ قال ینطلق مثل منها... کل واحد منهما
القراۃ التي وقت ظهرها... صلی علی محمد نبی... الخ

Colophon :

تم نسخها سبع عشرخط احمدبن محمد بن احمد الدامغاني الانصاري
بعون الله وتوفيقه يوم السبت قبل الظهر السادس عشر من شعبان
سنه ٥٧٧ سبع وعشرة واربعمائه هجرى غفرالله لاولوالديه
جميع احياء و موتاه من المومنين والمومنات... الخ

A concise work on Hanifite jurisprudence, being an abridgement of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Ḥasan al-Kūfī. According to Ḥāji Khalifah, a most reliable work accepted as authority by famous jurists for their commentaries, annotations and glosses.

Oldest manuscript in the collection.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

AN-NUKATUWAL-'UYŪN

(A rare commentary on the Holy Quran)

Foll. 214; size 26×20.8 cm; paper; Naskh script; 17 lines to a page; Arabic; dated A.H. 577 (A.D. 1181). Author: Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin Moḥd. bin Ḥabīb Albaṣarī (A.H. 450=A.D. 1058); scribe: Jáfar bin 'Ali bin Abi Muḥammad; known as bin Abi'ṭ Ṭayyib.

Begins :

الحمدلله الذي هدانالدينه القيم ومن علينا بكتابه المبين

Ends :

وان كان في كل الايام نافعا

Colophon :

كان الفراغ من نسخه السابع من جمادي الاخر سنه سبع و
سبعين و خمسمايه مما امر بنسخه المولا الفقيه الجليل
الزاهد الاوحد لسان الدين رشيد الزمان محمد بن
محمد البلخي بمسجده الذي بجوار داره الخ

A very valuable copy of rare commentary on the Holy *Quran* of which only a few copies exist.

Lent by the Raza Library, Rampur (U.P.).

MA'ŪNAT-UL-MU'ĪN-AL-MUKHTASAR MIN SIYĀSAT-ID-DUNYĀ WAD-DĪN

(A treatise on Islamic politics)

Foll. 170; size 16.5×10 cm; paper; Archaic Naskh script; 15 lines to a page; Arabic; dated A.H. 586 (A.D. 1190). Author: Yūsuf bin Muḥammad bin Isḥāq-al-Khurāsānī.

Begins :

الحمدلله الذي خلق فاكمل رزق فافضل الذى جعل السنتنا بالايمان ناطقة
وقلو بنا علي معرفته منطابقه...الخ

Ends :

فان امتنعاعن الاسلم فقد بينت حكم كل واحد منهما
فى صدر هذا الباب والله اعلم بالصواب

Colophon :

تمت الكتاب بحمد الله عونه.....وقع الفراغ من نسخه
فى.....رمضان سنة ست وثمانين و خمسمائة.....

12 Seals

A treatise on politics based on *fiqh*. The work is dedicated to Sipah Sālār Mu'īnu'd-dīn.

It bears autographs and seals of the King of Yemen and other celebrities of the Mughal court.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

KHARIDAT-AL-QASR

(A collection of verses)

Foll. 307; size 18×14 cm; paper; Taliq script; Arabic. Author: Imad-al-Din-al-Katib al-Isfahani; scribe: the author himself.

Begins :

حلب

حماد الخراط هوحماد بن منصور البزاعی و بزاعایین حلب و منج لیس بالشام فی عصرنا هذا مثله

Ends :

وقوله کنت.....عدیمالی خلاوندیما
ثم اشریت واعرصوالمر ترع قدیما
ردک الله الی ودی مدیونا غریما

This is an anthology of contemporary poets who flourished during the years 1106 and 1176 A.D. in different parts of the Muslim world. It also deals with their biographies.

The manuscript was copied in the 12th century.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

KITĀB-UL-FŪSŪL

(A rare manuscript on medicine)

Foll. 281; size 25.5×16.5 cm: paper; Spanish Naskh script; Arabic; dated A.H. 657 (A.D. 1258). Author: Mūsā bin 'Abdullāh A. H. 601 (A.D. 1204); scribe : Yūsuf bin 'Abdullah, a brother of the author.

Begins :

قال الحکیم الفاضل الفیلسوف الاکمل الاوحد العلامة موسی بن عبدالله القرطبي تغمده الله بر ضوانه کثیرا ماالف الناس تواليفا الخ

Ends :

وهذا المعني هوالذی لحظ عند کلامه في الحیله فتامل هذا تمت

Unique copy of a work on *Tibb-i-Unani* with notes in Hebrew on the margin.

Lent by the Raza Library, Rampur (U.P.).

HOLY QURAN

Foll. 286; size 33×25 cm; paper; Naskh and Thulth script; 13 lines to a page; Arabic; dated A.H. 661 (A.D. 1264). Scribe: Yāqūt-ul-Mustáṣimī.

Colophon :

كتبه ياقوت المستعصمى في سنه
احدي وستين وستمايه حامدا لله تعالي

Ten seals on the first page, of which the three important are : Sulṭān Quṭub Shah of Golconda; Muḥammad Shāh, the Mughal Emperor (A.H. 1133); and Raja Holkar (A.H. 1257).

Specimens of excellent calligraphy by the celebrated master of Naskh script, Yāqūt-ul-Mustáṣimī, who was court calligrapher of Mustáṣim Billāh, the last Abbasid caliph.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

AT-TAHDHIB FI TAFSĪR-AL-QURAN

(A commentary on the Holy Quran)

Foll. 221; size 25.4×18.3 cm; paper; Arabic, Naskh script; dated A.D. 1275. Author: Abu Saeed al-Muhsin-al-Baihaqi (11th century A.D.).

Begins :

الحمدلله حق حمده و الصلوة علي محمد و اله قوله تعالي
قال' انظرني الى يوم . . .

This is a commentary on the *Quran* beginning from the latter half of the 8th chapter to the first half of the 11th chapter.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

KITAB AL-MUKHTR'A FI FUNUN MIN-AS-SAN'A

(A treatise on mechanics and technology)

Foll. 118; size 23×15 cm; paper; Naskh script; Arabic; dated A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472). Author :Yūsuf bin Sulaīman al-Kurki; scribe: Muḥammad bin Quwamī bin Ṣafī bin Muḥammad Ziā Turk Nāgorī alias Qazi Khān.

Begins :

الحمدللہ المحمود بکل لسان المنیل فواضل الاحسان المفضل علی کل انسان

Ends :

یکون خشب الرخام والکابوس من الدیول والامن العب والقوایم

Colophon :

تم الکتاب بعون اللہ الملک الوهاب بید الخط الفقیر
الحقیر الخیف الضعیف محمد بن قوام بن صفی بن محمد ضیا
ترکہ ناگوري عرف قاضی خاں بتاریخ بیست دوم ماہ رجب
رجب المرجب قدر سنہ سبع و سبعین و ثمانمایہ

Illustrated with 31 figures.

A rare and valuable work on mechanics, technology and other industrial sciences; deals with metallurgy, assaying, tanning, textiles, ink, colour paints, soap, oil, paper making and alchemy.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

SCROLL WITH THE TEXT OF THE COMPLETE QURAN

Size 380×9 cm; paper; Ghubār script; Arabic; dated A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548). Scribe : Sháikh Ḥamīd, son of Maḥmūd.

Begins :

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
لاالہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ

Ends :

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
(سورہ اخلاص) قل ھو اللہ احد اللہ الصمد... الخ

Colophon :

کتبہ وذھبہ العبد الضعیف
راجي الي اللہ الغني شیخ حمید بن محمود ۹۵۵

The writing is so minute that it is difficult to read it without the help of a strong magnifying glass. Outwardly, it looks like a fleck of dust (Ghubār) and hence the style is called Khaṭṭ-i-Ghubār.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

HOLY QURAN

Foll. 284; size 41.5×30 cm; paper; Naskh script; 7 lines to a page; Arabic.

Begins :

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
الحمد للہ رب العالمین

Ends :

واذکروا اذ کنتم قلیلا فکثرکم

The manuscript, attributable on stylistic and other considerations to the 17th century, is richly illuminated in gold and colours. The illuminations, with Safavid Iranian influence, were done presumably during the Mughal period.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

FATĀWI-AL-PŪRĀNIYAH

(Some theological questions and their answers)

Foll. 490; size 24.5×14.2 cm; paper; Naskh script; 23 lines to a page. Author: Abdul Wahhab bin Bāyazīd bin Abī Saeed-al-Purani.

Begins :

الحمدلله الذى.....بكتابه اصول الشريعة الغراء ورفع بخطابه
فروع الحنيفية الخ

Ends :

فانه لايقد رطهر ها بشئي اذا احتيج الى نصب العادة لها
اذا استمر بهاالدم وصلة ايامها لكنها شئي على مارات وان امتد
وعامة مشائخنا رحمهم الله ـ

Seals :

Khādim-i-'Ādil Khānī Jamāluddīn 'Uthmānī

خادم عادل خاني جمال الدين عثمانى

Contains decisions on some important religious questions pertaining to the first two *kitabs* (*Taharat* and *Salat*).

Only known copy of the work.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

AL-IKHTIṢĀR-WAL-TAJRĪD

(A collection of traditions)

Foll. 258; size 26×19 cm; paper; Naskh script; Arabic. Author : Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad bin Uthman bin 'Umar-al-Shafi'ī.

Begins :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عليه اتوكل وبه نستعين
وهو حسبي و نعم الوكيل، الحمد لله الذي ارسل محمد اصلى الله عليه وسلم
رحمة للعالمين بشيرا ونذيرا للخلق كا فة الي يوم الدين الخ

It is a large collection of Prophet's sayings which are narrated by Imam Muslim and Bukhari. It is an abbreviated and partly revised edition of *Al-jam'-baynas Sahihayn* by Abdul Haq bin Abdur Rahman bin al-Kharrat.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

The meeting of two saints, miniature painting, Herat School, late 15th century, from the *Bustan*, by Sadi.
Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

MUQADDAMATUL ADAB

(An Arabic-Persian Dictionary)

Foll. 285; size 26.5×16.8 cm; paper; excellent archaic Naskh script; 18 to 23 lines to a page; dated 7th Ramaḍān, A.H. 603 (7th April, 1207 A.D.). Author: Mahmūd bin 'Umar-az Zamakhsharī, dated A.H. 538 (A.D. 1143).

Begins :

الحمد لله الذي فضل على جميع الالسنة لسان العرب
سپاس مرخداي را انكه افزون كرد برهمه زبانها زبان تازى را

Ends :

والمسقط والمجرزو المحشر المشرق والمغرب فشاذه وكان
القياس الفتح لانها من باب يفعل -

Colophon :

تم الكتاب بحمد الله ومنه وحسن توفيقه في اليوم السابع من شهر رمضان سنة
ثلث و ستمايه -

An Arabic-Persian dictionary compiled by the command of Alsiz bin Khawārizm Shāh (A.H. 522-551=A.D. 1128-1156) for his library.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

KULLIYĀT-I-IBN-YAMĪN

(A collection of poems)

Foll. 230; size 23.6×15 cm; paper; old Nast'alīq script; 25 lines to a page; Persian; dated A.H. 753 (A.D. 1352). Author: Fakhruddīn Maḥmūd bin Amīr Yamīnuddīn Muḥammad Ṭughra-i Mustawfī, A.H. 745 or 769 (A.D. 1345 or 1353).

Begins :

ای دیده درشناختن حال کائنات — باید که باشدت نظری از سرانات
بنیاد کارها همه برهفت وچار جاں — نےاز سرمستمک و نے از رہ ثبات

Ends :

عمرشه درکامرانی تاابدباد و بود-ورد من چاکر دعاء شاه باجاں بامنست
ز چند نقد دیوان و کلمات آنرادرسته بازار ناقداں.....
کاشعار پراگنده چوهفت اورنگم مانده پروین بنظام آرم باز
القصه بطولها بیتي چند.....مفاخردهرآنست چوں این مطولات
بےطائله رابتشریف مطالعه مشرف وایں عروس بے بها رابزیور ملاحظه
مشرف گردانند... وبدعاء خیر مدد دهند جري ذاک في غره شوال
سنته ثلاث وخمسین و سبعائته.....

Colophon :

ذاک في غرة شوال سنة ثلاث و خمسین و سبعمائة
یقرمقالات الصاحب الفاضل.....
المستوفي .....نشرا وامنشورات.....

Contains a seal of Al-Abd Mukhtār Khan bin Nāsir Beg.

The oldest known copy of the work.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

DĪWĀN-Ī-HĀFIZ AND OTHER WORKS

(A collection of verses)

Foll. 231; size 20.3×12.4 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian; dated A.H. 818 (A.D. 1416). Author: Khwaja Shamsuddīn Ḥafiz Shīrāzī.

Begins :

الایاایهاالساقي ادرکاسا وناولها
که عشق آساں نمودااول ولي افتاد مشکلها

Ends :

گفتم دهنت گفت زمن آبحیات — گفتم که لبت گفت زمن آب نبات
گفتم سخنت گفت که حافظ حقا — شادی همه لطیفه گویاں صلوات

Colophon :

تمام شددیوان مولاناشمس الدین محمد حافظ الشیرازی
بحمد الله وحسن توفیقه

This is a composite copy of three works, *Kalila-o-Dimna*, *mantaq-utl-Tair* and *Diwan-i-Hafiz*. The Diwan begins on the margin on page 273, copied only 26 years after the death of the poet. This is probably the oldest copy of the work.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

ZĪJ-JADEED-E-SULṬĀNĪ

(Astronomical and chronological tables)

Foll. 202; size 24×17 cm; paper; Naskh script; 19 lines to a page; Persian; dated A.H. 848 (A.D. 1442). Author and scribe: Sultān Ulugh Beg bin Shāhrukh bin Timūr Gurgān, dated A.H. 853 (A.D. 1449).

Begins :

تبارک الذي جعل في السماء بروجا وجعل فيها سراجا و قمرا منيراو
هوالذي جعل الليل النهار خلفة لمن ارادان الخ

Ends :

عه ۱۷۰ ۲۳۵ ۳۰۱ ۳۸۳ ۴۳۶ ۴۹۸ ۵۶۲ ۶۳۵ ۷۰۲ بشرکت شمس

Colophon :

کتبه ور قمه الغ بیک بن شاه رخ بن تیمور بن کور کان في سنه ضح

Two seals of which one of Asadullah-al-Ghālib bin Abi Tālib is clear.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

KULLIYĀT-I-SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD QULĪ QUṬB SHĀH AND ʻABDULLĀH QUṬB SHĀH

(A royal copy transcribed by the court calligraphers)

Foll. 194; size 12×6.5 cm; paper; excellent Naskh script; 14 lines to a page; Deccani. Author : Sulṭān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, dated A.H. 989-1020 (A.D. 1581-1611) and A.H. 1035-83 (A.D. 1626-74); scribe: Zainud-dīn ʻAlī Shīrāzī (17th century).

Begins :

دلامنک فداکن کہ خدا کام دویگا تمن من کے مراداں کی بھری جام دویگا
دلا حقکی طرف ہو کہ حق آرام دویگا سعادتکی تری ہات سر انجام دویگا

Ends :

منجی ہیو یادتہي آسایش و سکہ دل نین بہریا
عیش کا وقت آہے غم کا جنس رانی جانی
نبي کے صدقے شاعبداللہ کے منکوں رجھانی آج
ہزاروں چھندسوں تیر انین مستانہ ھی باعث

With a seal of Sirājul Mulk; the Kulliyāt-i-Sulṭān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh contains on folio 4 by Qāsim ʻAlī-al-Muddahib, seven paintings of the Persian Safavide school (16th-17th century).

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

KULLIYĀT-I-ʻIMĀD

(A collection of poetic verses)

Foll. 225; size 20×11.5 cm; paper; fine Nastʻalīq script; Persian. Author : Khwājā ʻImāduddīn Faqīh Kirmānī.

Begins :

اے حکمتت زبان رافصل الخطاب داد
کشت امید مارا از دیدہ آب داد

Colophon :

یک لحظہ عمادار عشق گرزوے بگرداند
مشہورشود.....درشہر بہ بےگہش

A rare and old copy with illumination. The floral work of the first four pages is probably that of the Bukhāra school. The transcription date may be of the early 9th century A.H.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

DĪWĀN-I-SHAMS TABRĪZĪ

Foll. 492; size 39.5×24 cm ; paper; Naskh script; 25 lines to a page; Persian. Author: Shams Tabrīzī, A.H. 642-645 (A.D. 1244-1247).

Begins :

الحمد لله الذی خلق الثریا والثری الفاطر الفرد الذی رفع السموات العلی- سلطانہ شمس
الضحی عوانہ نورالہدی احسانہ محض العطا غفرانہ ماحی الخطا

Ends :

غم تو دامن جانی کشیدہ دامن کانی بسوی گنج نہانی چہ دولتی چہ عطائی چہ
راحتی وچہ روحی چہ کشتی وچہ نوحی چہ نعمتی ونتوحی چہ دولتی چہ عطائی

The text is written on a ground dusted with gold. The calligraphy is superb. It is possible that the manuscript was written during the 15th century.

Lent by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

MATHNAVIYĀT-I-JAMĀLĪ

(A collection of verses)

Foll. 260; size 19.8×12.4 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 21 lines to a page; Persian. Author: Jamāluddīn Muḥammad better known as Jamālī Ardastāni, A.H. 879 (A.D. 1474).

Begins :

.....وذات قدیم که عشق است وبس هرچه هست ای حکیم
زعشق این عناصر بهم خوی کرد سردشمن بیک آب پرجوی کرد

Ends :

شکر کن ای دل که درجان حبیب یافت اتمام این هدایات غریب

Sultan Muḥammad Quṭub Shāh in his note dāted Shabān 1024, August, 1615 has listed eleven works, namely : 1) Ruhul Quds, 2) Mihrul-Qulub, 3) name missing, 4) Qudrat Nama, 5) Misbah-ul-Arwah, 6) Ahkamul Muhibbin, 7) Nihayatul Hikmat, 8) name missing, 9) Bidayatul-Muḥabbat, 10) Hidayatul Marifat and 11) Fatḥul Abwāb.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

BUSTAN

(A didactic composition)

Foll. 229; size 34×24 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 9 lines to a page; Persian; dated before A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502). Author: Sa'dī, A.H. 655 (A.D. 1257); scribe: Shahsawār.

Begins :

بنام خداوند جان آفریں
حکیم سخن برزبان آفریں

Ends :

بضاعت نیاوردم الا امید
خدایا زعفوم مکن نا امید

Colophon :

تمت الکتاب بعون الملک الوهاب
کتبه شهسوار الکاتب عرض فی ۱۵ ربیع ۹۰۸ الثانی غفر ذنوبه

43 illustrations by the artist, Ḥājī Maḥmūd, of the Herat school; 3 seals on the frontispiece, and one (erased) at the end.

This excellent copy was made for Sultan Nāṣir Shāh of Malwa, illustrated by excellent paintings.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

RISĀLA-I-TURKĪ MANZOOM

(Emperor Babur's Turkish poems)

Foll. 20; size 15.7×9.5 cm; paper; Naskh script; 13 lines to a page; Turkish. Author: Babur Bādshāh, A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530).

Begins :

حق تعالی غم دین حمدو سپاس
کہنم غمہ تیماس انیک و ہم وقیاس

Ends :

وکسحان وقائع اول دوز ورکیم تقریر قلب توزمین
نحوک کیم لو اوز اق نہ مسطور روز واوی آخر ادہ مرقیاس

Colophon :

حررہ بابردو شنبہ ۱۵ ربیع الاخر سنہ ۹۳۵ھ

A unique copy of Babur's Turkish poems, bearing four lines at the end in the hand of Babur himself. It is annotated by Bairam Khan and Shahjahan.

Lent by the Raza Library, Rampur (U.P.).

WĀQI'ĀT-I-BĀBURĪ

(Autobiography of Emperor Babur)

Foll. 457; size 30×20 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian; dated A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530). Author: Emperor Babur; scribe: Ali-ul-Kātib of Herat.

Ends :

سنة سبع و ثلاثون وتسعمایه من الهجرة بفضله‌وحسن توفیقه
بید العبد الضعیف علی الکاتب غفر الله ذنوبه صورت اتمام و طریق اختتام یافت

18 illustrations by the artists, S'adullah, Muḥammad and others of the Delhi school; 6 seals, one of Humayun, two of Akbar, one of Jahangir, and two of Shahjahan.

The original is in Turkish; the present one was copied during the time of Humayun. The Persian translation is by Khan-i-Khānān.

Lent by the Government Museum, Alwar (Rajasthan).

DEWAL RĀṆĪ KHIḌR KHĀN

(A romantic poem)

Foll. 157; size 32 × 21.3 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 14 lines to a page; Persian; dated A.H. 976 (A.D. 1567). Author: Amīr Khusrau; scribe: Sultan Bāyazid bin Mīr Nizām.

Begins :

سرنامه بنام آن خدا وند
که دلهارا بخوبان داد پیوند

Ends :

همه کس حاجت آرندد‌رپیش
چه حاجت من که گویم حاجت خویش

Colophon :

الفقیر الحقیر المذنب سلطان بایزید ابن
میر نظام مشهوز بدوری بتاریخ شهر محرم الحرام سنه۹۷۶ھ

Two illustrations of the Mughal school; several seals, the earliest being of Shahjahan.

It is the earliest known illustrated and dated manuscript of the Akbar period.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

DĪWĀN-I-ḤĀFIZ

(A collection of verses)

Size 21 × 14 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian; dated A.H. 985 (A.D. 1566). Scribe : 'Inayatullah of Shiraz (16th century).

Begins :

الایا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا و ناولها
که عشق آسان نمود اول ولے افتاد مشکل ها

Ends :

گفتم سخن توگفت حافظ گفتا شادی هم لطیفه گویاں صلوات

Colophon :

بتاریخ نوزدهم ماه شعبان المعظم سه جلوس

On the first page are three seal impressions and several endorsements; on the margin of the last page, a seal impression, dated A.H. 1186 (A.D. 1772) of Rai Kunwar Sain, an official of Shah Alam II and an endorsement stating that the book should be placed in the wardrobe.

Lent by the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi.

ṢIFĀTUL 'ĀSHIQĪN

Foll. 62; size 25.5 × 18.2 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian, dated A.H. 986 (A.D. 1576).

Begins :

خداوندا دری از غیب بکشائی
جمال شاهد لاریب بنمای

Ends :

خطای من مبین ودرعطاکوش
عطاکن پرده برروی خطا پوش

Colophon :

تمت الکتاب بعون الملک الوهاب تحریرا
فی شهر رمضان المبارک سنة ست وثمانین
تسعمایه
به قیمت یکهزار و نهصدو چهل و پنج روپیه بمعرفت مرزا فرخ‌بیگ قاقشالی درتاریخ
بیست و پنجم محرم الحرام سه۲۵ جلوس والا خریدهٔ داخل کتب‌خانه نموده شد

Two illustrations of the Khorasan school; the manuscript belonged to the Emperor Akbar's library.

The colophon states that in the 25th regnal year of Akbar, this manuscript was purchased through Farrukh Beg Qaqshal, the famous painter, for Rs. 1945. The date of copying is given as A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578) and it is presumed that the painter was Farrukh Beg Qaqshal himself who painted this manuscript before coming to the court of Akbar in 1578.

Lent by the Sayeedia Library Association, Hyderabad.

GULISTĀN

(A didactic composition)

Foll. 137; size 27.5 × 16.5 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 12 lines to a page; Persian; dated A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578). Author: Sádī Shīrāzī (died about 1291 A.D.); scribe: Ḥasan ash-Sharīf Ibn Husain ash-Sharif Al-Husainī al Mashhadī.

Begins :

منت خدای راعز و جل که طاعتش موجب قربتست وبشکر
اندرش مزید نعمت_ هرنفسی کہ فرومی رود الخ

Ends :

ولوان لی یوم الثلاثی مکانة عند الروف_القات یا مولانا
انی المسئی وانت مولی محسن الخ

6 miniatures of the 16th century, Shiraz school; double frontispiece richly illuminated.

One of the best few examples of manuscripts in the world, with old lacquer binding, excellent Nast'alīq script and fine paintings of the Persian school.

Lent by the Sayeedia Library Association, Hyderabad.

TUḤFA-I-SĀMĪ

(Biographies of poets)

Foll. 229; size 25. 7×15.9 cm; paper; fine Nast'alīq; script 12 to 13 lines to a page; Persian. Author: Prince Sām Mirzā bin Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, A.H. 923-984 (A.D. 1517-1576); scribe: Muḥammad Qiwāmush Shīrāzī (late 16th century).

Begins :

قافیه سنجان سحر طراز.....وحسن مطلع طوطي صفتان شیرین کلام
سحر پرداز حمدناظمیست که الخ

Ends :

همیشه تا بچمن گل زند سراپرده مدام تاکه شگوفه درم کندایثار
محب آل علي بادسرفراز جهاں عدوی آل علی بادپست وزارو نزار

Colophon :

تمت الکتاب بعون اللهوحسن توفیقه
کتبه محمد قوام الشیرازي غفرله

10 illustrations of the Shīraz school of Persia; 4 seals; of which one is of Muhammad Qutb Shāh of Golconda and the rest are illegible. This copy which once adorned the Qutb Shāhī Library is a collection of the works of the poets who flourished from the end of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century A. H. It is more or less a continuation of Daulat Shāh's *Tadkiratush Shu'ara* and Nawaī's *Majalisu'n-Nafais*. It contains notices on the lives of 652 famous as well as unknown poets.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

DĪWĀN-I-HĀFĪZ

(A collection of verses)

Foll. 203; size 26.5 × 19 cm; paper; Nastálīq script; Persian. Author: Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī, A.H. 792 (A.D. 1373).

Begins :

حمد بیحدوثناء بیعدوسپاس بیقیاس الخ
شد عرصهٔ زمین چوبساط ارم خوان الخ

Ends :

از سینه دلش زناز کی نتواں رسید
مانندهٔ سنک خاره در آب زلال

11 illustrations of the Mughal school; a unique copy prepared for

Akbar by his court painters, Kanha, Sanwala, Farrukh Chela, Manohar, and Narsingh Chitra.

Lent by the Raza Library, Rampur (U.P.).

BUSTĀN

(A collection of didactic poems)

Foll. 257; size 25×15 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian, dated A.D. 1538. Author: Shaikh S'adi (died A.D. 1291); scribe: Muḥammad bin Isḥāq.

Begins :

بنام خداوند جان آفریں حکیم سخن بر زبان آفریں
خداوند بخشنده دستگیر کریم خطا بخش و پوزش پذیر

10 illustrations of the Mughal school; and seals of the Alwar State.

The calligraphy of this manuscript is remarkably fine.

Lent by the Government Museum, Alwar (Rajasthan).

GULISTAN

(A didactic composition)

Foll. 156; size 21.5×13.5 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian; dated A.D. 1564. Author: Shaikh S'adi, scribe : Muhammad Bāqir.

The fly-leaf has a pear-shaped Imperial seal of Shahjahan; the manuscript is written in a most exquisite hand and has decorated margins with rich floral and animal designs in gold.

The manuscript is of great historical value inasmuch as it bears two inscriptions of Shahjahan. According to the one, he ordered deposit of the manuscript in his personal library as a volume of the first category, while the other shows that he presented it to his first son, Dārā

Shukoh. An oblique inscription at the top indicates that later on, the manuscript came into the posession of Dilawar Khan.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

ANWĀR-I-SUHAILĪ

(A book on good counsel illustrated with animal fables)

Foll. 239; size 29×19 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 15 lines to a page; Persian, dated A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1596-97). Author: Mullā Ḥusain ibn 'Alī, Wāiz-al-Kashifī (A.D.1495); scribe: Maulana 'Abdur Raḥīm al-Harwī.

Colophon : In translation reads :

> "Finished at the hand of the humble and the sinner Abdur Raḥmān-al-Harwī. May God conceal his defects and forgive his sins. Written in the Metropolis, Lahore, A.H. 1005 Finis,"

A royal copy with 27 illustrations of the Akbar school. The names of the artists include: Basawan, Jagannath, Farrukh Chela, Dharamdas, Mukund, Miskin, Mahesh, Sanwala, Manohar, Shankar, Lachhman, Madho, Bishandas and Anant.

Lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

ZIJ-I-SHAHJAHANI

Foll. 328 (some missing); size 25×40 cm; paper; Nast'aliq and Naskh script; Persian, dated A.H. 1037 (A.D.1627).

Begins :

بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم

حمد بے حد خالقی راسزد که مهندس قدرت شامله‌اش در تقویم درجات مخلوقات دقیقه از دقائق فرونگذاشت و در تقدیر مراتب موجودات.....

Ends :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

بداں اسعدک الله تعالي فی الدارین که چوں خواهیم که بدانیم که اتصال قمر.....

به ساعات ودقائق از اول...بود که بعد از شب است

و اللهاعلم بالصواب

Lent by the Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, City Palace, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

KULLIYĀT-I-SĀ'Ī

(A poetic composition)

Foll. 284; size 24.5 × 15 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 14 lines to a page; Persian. Author: Sā'ī Sádullah, A.H. 1081 (A.D. 1661).

Begins :

چوشاه مشرق وتاج سپهر خضر بقا
کزوست لشکرشب دزگریزودر سودا

Ends :

نداری ذره از مهر بانی
زمهر تست محنت از مهانی

S'adullāh, with the *nom de plume* Sa'i, came to India from Iran and was attached to the court of Sultan Muḥammad Shujā of Bengal, second son of Shahjahan.

S'adullah's poems contain references to the adventure of his patron and his love for building. This copy has been corrected in the poet's hand with additions on the margin and is, therefore, considered a rare copy.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

RĀMĀYAṆA (SUNDARAKĀṆḌA)

(A Persian translation of the Rāmāyaṇa)

Foll. 188; size 31 × 19.5 cm; paper; Nast'aliq script; Persian, dated A.D. 1729.

Begins :

أغاز كاند پنجم مسمي به سند ركاند عرف لنكا لاندومذكور
جنگ و كشتن راجهان و ملاقات سندر راج.....الخ

Ends :

بخاطرمن چناں أيد كه سيتارا برام به دهيد
عورت اسير را اززور متصرف شدن سزاوار
نيست ايں بگفت وخاموش ماند

Colophon :

تمام شد كاند پنجم مسمى به سندركاند وسلام
غره رجب سنه ۱۰ محمد شاهي

88 illustrations in Deccani style.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

DĪWĀN-I-HĀFIZ

(A collection of verses)

Foll. 201; size 22 × 14.5 cm; Persian script; 15 lines to a page;

Persian. Author : Khwaja Shamsuddin Muḥammad Ḥāfiz-ash-Shīrāzī, A.H. 791 (A.D. 1388).

Begins :

الایا ایها الساقی ادر کاساونا ولها که عشق آسان نمودا ول وے افتاد مشکلها

Ends :

گفتم سخن تو چیست حافظا گفتا
شادی همه لطیفه گویان صلوات

The typical poems of the celebrated Hafiz of Shiraz. This extremely rare manuscript bears numerous marginal notes in the handwriting of the emperors Humayun and Jahangir.

Contains seals of distinguished persons, like Sultan Husain Baigra, Maimanat Khān, Muḥammad Baqir, 'Abdullāh Chalpī, and others.

Lent by the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.

TŪZUK-I-JAHANGIRI

(Autobiography of the Emperor Jahangir)

Foll. 273; size 26.5×16.5 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian; dated A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622). Author: Mughal Emperor Nūrud-Dīn Jahāngīr; scribe: the Emperor

Begins :

الله اکبر
ازعنایات بیغایات الهی یکساعت نجومی از روز پنجشنبه
بیستم جمادی الثانی و چهارده هجری گزشته...الخ

Ends :

راجه نرسنگ دیو بمنصب چهار هزاری ذات
و دو هزار و دویست سوار مقرر گشت

Contains a seal of Aurangzib

Marginal decorations consist of floral designs and miniatures of birds and animals in the Mughal style.

The manuscript is considered by some scholars as the original copy in the Emperor's own hand. Incomplete.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

BABUR NAMA

(Autobiographical Memoirs of Babur)

Foll. 382; size 26×21.5 cm; paper; Nastálīq script; 15 lines to a page; Persian. Author: Mughal Emperor Zahīrud-Dīn Babur, A.H. 937 (AD. 1530).

Begins :

درماه رمضان سنه هشتصد ونود و نه درولایت فرغانه
دردوازده‌سالگی پادشاه شدم

Ends :

بایشاں شیخ کورن ونوربیگ رابگوالیار
فرستاده شد که گوالیار رابایشاں سپرده

145 illustrations in Mughal style of late Akbar and early Jahangir period; 3 seals, one old and two modern.

This is a Persian translation of the original work in Turkish, made at the instance of Emperor Akbar by Mirzā Khān 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān bin Bairam Khān. It contains accounts of Babur's reign from his accession in A.D. 1494 to A.D. 1529.

Lent by the National Museum, New Delhi.

The Presentation of the sons of Amirzada Muhammad Sultan, before Timur at a place called Uni, Mughal School, late 16th century, from the *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyah.*
Lent by the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna (Bihar).

TĀRĪKH-I-KHĀNDĀN-I-TIMURIAH

(A historical account of the Timurid dynasty)

Foll. 338; paper; Nast'alīq script; 21 lines to a page; Persian.

Begins :

بموجب حکم جهانمطاع مسعود اوراق جز شرح احوال که مقصود بالذات
فن تاریخ است نمی نویسد

Ends :

مهمات گجرات باتفاق خان اعظم معین شد و رایات نصرت
حضرت مآب مقرون فتح و ظفر عازم معاودت کشید

The work was compiled during the reign of Akbar (A.D.1556-1578); an excellent and richly illustrated copy of an otherwise unknown history of Timur and his successors down to Akbar (up to his 22nd year); a unique and rare work; only known copy.

132 illustrations by the court painters of Akbar. The names include Lāl, Madhu, Basāwan, Kesū, Daswanth, Rāmdās, Tulsī, Shankar, Ḥusain, Muḥammad Kashmīrī, Farrukh, Kamāl, Bhagwān, Anant, Bahzād, Manohar and others.

Many official seals of the nobles of the Mughal courts and an autograph of Shahjahan embellish this copy.

Lent by the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.

SHĀHJAHĀN NĀMA

(History of the first ten years (A.D. 1628-38) of Shahjahan's reign).

Foll. 473; size 25.5×16.6 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; 15 lines to a page, Persian. Scribe: 'Abdur Rashīd Dailamī (17th century).

Begins :

نگارش تاریخ روزنامہ بہروزی و بختیاری وفہرست جریدۂ فیروزی
و کامگاری یعنی جلوس ابدمانوس الخ

Ends :

آنی که سریرت آسماں پایہ بود — بر ملک جہاں عدل تو پیرایہ بود
تاهست خدا تو نیز خواهی بودن — زیر اکہ همیشہ ذات باسایہ بود

Colophon :

چار د هم ذی قعدہ سال هزار و پنجاہ وچہار هجری احوال کرامت اشتمال...
فرخ فال جلوس مقدس کہ دور نخشین است از..... بے شمارایں عطیہ سنیہ
درمستقر خلافت.....اکبراباد عن الفتنة والفساد نگاشتہ
بقلم.....فیروز مندی سخن رادادم از دولت بلندی طراز آفریں.....بستم
قلم رازدم برنام شہنشاہ رقم را
شہاب الدین محمد شاہ آفاق
چوابرو پاسری هم جفت و هم طاق

This account is accompanied by Shāhjahān's horoscope drawn by Mulla Farīd and a list of honours and notes on high nobles, Shaikhs, learned men, physicians and poets. This work is quite distinct from other histories of the period.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

PĀDSHĀH NĀMAH

(History of Shahjahan's reign)

Foll. 416; size 32.5×20.5 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian. Author: 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahuri (17th century); scribe : Muḥammad Sāliḥ.

Begins :

سپاس والا اساس داور کارساز و کردگار بےنیاز بمددگاری اندیشہ سخن سنج
ودستیاری الخ

Ends :

راقمه بنده درگاه خلائق پناه محمد صالح الکاتب

A comprehensive Persian manuscript dealing with the historical account of Shahjahan's reign from A.D. 1638 to 1647. It contains the autograph of the Emperor himself on the first page.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Ā'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ

(Statistical & historical account of Akbar's reign)

Foll. 220; size 54×30 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Persian. Author: Abul Fazl A.D. 1655.

Begins :

اے ہمہ در پردہ نہاں راز تؤ بے خبر انجام از آغاز تو
در تو ہم آغاز و ہم انجام کم ہر دو شہر قدمت نام گم

Ends :

للہ الحمد کہ ازیں مراتب از تماشاي شکر نگاری روزگار
بیروں نمي رود وبر نکو ہیدگان و مدحت سرایاں از خیر سگالی
بیروں نمي شود و زبان و دل رابنفریں و آفریں نمي آلاید الخ

A celebrated Persian book giving a statistical and historical account of Akbar's reign.

Lent by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

TARIKH-I-RASHĪDĪ

(A general history in the Turkish language)

Pages : 676; size 36×23 cm; paper; Nast'alīq script; Turkish. Author : Muḥammad Niyāyūhi, son of 'Abdul Ghaffar.

Lent by the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi.

SAIRUL MANĀZIL

(A treatise on archaeology of Delhi)

Pages 166; size 28×15 cm; paper; Naskh and Nast'alīq script; Persian. Author : Sangin Beg.

Begins :

معماري كه‌بمعماری‌كن وجود كائنات راباهزاراں نقش و نگار بنافرموده
وايوان رفيع امكان هستي خلق رابچار ديوار عناصر وستونهاي موالید ثلاثه مرتب

Ends :

قدر اهل معرفت نوز دوعين مرتضي خواست چونفضل زرخرد سال وسال اں صفا
گفت برفت ازجهاں قطب جهاں ابوالعلا
ان اولياء الله يموتون بل ينتقلون من الدار الي الدار

Lent by the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi.

TIBB-I-SHIFA MAḤMŪD SHĀHĪ

(A valuable work on Indian medicine)

Foll. 337; size 23×14.5 cm; paper; Naskh script; Persian. Author : 'Alī Muḥammad bin Ismā'il Asawali Asili.

Begins :

باب اول. دربيان نمطی كه علم و عقل اں ممد عمر و حيات بود.....الخ

Ends :

پس بخزائن هردوبه هندو بهركه چرابخواند دانا كسی نيكو رااختيار كند

Colophon :

تمام شد طب شفا محمود شاهی كه جان طبيب‌است
بر اقبال خدايگاں.....ابوالفتح محمود شاهي
السلطان خلدالله ملكه.....الخ

A valuable work on Indian medicine; Persian translation of the second book of Vāgbhaṭa's *Ashtangahridaya*. The translation was done at the instance of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Ahmedabad.

Lent by the State Central Library, Hyderabad.

SHARH-I-AWARIF-UL-MA'ĀRIF

(A famous sufic work)

Foll. 392; size 27 × 17 cm; paper; ordinary Nast'aliq script; 25 lines to a page; Persian, dated 7th Ramadan 1110 A.H. (27 Feb. 1698 A.D.): Author: Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusainī Gesūdarāz Khawaja Banda Nawāz of Gulbarga, A.H. 721-825 (A.D. 1321-1431).

Begins :

الحمدلله العظيم شانه ستوده مختص مرخداي راست كه بزرگ است
كاراو عظيم شانه انه يحيي احدا ويميت آخر الخ

Ends :

قال هي الرجوع الى البداية وقدفسر بعضهم قول الجنيدقال معناه انه كان
في ابتداء

Colophon :

٧ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ١١١٠ هجري بانجام رسيد

A Persian commentary on Shihābuddīn Suharwardī's famous sufic work, the *Awarif*. Only known copy.

Lent by the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

DARAB NĀMA

Foll. 326; size 32×21 cm ; paper; Nast'alīq script; 23 lines to a page; Persian.

Begins :

الحمدلله رب العالمين والعا قبة للمتقين الصلوة علي خير خلقه' اما بعد
راويان اخبار وناقد ان اسرار وخوانند گان قصص و تواريخ استاد فاضل و كمال
ابوطاہر ابن حسن بن علي بن موسى الطوسى.....

Ends :

دل بستگي رنشايد اينک درحال اسكندر نظري كن وازاں پادشاد عادل عبرتى گير
اين بود اخبار داراب اسكندر و بعد اندخت تمت تمام

50 illustrations in Mughal style (c. A.D. 1620-1630); a rare text; very few illustrated versions of this early date are known.

Lent by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

LAUR CHANDA

(A popular North Indian ballad)

Foll. 6 illustrated leaves; size 19×14 cm; paper; Taliq script; 10 lines to a page; Hindi (Avadhi dialect). Author : Mulla Daud, A.H. 781 (A.D. 1379-80).

The illustrations are of the first half of the 16th century; they represent a highly advanced pre-Mughal style of painting in India.

Lent by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

M. S. University Archaeology & Ancient History Series No. 6

THE ABHIRAS
THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE

By

Bhagwansingh Suryavanshi, M.A.
Lecturer in Ancient Indian History
Department of Archaeology & Ancient History

FOREWORD

By

Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta
M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (London)
BAR-AT-LAW

Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA.

FACULTY OF ARTS
Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Baroda
1962

To
Dr B. N. Puri
with the compliments
of the
Author
15.1.69

M. S. University Archaeology & Ancient History Series No. 6

BHIRAS
Y AND CULTURE

ryavanshi, M.A.
Indian History
& Ancient History

RD

By

Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta
M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (London)
BAR-AT-LAW

Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA.

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

With Best Compliments from

The Vice-Chancellor,

The M. S. University of Baroda

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BUILDING COMMITTEE

It would be advisable for the Executive Council to appoint a committee to look after building projects of the university. It may have, besides the Vice-Chancellor a few technical experts, including at least one from outside the university. With such a committee teachers who are concerned with the construction of a particular building may also be associated.

GRIEVANCES OF EMPLOYEES OTHER THAN TEACHERS

Having thus made our recommendations in regard to the major bodies, which we think are essential for the efficient and progressive functioning of a university we would like to add a word about the members of the non-academic staff of the university. It is hardly necessary to point out that in the smooth functioning of the university and its general efficiency the administrative staff plays an important role. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the problems of the non-academic staff should always be solved by mutual consultation and discussion. Throughout our report we have emphasised the significance of keeping the lines of communication open between all the sections of the university community inter se. In our view it would be prudent on the part of the Vice-Chancellor as well as the Registrar and other higher authorities of the administrative staff to keep in touch with the subordinate members of the administrative staff, meet them frequently, and try to understand their difficulties and problems. The adoption of human touch will enable the higher authorities to secure from all the members of the administrative staff the best cooperation. That is a matter which the university administration must always keep in mind.

As regards the question of the constitution of a Joint Consultative Committee, we do not propose to examine it here. That is a matter which each university will have to examine for itself in the light of its special needs and circumstances. In any case, there should be a continuous dialogue between the administrative staff and the authorities, conducted in a spirit of sympathy and informality. At the same time, there should be, in our opinion, a formal procedure for redressing genuine grievances. This may be done through a mandatory provision for arbitration in the case of individual grievances, and through a committee which would deal with the grievances of the employees, as well as the conditions of their work.

GRIEVANCES OF STUDENTS

We have already suggested in Chapter II that the Act should give the power to a university student who has a grievance to go in appeal to the Executive Council. Where the grievance has been on the ground that a legal right of the student has been infringed, it

would be desirable for the Executive Council to set up a tribunal to enquire into the complaint of the student, the constitution of which may be determined in consultation with the Academic Council and the Student Council. The finding of the tribunal should be binding on both parties. Such a procedure is likely to reduce litigation and dissatisfaction with the administration of the university.

--ooOoo--

Delinda Pañtro.

Respectfully dedicated to

Late Lamented

Rev. Fr. Henry Heras S. J.

Director

Indian Historical Research Institute

St. Xavier's College Bombay

who initiated this work

FOREWORD

I have very great pleasure in writing this foreword to this interesting study on '' The Abhiras- their history and culture '' which has been undertaken by Shri Suryavanshi of our Department of History and Archaeology.

This study was originally undertaken at the suggestion of the late Rev. Father Heras by Shri Suryavanshi and continued after he joined our Department of Archaeology.

From the historical point of view, it is a very interesting study. The origin of Abhiras is obscure, Some eminent historians are of the opinion that they are of foreign origin who came to the north-west of India and from there spread over many regions of India. The author of this book believes that they were an Indian tribe which migrated from one part of India to different parts of the country. In our ancient literature, we get extensive references to their movements at different periods in history and to different regions of the country. Wherever the Abhiras went, they took with them their culture and traditions. This study is a welcome addition to the scanty literature we have of different races and tribes which people this great sub-continent and who have made contribution to what may be called the complex culture and civilization of India. I congratulate Shri Suryavanshi and the Department of Archaeology for this important manograph.

J. M. Mehta

Vice-Chancellor
M. S. University of Baroda

PREFACE

It was in the summer of 1955 when, in a conversation with the late Rev. Fr. Heras S. J., the then Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay, I first felt attracted to study the history and culture of the Abhiras. As I began studying the vast and varied literature through which is scattered the colourful and romantic history of the Abhira community, revealing a profound influence on almost every aspect of the mighty stream of Indian culture, I found that the subject was much more fascinating than I had imagined it to be. The present work has grown out of my researches carried on first at Bombay and later at the M. S. University of Baroda. The reader will see that I have arrived at conclusions substantially different from those held by certain other scholars with regard to the contributions of the Abhiras to the main current of Indian history and culture. The conclusions drawn here are based on literary, archaeological and sociological evidence.

I have received help and encouragements from many scholars in my researches and I take this opportunity to express my sense of gratitude to all of them. I am obliged to Dr. J. M. Mehta, The Vice Chancellor M. S. University Baroda who has kindly written a foreword to me. I am very grateful to Dr. Motichandra, who kindly went through the first draft of this work and made valuable criticisms and suggestions. I have also benefitted from the criticisms and suggestions offered by Professor B. Subbarao and Dr. L. B. Keny and I express my sincere thanks to them. During my stay at Bombay I received constant encouragement and inspiration from Dr. George M. Moraes, and I would like to express my thanks to him.

I have great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to the authorities of The Asiatic Society of Bombay for their kind co-operation during the period of my study. Finally I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the M. S. University who readily accepted the proposal to publish this work.

17 Adhyapak Niwas,
Baroda.

B. S. SURYAVANSHI

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INTRODUCTION

I

In this work I have endeavoured to reconstruct the history and culture of the Abhira tribe (known as Ahirs these days), from the earliest time to the period when they disappeared as a political power from the map of India.

Before reviewing their history, it seems advisable to lay down the basic principles applied to reconstruct their origin and antiquity, material about which is so scanty. The Abhiras appear in the history of ancient India as a tribe, which migrated from one place to another, and finally settled in various regions. They developed a complexity in their culture due to the fusion of their tribal with the regional cultures and traditions, which are still living. Therefore the migration of the tribe, homogenity and continuity of their traditions have been taken as a basis of the treatment of this subject.

The problem of migration as a matter of fact, is one of the most important features of the history of India. We have enough archaeological evidences to prove such movements. The history of India, based on literary and historical material, is one of the expansion of the vista of the country, which was colonised, physically and culturally by higher communities displacing the established tribals to the hilly regions and forests. A long tradition of such movements can be traced out from the pages of history.

In terms of time and space, the regional tribal cultures developed a complicated pattern. When political condition settled down and a full-fledged state system came into existence, this expansionist urge, resulted in the emergence of larger and the smaller states, culminating in the empires of Indian history. The Abhiras may be cited as an example of such a tribe, which after undergoing the process of migration established a kingdom in Western India. If the lower limit of the Aryan expansion be placed at about the beginning of the Christian era, when most of the Puranic material was incorporated in the Vayu and the Matsyapuranas, it was the time when we hear of the exciting movements of the Abhiras. The references of these movements we find in the Epics and the Puranas by way of different legends.

Near about the beginning of the Christian era, the settlements of the Abhiras were limited to the Punjab, Rajasthan and Sind as recorded by the Mahabharata.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Abhiras moved towards the south. It was the time when they consolidated themselves in their new homes, *viz.* Saurashtra, Gujarat, Malva and Khandesh, some groups of the Abhiras moved eastwords from Punjab and Rajasthan and finally settled in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, while a good number of them settled on the land of *relative isolation i.e.* the region near about Chhattisgarh and so on. In their initial stages, the Abhiras took possession of their newly settled lands, the traditions of which are current in some of the districts of U.P. and Bihar.

The southward movements of the Abhiras as a matter of fact might be earlier than the 1st century A.D., when some of the legends about the Ayars were incorporated in the Sangam classics of Tamil literature.

The Abhiras, after being settled in their new homes, almost gave up their migratory character so much so, that the Ahirs, their descendents, are still inhabiting all those regions.

Reviewing the problem from the cultural point of view, it is worth noticing, that as a result of these movements, the centres of their activities went on shifting. The legendary references of the Mahabharata, so to say, the disappearance of Sarasvati, rape of the Vrishni women by the Abhiras and paying tribute to Yudhishthira, show that the centres of the accentuated activities of the Abhiras were in the East Punjab, Rajasthan and Sind. The region of South-West Rajasthan and eastern Sind was called Abhiradesa in the 1st century A.D. Later on, when they left these regions and occupied U.P., Gujarat, Malva, Konkan, Khandesh and Madhya Pradesh, their activities were transferred and the Jain works like the *Kalpasūtra* and *Nishithachūrṇi* have also mentioned the region near *Achalpur* and *Krishnaveṇā* river as Abhiradesa. Thus another Abhiradesa at once proves the transfer of the centre of Abhira activities and their dominance in the region near about Wardha, Ellichpur, Betul and Khandesh.

It is worth noticing, that in the rudiments of the Abhira culture, we find a peculiar blend of vertical and horizontal forces. Wherever they migrated, they carried with them their traditions, which in course of time got regional colours. The legends of the cowherd Krishna and his dances with the cowherdesses, mentioned in the Sangam classics may be taken as an example. The term Ayar has been used for the Abhiras in the ancient Tamil literature.

In Saurashtra, the Abhiras still call themselves as Ayars. The living tradition of the Abhira migrations survived with the Abhiras to-day. It is interesting to note that the Abhiras (including the Ghosis, and the Gollas of Mysore) still cherish the memory that Mathura, U.P. was their home. The homogenity of traditions is more pronounced in the internal organization of the entire Ahir community of India. In Saurashtra, some Ahirs are called *Nandania*, the name came in to vogue after Nanda, the foster-father of Krishna. In Madhya Pradesh there are three divisions of Ahirs *viz*. *Nandbans*, *Gwalbans* and *Yaduvamsa*. These endogamous groups trace their antiquity to Mathura as their home. The *Kanaujia* and *Narbaria* Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh believe that Kanauj (U.P.) and Narwar (Gwalior) was their home. The members of these groups could even be traced in Khandesh. The Ahirs of Khandesh believe that they are the immigrants from the north. Some of the Khandesh Ahirs, being come out of the Gwalbans group of Ahirs are akin to the Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The *Bilhauria* Ahirs of Khandesh trace their antiquity to Bilhaur, an old village with a huge mound in Kanpur district of U.P. The *Kanaujia* Ahirs are also found in Orissa. Another important group the *Jujhautia* Ahirs trace their antiquity to Jujhota, a village with an archaeological site in district Etah, U.P. The members of both these groups are inhabiting not only Orissa, but Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh also. The *Kosaria* Ahirs of Orissa, describe Kosala (Oudh, U.P.) as their ancient home. The *Ballabh* Ahirs of Bengal claim themselves as the descendents of *Ghamghosha*, who according to their belief sprang from the sweat of Krishna. The *Ujjainia* Ahirs of Bengal, claim Ujjain as their ancient home. Lastly, the Gollas of Mysore, also, cherish the same tradition that Mathura, U.P. was their ancient Home. The *Yadu Kula* or *Krishnaut Gollas* claim to be the descendents of Krishna. The *Krishnaut Gollas* are inhabiting Belgaum district also.

Thus, the present Ahirs of Belgaum, Mysore, Khandesh, Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra, Malva, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal are unanimous in tracing their homeland as Mathura, U.P. and akin to each other in their basic structures.

All the *Yadu Kula* or *Yadav* Ahirs cherish the tradition that Krishna, the cowherd-god was their ancestor. All these things prove the continuity of their traditions and migration from a common place.

Further, these popular traditions of Ahir migration, strikingly support the Mahabharata and Puranic data. A comparison between the Epic, Puranic and

popular traditions show that the Sabhaparva places the Abhiras on the banks of the river Sindhu (Indus) and Sarasvati (modern Ghaggar). The evidences of the Mastya Purana and the Markandeya Purana give a picture of further expansion of the Abhiras in Eastern Punjab, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and South India. Here the bardic and oral traditions of the Ahirs show their migration from Mathura to the above regions. A bardic tradition of the *Yadava* Ahirs of Lucknow district also shows, that their ancient home was somewhere on the banks of Indus river and they can trace their full geneology to their ancestors who were on the river Sindhu. The only difference between the popular and the Puranic tradition is that, the Ahirs show their migration from Mathura to distant regions, while the Puranas simply describe their settlements in distant lands. As the Puranas have not mentioned specifically the migration of the Abhiras, rather, their *ganas* have only been recorded, flourishing in the above mentioned regions. An explanation of this difference may be pointed out that the aim and purpose of the authors of the Puranas was not to mention the movements of the Abhiras; and they have simply recorded their settlements in different periods in the *bhuvanakosha*, geography of ancient India. It seems that sometimes the Abhiras of the Indus (Sindhu) region were forced to move towards east and some of them came to settle in Madhya Pradesh on the bank of the small mountainous river which is also called Sindh these days. The hilly area of this river Sindh, has some ancient sites, which are popularly ascribed to the Ahir rule. Even at present, the Ahirs are very strong there and very large in number.

For the rest of the groups of the Abhiras it may be suggested that the Abhiras after being moved to Mathura, some of them settle down in Mathura only, while one group took the route to south via Ujjain and Paithana and reached upto Khandesh gradually. The other groups of the Abhiras continued their march eastward and settled down in East-Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. A group of the Abhiras from Madhya Pradesh seems to have migrated to Orissa. The Abhiras who migrated to Madhya Pradesh settled down in Chhindwara, Betul, Yeotmal, Wardha and Chhattisgarh, *the areas of relative isolation.*

These various groups of the Abhiras, after being settled on distant lands got isolated with each other, and due to difference in their physical and cultural environments they developed a regional trend in their culture. These regional peculiarities brought complexities in features of the Abhiras. This variation in the features may be due to the difference in the geographical environments. It can be noticed

that the Ahir folk, settled on the fertile agricultural plains, have sharp delicate features, while those who are still living in forests in primitiveness like the Magadha Ahirs and Gollas of Mysore, have ugly features.

It is significant to note that the groups of the Abhiras, who were settled in the large alluvial Indo-Gangetic plains, could not keep up their distinct features and lost their individuality in that melting pot of cultures. In the other cases, the persons who got settled in the forested or semi-forested regions, could keep their identity which in course of time due to political and cultural reasons gave birth to the linguistic pecularities in those regions.

Linguistic dialects of Abhiras

These Abhira movements in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh gave birth to some new dialects, still current in those areas, and known after them. The Abhiras used to speak *Abhīrī*, a dialects of their own, as recorded by Bharata and Dandin, which got influenced by the local dialects in different regions.

Thus, we can notice several Ahir dialects prevalent in various regions of India. One can specifically mention the *Gaddi* dialect, current in the land yet called *Gadderan*, in the outskirts of the Chamba and Kangra hills. Another dialect worth mentioning in this series is *Gaudi*, current in some parts of Madhya Pradesh and the last but most important is *Ahirani* spoken in Khandesh. Amongst all the *Khandeshi* or *Ahirani* is biggest and has got a vital importance. *Khandeshi* or *Ahirani* has much affinity to village Marathi and more with Gujarati. This impact of *Ahirani* with Gujarati may indicate that the Ahirs (Abhiras) of Khandesh originally belonged to Gujarat.

To sum up, we find that the Abhiras though being of the same stock, migrated to different regions of India. Wherever they went, they carried some of their traditions to the place. Some of them settled down on Indo-Gangetic plains and lost their individuality, while the others, who settled in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh retained their identity. These groups adopted regional peculiarities and linguistic propensities. The modern Ahir folk of these areas therefore, bear a complexity in their culture, an impact of horizontal and vertical traits.

In the *areas of relative isolation*, the Abhiras took advantage of the physical features and exploited the political condition for their purpose. They carved out a kingdom for themselves, which proved to be an eye-sore to the Kadambas,

Chalukyas, Hoysalas, and the Yadavas. The Abhiras resisted hard to save their entity, but finally lapsed into decay, leaving their kingly glamour. The material traces of their past glory are buried in obscurity, yet their traditions are alive. In Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh numerous legends of Abhira rule are current amongst the village folk. These living folk-tales and stories about the ancient Abhira warriors coupled with the various Ahir dialects, apparently prove to the hay day of the Abhiras.

II

The Sources

Before we take up a study of our subject, it is advisable to comment upon the nature of the sources and their utility for the problem.

The earliest authentic reference on the Abhiras can be seen in the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, wherein, they have been mentioned as merely a separate caste (*Jati*). Our main sources as a matter of fact are the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Harivamśapūraṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*. Besides these puranic records some Sanskrit dramas like the *Mrichchhakatika*, *Prabodhachandrodaya* and the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* have also referred to the Abhiras.

Needless to point out that owing to the scarcity of the authentic sources, the task of reconstructing the life and culture of the Abhiras becomes very difficult. The nature of most of our literary sources is legendary, it becomes impossible sometimes to reconstruct the history out of it. The dates of the compliation of these works are also controversal, therefore the information contained therein is bound to give rise to doubts. To solve this difficulty therefore, I have followed the dates of the compilation of the Mahabharata and the Puranas, generally accepted by the scholars. I accept the date of the compilation of the Sabhaparva geography as fixed by Dr. Motichandra[1] and the Puranic chronology as ascertained by Dr. R. C. Hazra. In dealing with the problem of the Abhira migrations, the conclusions have been drawn on the basis of the probable date of the compilation of the *bhuvanakosha* geography of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Markaṇḍeyauprāṇa*.

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1. Motichandra, *Geographical and Economic studies in the Mahabharata; Upayana parva*, Lucknow, 1945, p. 24.

Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that since the Abhiras appear in the history of India in the 2nd century B.C. and by the 2nd century A.D., we find that they rose to the status of trust and responsibility of the Sakas in Gujarat. Immediately after the downfall of the Satavahanas, they carved out a kingdom in Khandesh. Therefore the period of their migration could only be placed between the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. This was also the time when these *bhuvanakosha* chapters of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* are believed to have been compiled.

The fourth chapter is mostly based upon the *Harivamśa*, *Bhāgavata*, *Padma* and other puranic evidences. Therein, the life of the *Gopas* and *Ghoshas*, who have been identified with the Abhiras has been sketched.

The work depicts the complete life of the *Abhiras*, *Gopas* and *Ghoshas*. They were cowherds, and represent an example of a tribe which rose to the status of kingly dignity from primitiveness, and thus placed themselves amongst the ruling tribes of India.

Chapter I

THE ABHIRA MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

References about the Abhira migrations and settlements are not many in ancient Indian literature. No record, what so ever, is available to give us an authentic information about them before the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. Not only the earlier literature, but Patañjali also is silent about the geographical position of the Abhiras. The Epics and the Puranas are the only sources, which throw some light over the problem.

The data contained in the above Puranas, does not tend to picturise the life of contemporary Hindu society or geography, therefore it is incidental and not connected as a whole. The sources specified above, contain a glimpse of the geography and ethnography of *Jambūkhaṇḍa* or *Bhāratavarsha*. Amongst the long list of the *gaṇas* (tribal republics) narrated in the sources, the authors have simply pointed out the broad divisions or directions of the regions, where those tribes were settled. No specific region has been given to locate them. The *Ābhīra gaṇas* have also been mentioned amongst them. From an observation it appears that the whole information has been set in such a way, which indicates that the geographer had a faint idea of the geography of India.

It seems that the Abhiras in particular, moved from the west towards the east and south, shifting the main centres of their intensive activities from time to time. In the following pages it is proposed to reconstruct and mark out the various stages of the migrations and settlements of the Abhiras.

To come to the exact point we first come across a śloka of *Sabhāparva*[1] which is as follows:

गणानुत्सवसंकेतान्व्यजयत्पुरुषर्षभः
सिन्धुकूलाश्रिता ये च ग्रामणेया महाबलाः
शूद्राभीर गणाश्चैव ये चाश्रित्य सरस्वतीम्
वर्तयन्ति च ये मत्स्यैं[2] ये च पर्वतवासिनः

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1. *Mbh. Sabhaparva.*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1943, XXIX śloka 8-9, p. 152.
2. *Saha* is understood here, hence the word *Matsyaiḥ* should be translated as *matsyaiḥ saha.*

The above sloka seems to be very conspicuous. Here, the geographer describes the various settlements of the Abhiras; one on the bank of the river *Sarasvatī*, the other on the bank of the river Sindhu, the third in the *Matsya* region and the fourth in the mountainous region. This Sindhu is river Indus and Sarasvatī has been identified with modern Ghaggar which emerges from the lower spurs of the Himalayas and after passing through Sirsa and Suratgarh disappears in the desert of Rajasthan.[1] The whole dry bed of Sarasvati has been explored. It starts from Sirsa onwards turning to the south-west to Hanumangarh. At one time the river Sarasvatī continued to join Sindhu to the south of the confluence of Sutlej,[2] but afterward it turned southward and running almost parallel with the Sindh and Sutlej had its outlet in the Rann of Cutch.

The habitation of the Abhiras on the banks of river Indus may be located to the south of Bahawalpur State, where, the Śūdras were settled in the time of Alexander.

The Abhira settlement of Sarasvatī may be located with some certainty, as the Mahabharata gives us some more details in *Śalyaparva*. It has been mentioned that the river Sarasvatī disappeared at Vinaśana due to hatred toward the *Śūdrābhīras*.[3] This clearly suggests that the Abhiras were settled round about Vinaśana, which has been located in the Upper Rajasthan by Dr. V. S. Agrawal.[4] This settlement may specifically be located round about Sirsa. The third settlement was in the Matsya region.

Here the Abhiras have been kept in contiguity with the Matsyas, who were inhabiting the regions near about Alwar and Jaipur. This group of the Abhiras may better be located near about the same areas upto Mathura, U.P.

The last Abhira settlement of this series is very obscure. Here the author ceases to mention even a faintest direction of the particular mountainous region. It can be suggested that river Sarasvatī would have been the stronghold of the Abhiras.

The next stage of the Abhira settlements has also been recorded by the later geographer of the Mahabharata. In the Bhīshmaparva of the Mahabharata,

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1. Hanna Rydh, *Rang Mahal*, Acta Archaeologie Lundensia series, Lund, 1959, p. 23.
2. *Ibid.* p. 24.
3. *Mbh.* IX., 37, 2119.
4. Agrawal V. S., *Bharata ki maulika ekta*, Allahabad, 2011 V.E., p. 36.

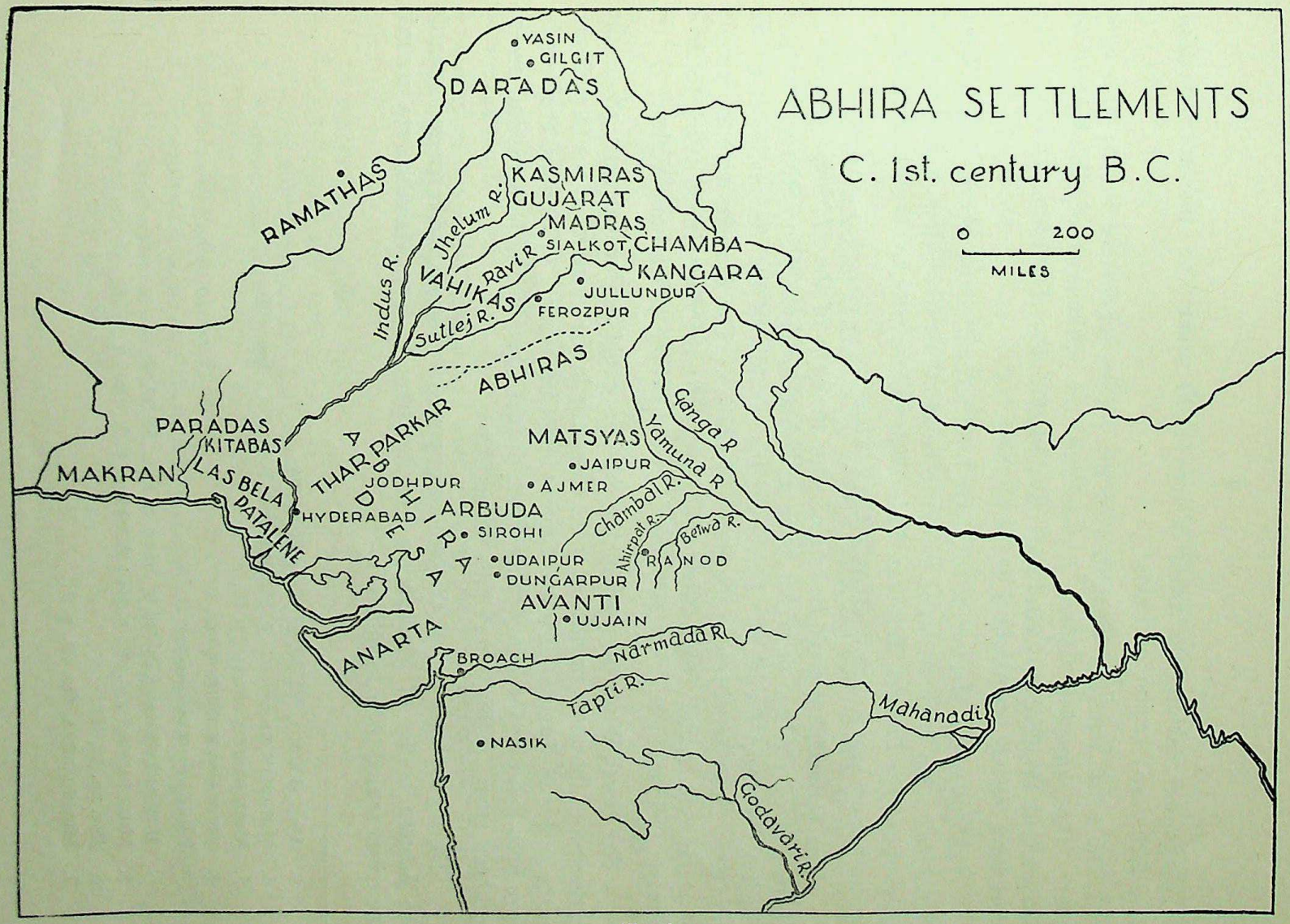
ABHIRA SETTLEMENTS
C. 1st. century B.C.
0 200
MILES
YASIN
GILGIT
DARADAS
RAMATHAS
KASMIRAS
GUJARAT
MADRAS
SIALKOT
CHAMBA
KANGARA
JULLUNDUR
FEROZPUR
VAHIKAS
Jhelum R.
Ravi R
Indus R.
Sutlej R.
ABHIRAS
PARADAS
KITABAS
MAKRAN
LAS BELA
PATALENE
THARPARKAR
ABHIRAS
MATSYAS
JAIPUR
AJMER
JODHPUR
HYDERABAD
ARBUDA
SIROHI
UDAIPUR
DUNGARPUR
AVANTI
UJJAIN
ANARTA
BROACH
NASIK
Ganga R
Yamuna R
Chambal R.
Khirpat R.
Betwa R.
RANOD
Narmada R.
Tapti R.
Mahanadi
Godavari R.

Fig. 1

the geographer narrates the *gaṇas* of the *Vrātas* situated in the north-western (*uttarāśchapare*) region of India.[1]

The tribal republics mentioned in the Bhīshmaparva are in the following order: The *Ramaṭhas*, *Chīnas*, *Daśamālikas*, the settlements of the *Kshatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras*, *Śūdrābhīras*, *Dardas* and the *Kāsmiras*. Some of the tribes have already been located by the scholars.

The *Ramaṭhas*, first of the lot, have been located round about Gazani,[2] the *Chīnas*, in Indian literature seems rather to be an ethnic term, than, a geographical designation,[3] the *Daradas*, *Kāsmiras*, *Daśmālikas* and the settlements of the *Kshatriyas* etc. have been kept in contiguity with the Abhiras.

The *Daśamālikas* could be located with the help of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*,[4] wherein they have been described living along the *Kaikeyas*, (Sargotha and Gujrat districts, Northern Punjab).[5] Therefore, the republic of the *Daśamālikas*, would have been somewhere between the Ravi and Chinab. The *Daradas* were the people of Daradistan, round about Gilgit and Yasin[6] and the river Indus used to flow between their republic. The *Kāsmiras* were the people of Kashmir Valley.[7]

The North-Western group of the Abhiras could be located near about the settlement of the above mentioned tribes especially in the outskirts of the Himalayas, in the region of Kangra, Chamba, Gujarat and Gurdaspur. In Kangra, they might have been living on the snowy range which divides Chamba and Kangra, and on the southern spurs of Bhadarwah hills across Ravi.

During the same period, the Abhiras migrated further on and expanded towards the western border of Madhyadesa (in Rajasthan). The Mahabharata records the tribes settled there as follows:—

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1. *Mbh.*, B.O.R.I., VI, 10, 65; Cal., VI, 9, 375.
2. MOTICHANDRA, *Op. cit.*, p. 66; AGRAWAL V. S., *Op. cit*, p. 108.
3. MOTICHANDRA, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
4. शतद्रुजाः कलिंगाश्च पारदाहार भूषिकाः
   माठरा वहुभद्राश्च कैकेया दशमालिकः
   Markandeyapurana, Edited by Banerjea Rev., 57, 37.
5. MOTICHANDRA, *Op. cit.*, p. 100; AGRAWAL V. S., *Op. cit.*, p. 47.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 46, 108.
7. MOTICHANDRA, *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

The *Mallas*, *Sudeshṇas*, *Prāhūtas*, *Māhishkarshikas*, *Vāhikas*, *Vāṭadhānas*, and the *Kālatoyakas*.[1]

The country of the *Vāhikas* lay between Indus and Sutlej rivers. Vāhika as a matter of fact was the name of the Punjab.[2]

The *Vāṭadhānas* have been located in the southern Punjab, lower Sind and southern Rajasthan.[3] The Abhiras, being settled immediately in the neighbourhood of the *Vāṭadhānas* seem to have been residing in western Rajasthan, round about Jodhpur, Sirohi, Udaipur and Dungarpur. This region in the 1st century A.D. formed the part of *Abhīradeśa*.

ABHIRA SETTLEMENTS AFTER THE 1st CENTURY A.D.

Towards the close of the 1st century A.D., the Abhiras seem to have moved southward in the *dakshiṇāpatha* via Paithan route. The geographers of the *Mahāpuraṇas* have shown their interest in recording the advancement of the Abhiras. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa presents before us a list of the tribes settled in *dakshiṇāpatha* which have not been mentioned in the *Mahabharata*.[4] These tribes are the *Pāṇḍyas*, *Keralas*, *Cholas*, *Sailushas*, *Mushikas*, *Kumāras*, *Vanavāsakas*, *Mahārāshṭras*, *Mahishikas*, *Kaliṅgas*, *Ābhīras*, *Aṭvyas* and the *Śabaras*.[5]

As evident from the list, the geographer has enumerated the tribes from the extreme south. The *Paṇḍyas*, *Keralas* and the *Cholas*, were apparently the people of the extreme south. The *Vanavāsakas* were the people of modern Vanvāsī.[6] The *Mahārāshṭras* and *Mahishikas* were living in southern Hyderabad and Orissa (Utkal) was the habitation of the *Kaliṅgas*.[7]

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1. मल्लाः सुदेष्णाः प्राहूतास्तथा माहिष कार्पिकाः
   वाहिका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः
   Mbh., Bhishmaparva, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1943, X, 45.
2. MOTICHANDRA, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.* p. 32.
4. *Markandeyapurana*, Ch. 64, 45-47.
5. The Brihatsamhita also describes the Abhiras settled with the Sabaras in the 6th century A.D.
   आभीराञ्छबरान् सपल्लवान् मल्लान् मत्स्यकुरूञ्छकानपि
   Brihatsamhita. Op. cit., V, p. 38.
6. AGRAWAL V.S., *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
7. *Ibid.*

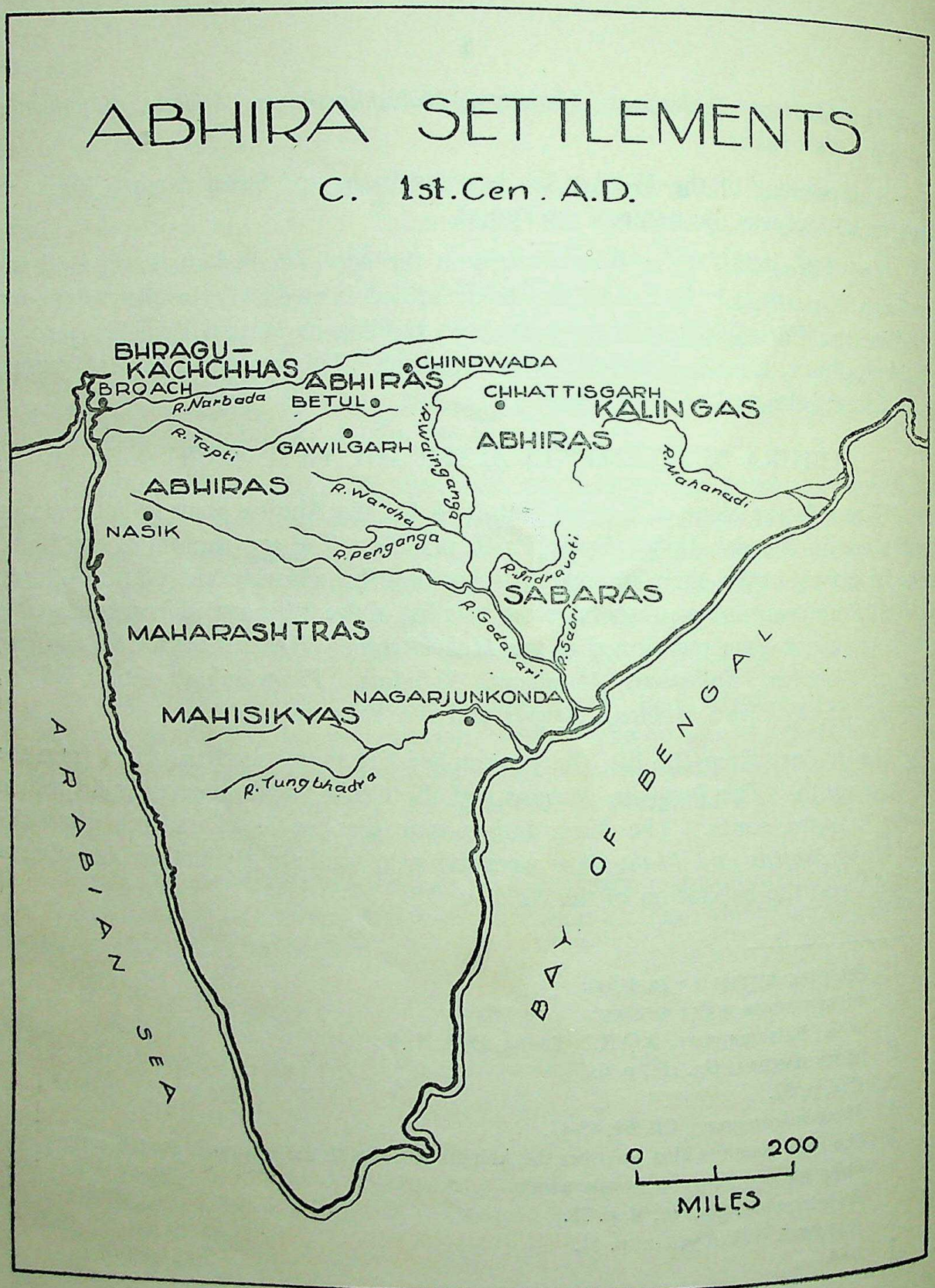
ABHIRA SETTLEMENTS
C. 1st. Cen. A.D.
BHRAGU–
KACHCHHAS
BROACH
R. Narbada
ABHIRAS
BETUL
CHINDWADA
CHHATTISGARH
KALINGAS
ABHIRAS
R. Tapti
GAWILGARH
R. Wainganga
R. Mahanadi
ABHIRAS
R. Wardha
NASIK
R. penganga
R. Indravati
SABARAS
R. Godavari
R. Sabari
MAHARASHTRAS
NAGARJUNKONDA
MAHISIKYAS
R. Tungbhadra
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
0
200
MILES

Fig. 2

The Abhira settlements being close to the Kalingas, lay round about Chhattisgarh, which finds support from the numerous legends of Ahir rule in this area. The Ahirs are still dominant[1] there.

The geographer of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* has recorded another settlement of the Abhiras with the *Bhrigukachchhas*, *Koṅkans* and the *Śabaras*[2] along with the river *Veṇa* (modern Vainganga[3]). The Abhiras mentioned here may be located near about Nasik and Khandesh.

The expansion of the Abhiras in Gujarat has not been recorded in the Puranas. It is evident from the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana and the inscription of Abhira-General Rudrabhūti that they swept over Gujarat some time before the 1st century A.D. The Nasik Cave Inscription of Iśvarasena Abhira also testifies to the Abhira stronghold in Khandesh at least in the 3rd century A.D. From an analysis of the above, it appears that the Abhiras spread in Maharashtra in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

The Abhiradesa

Sometimes about the 1st century B.C., the Abhiras got settled in the south-western Rajasthan and north-eastern Sind. In the beginning of the christian era, this part of the country came to be called as Ābhiradeśa. The antiquity of Ābhira-deśa cannot be taken back, before the 1st century A.D., when it has been recorded by Ptolemy.

The Greek geographer Ptolemy has given the topography of the Ābhīradeśa as follows:—

> " And further all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Skythia. Of this, the insular portion formed by

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1. VERRIER ELWIN, *Folk songs of Chhattisgarh*, Bombay, 1946.
2. महेन्द्रमलयाद्रौ च दर्दुरे च वसन्ति ये
   कर्कोट कवने ये च भृगुकच्छाः सकोंकनाः
   सर्व्वाश्चैव तथाभीरा वेण्यास्तीर निवासिनः
   Markandeyapurana, *Op. cit.*, 58, 22.
3. *Veṇā*, or *Kṛishṇaveṇā* has been identified by B.C. Law with Krishna river.
   Law B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 168.
   V. S. Agrawal identifies Veṇā with Vainganga a tributory of Godavari.
   AGRAWAL, *Op. cit.*, pp. 96, 100.

the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalene and the region above this is Aberia and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Syrastrene."[1]

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea locates the country of Aberia adjacent to Saurashtra. Its location has been described as follows:—

"To the Gulf of Barake succeeds that of Barygaza and the main land of Ariake, a district which forms the frontier of the Kingdom of Mombaros and of all India. The interior part of it which borders on Skythia is called Aberia, and its sea-board Saurastrene "[2]

The topographical notes of Ptolemy and the Periplus, are very helpful in ascertaining the location of Ābhīradeśa. Ptolemy indicates that the south-western boundary of Aberia extended to the north of Indus delta, which is identical with Thar Parkar and Hyderabad district of Sind. It touched the boundaries of Saurashtra.

The writer of the Periplus, has also taken pains to record the correct location of Aberia. His Gulf of Barake is the Gulf of Cambay and Barygaza is Broach, which he lays down in the mainland of Ariake identical with Gujarat (Ānarta). The location of Aberia as given by Ptolemy agrees with the Periplus, and we can safely conclude that the country from the north of Indus delta and Rann of Cutch was Aberia and its southern boundary touched with Saurashtra, covering south-western Rajasthan.

Though the *Ramayana* knows no country like *Ābhīra*, yet the region specified above, has been called as the land of wild Abhiras. The name of this region as given in the Ramayana, was *Drumakulya*, subsequently called *Marukāntāra*, when Rama discharged his burning arrow aiming towards the Abhira-land.[3] The region of

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1. Mc CRINDLE J. W., *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Bombay, 1885, p. 136.
2. Mc CRINDLE, " ANONYMI (ARRIANI UT FERTUR) PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI" Translated from the text as given in the Geography Graeci Minores, edited by C. Muller, Paris, 1855, *Ind. Ant.* VIII, p. 140; Schoff W. H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean, Sea*, 1912, London, pp. 39, 175.
3. उत्तरेणावकाशोऽस्ति कश्चित् पुण्यतरो मम
द्रुमकुल्य इति ख्यातो लोके ख्यातो यथा भवान्
उग्र दर्शन कर्माणो बहवस्तत्र दस्यवः
आभीर प्रमुखाः पापाः पिबन्ति सलिलं मम

Marukantara has been identified with Thar Parkar and Marwar, which is directly identical with the Aberia of Ptolemy and Periplus.

It is interesting, that the Puranic geography is identical with the Greek-geographers, in locating the country of Ābhīras (*Aberia*). The Vishnupurana strikingly confirms the statements of Ptolemy and the Periplus in locating the Ābhīradeśa, conterminous to Saurashtra and furnishes further details of its boundary adjoining to Arbuda and Malava, on Pariyātra mountain, which has been identified with the Aravali range.[1] Varāhamihira further supports the evidences of Vishnu-purana in locating the Ābhīradeśa adjacent to Ānarta, Arbuda, Pushkara and Saurashtra.[2] The Bhagavatapurana also locates it adjacent to Sauvira (Sind) Ānarta (Gujarat) and Avanti in another śloka.[3] The evidences of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* are attested by the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, wherein, *Ābhīradeśa* has been located adjacent to Malava[4] near the sea.

In the light of the evidences cited above, we are in a position to ascertain the country of the Abhiras. It was the region near the Arabian sea, *paśchimapārśva-*

तैर्न ततरपर्शनम् पापन् सहेयं पाप कर्मभिः
अमोघः क्रियतां राम अयं तत्र शरोत्तमः
तस्य तद्वचनम् श्रुत्वा सागरस्य महात्मनः
सुमोच तं शरं दीप्तं परम सागर दर्शनात्
तेनतन्मरुकान्तारम् पृथिव्यां किल विश्रुतम्

The Rāmāyaṇa of *Vālmiki* with the commentary of (Tilaka) of Rama, edited by V. L. Shastri. Pansikar, Bombay, 1909, Yuddhakaṇḍa, XXII, 30-36.

1. तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः शूराभीरास्तथार्बुदाः
मालक्का मालवाश्चैव पारियात्र निवासिनः
Viṣṇupurāṇa II, 3, 16-17.

2. आनर्तार्बुद पुष्कर सौराष्ट्राभीर शूद्र रैवतकाः
नष्टा यस्मिन् देशे सरस्वती पश्चिमो देशः
Brihatsamhita Op. cit., XVI, 31.

3. मरुधन्वमतिक्रम्य सौवीराभीरयोः परान्
Bhagavatapurana, I, 10. 35.;
सौराष्ट्रावन्त्याभीराश्च शूद्रा अर्बुद मालवाः
Ibid. XII, I, 38.

4. पाषण्ड दिगम्बरकापालिकादयस्तु पामरबहुलेषु
पाञ्चाल मालवाभीरानर्त सागरनूपेषु निगूढं सञ्चरन्ति
Prabodhachandrodaya of Krishnamisrayati, Edited by K. S. Sastri, Trivendrum Sans. Series CXXII, 1936, p. 152.

vartijanapada, as pointed out by *Taruṇavāchaspatī*, the commentator of the *Kāvyādarśa* of *Dandin*.[1] The frontier districts of the Abhiradeśa were the regions of Thar parkar and Hyderabad Sind (to the north of Indus delta) and south-west Rajasthan comprising the districts of Marwar, Ajmer, Mewar, Pushkar and whole southern Rajasthan upto Malava and Saurashtra.

The Bhuvanakosha chapters of other Puranas are stereo-typed and seem to have been bodily copied out from the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, with some variations. The *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Vāmanapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* more or less, repeat the same; while the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Varāhapurāṇa*, *Nāradiyapurāṇa* and *Skandapurāṇa* have not mentioned the settlements of the Abhiras.

II

The Continuity of the Settlements

Thus the Abhiras expanded throughout India possibly by the end of the second century of the Christian Era. They continued their habitation in the above regions as evident from the later works. The Calcutta edition of Harivamsa portrays the habitation of the north-western group of the Abhiras with the Madras (*madrābhīra*).[2] The *Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta* also records the Abhira republics in contiguity with the Madras (*madrakābhiras*).[3] Here the evidence of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription strikingly corroborates with the *Harivamśa*. *Varāhamihira* in *Brihatsamhita* has also recorded the continuity of this group of the Ābhiras as late as the 6th century A.D.[4] The descendents of

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1. Taruṇavachaspati, the commentator of the *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin* while explaining the Ābhīra dialect places the country of the Abhiras as follows:—
   आभीरादि देशोनाम आभीरप्रायः पश्चिम समुद्र पार्श्ववर्ति जनपदः
   Dr. S. N. Ghoshal understands that the land of the Abhiras might have been extended upto the Rann of Cutch which is attested by Hridayaṅgama.
   आभीरो नाम पश्चिमार्णव तीरे वर्तमानो देशविशेषः
   Vide. Ghosal S. N., *Op. cit.*, p. 151.
2. *Mbh. Harivamsa.* Bhavishyaparva, Cal., 1839, Ch. 236, 12837.
3. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum* Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 8.
4. कुम्भेऽन्तर्गिरिजान्सपश्चिमजनान्भारोद्वाहां तस्करान्
   आभीरान्दरदाऽर्य सिंह पुरकान् हन्यात्तथा बर्बरान्
   Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira, Edited by Kern, Calcutta, 1865, śloka 42;
   The *Brihatsamhita* has been dated by Kern to A.D. 505 *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

this group of the Abhīras are still inhabiting the same region. They are called Gaddis[1] now and reside exclusively on the snowy range which divides Kangra and Chamba. They are semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural people and akin to *Mathurābāsi Ahirs* in their features. They are land-lords in that area and widely diffused caste.[2] A tradition of the region maintains that the original home of the Gaddi-Ahirs was on the head waters of the river Ravi in the Chamba territory to the north of Dholadhar or outer Himalayas. The country behind the range is called *Gadderān* or the land of the Gaddis (Ahirs). They inhabit the land from Rihlu to Bengahal Taluqa. This area is also called Brahmaur Wazarat.[3] The antiquity of the Gaddi-Ahirs of Kangra and Chamba is attested by the fact that the dialect current there is called Gaddi. The existence of specific territorial-castes *e.g.* Gaddi-Brahmanas, Gaddi-Rajputs and Gaddi-Khattri in Kangra and Chamba is akin to the Ahir-Brahmana, Ahir-Sutar and the like of Maharashtra and attests clearly their hoary antiquity, which has now dwindled in obscurity.[4]

The continuity of Abhira settlements of the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī cannot be traced today. The absence of these settlements in the Puranic records shows that the Abhiras abandoned these places sometimes before the compilation of the Puranas. The Abhiras after being migrated from these regions moved towards east and south-east and settled in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh. Some of them got settled possibly on the bank of the hilly river which is called *Sindhu* today. This *Sindhu* emerges from the spurs of the Vindhyas, 10 miles to the north of Sironj and passing through the whole hilly track, falls into the river Yamuna near Jalaun. The Ahirs (*Abhiras*) occupy a prominent status there. The Ahir legends found throughout the ravines of this Sindhu throw light on the unrecorded history of the Abhiras. The famous balled *Alhakhaṇda* even in its modern form, though projected to reveal the glorious feats of the heroes Alha and Udala, yet could not refrain to acknowledge the turbulence of the people of *Sindhu* and Betwa who offered them many ferocious battles. The whole bed of the river Sindhu has thus stored numerous legends of strong Ahir-rule over the area. A tributary of the river *Sindhu* is called *Ahirpat* or *Airavati*, which meets *Sindhu* to the 15 miles south-

1. Abhiras (Ahirs) are also called Gaddis in Punjab and U. P. *Punjab Gazetters*, Vol. XA, (Kangra Distt.), p. 79.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
3. Vogel J., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1911, p. 3.
4. *Punjab Gazetteer, Chamba State*, XXII A, p. 60.

east of Samthar. This tributary is very famous in the ballads of Ahirs. The region from Sironj to Ranod and from Parvati river to Betwa has been ascribed by local traditions to the Ahir rule. Another tradition of Ahir rule in the area centres round Jharkhand or Bajrangagarh situated to the six miles south of Guna, midway between Agra and Ujjain.

It is important to note that the Abhiras, who once inhabited the Abhiradesa (eastern Sind, south-western Rajasthan) also abandoned the place, possibly sometimes between the 3rd and the 5th centuries A.D. and moved towards the south. They seem to have occupied the region to the south of Avanti upto Nasik. The Brihatsamhita, calls this region also as Abhiradesa.[1]

The Jain works describe the location of this Abhiradesa near *Achalpur* (Modern Elluchpur,[2] Amraoti district) between the rivers *Krishṇā and Veṇa* (modern *Krishṇā* and *Vaingaṅgā* rivers). This region was under the Ābhīras of Khandesh.

The *Śaktisaṅgamtantra*[3] also records the location of Abhiradesa, which may be identified with Khandesh and Nasik.

Further migration of the Abhiras has not been recorded in the literature. It is possible to surmise that some of the Abhiras got settled in the interior districts of Uttar Pradesh, while the others continued their migration towards Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. A tradition of such movement may be reconstructed from the

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1. बर्बरकिरातखण्डक्रव्यादाभीर चञ्चूका
Brihatsamhita, XIV, 18; V, 38.

2. According to *Brihatkathākośa*, *Tera* (*Tagara*) was a beautiful city in this country. *Brihatkathakośa* 138, 39 f; 56.52; *Achalapura* was situated on the bank of the rivers *Kanha Benna*, and *Bambhaddīva* was an island between them, where 500 monks are said to have joined the Jain order of ascetics. Tagara has been identified with Tera a village in Osmanabad district on the bank of the river Tirna 12 miles north-east of Osmanabad.

अयलपुराणिक्खंतेकलियमुयआणुओगिए
धीरेवंभद्दीवेगसीहे वायगपय मुत्तमपते

Srimannandisūtram, with commentary of Malayagiri, Bombay, 1917, 32, p. 50;.

नइकण्हविन्नदीवे पंचसया निवसंति

Sri Pinda Niryukti with the commentary of Malayagiri, Bombay, 1918, 503; *Vavaharasutra*, Bhavnagar, 1926, III, 4, 339; *Uttāradhyāyanasūtra*, with commentary of Santisuri, Bombay, 1916, 2, p. 25; Law B. C. *Historical Geography*, *Op. cit.*, p. 303; Agrawal V. S., *Op. cit.*, pp. 96, 100.

3. *Saktisamgamtantra*, Sundari Khanda, Vol. III, 7, 35, p. 68.

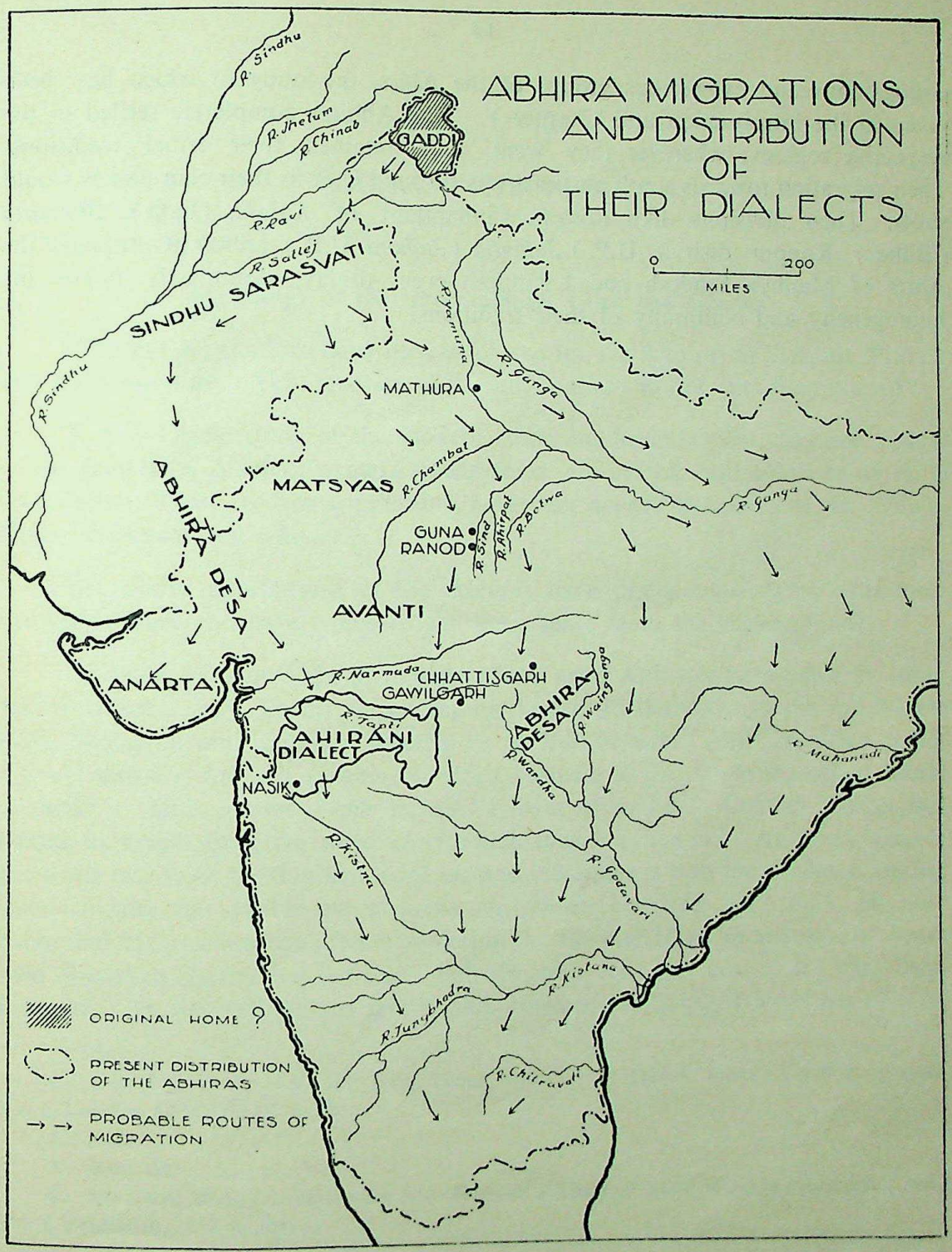
ABHIRA MIGRATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF THEIR DIALECTS
0
200
MILES
R. Sindhu
R. Jhelum
R. Chinab
GADDI
R. Ravi
R. Sallej
SINDHU SARASVATI
R. Yamuna
R. Ganga
MATHURA
R. Sindhu
ABHIRA DESA
MATSYAS
R. Chambal
R. Gunga
GUNA
RANOD
R. Sind
R. Ahirpat
R. Betwa
AVANTI
ANARTA
R. Narmada
CHHATTISGARH
GAWILGARH
R. Tapti
AHIRANI DIALECT
ABHIRA DESA
R. Wardha
R. Wainganga
R. Mahanadi
NASIK
R. Krishna
R. Godavari
R. Krishna
R. Tungbhadra
R. Chitravati
ORIGINAL HOME ?
PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABHIRAS
PROBABLE ROUTES OF MIGRATION

Fig. 3

endogamous and exogamous groups of the Ahirs, the study of which has been given in the introduction and Chapter V. The Abhiras completely settled in the respective regions; wherever they went, they retained their tribal traditions. Their migration towards south and east was through U.P. as their clan names would show. Their divisions like *Kosaria* (inhabitant of *Kośala*, Oudh) *Bilhauria* (Bilhaur Kanpur district U.P.) *Jujhotia* (*Jujhota* U.P.) prevalent amongst the Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh even to-day, doubtlessly prove the homogeneity and continuity of their traditions.

Chapter II

ORIGIN OF THE ABHIRAS

I

Etymology of the terms Abhira, Gopa and Ghosha

Different appellations have been employed for the Abhiras in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali literature. This practice of ancient authors is not yet discontinued.

A sociological study of the modern Ahirs would show that they are known to the people by different names, among them *Ahir*, *Gvala* and *Ghosi* being most prominent. These modern appellations have their ancient counterparts *viz. Ābhīra*, *Gopa* or *Gopāla* and *Ghosha.*

The above appellations of the Abhiras have direct connections with their life and culture and have conveyed the same sense from the earliest times.

Attempts to discuss the etymology of the word Ahir has been made by some European scholars.[1] Beams, depending on the fanciful derivation of the appellation Ahir, quotes on oral tradition[2] wherein he divides the term 'Ahir' into two parts, *e.g. ahi* and *hīr*, the first syllable of which means a snake, while the other means a 'lover'. Thus the word *ahir* means 'a lover of snakes.' Colonel Walker has traced its origin from the word *aheri* which means a hunter.[3] Atkinson derives the word *ahir* from the Sanskrit word *ahi* and illustrates it with the similar sounding words having the syllable *ahi* as prefix *viz. Ahichchhtra* and *Aheśvara.*[4] He corroborated his presumption after considering the story of *Hira*, an ancestor of Ahirs who cherished snakes and fed them with the milk of his cows. It has been suggested, on the basis of the relationship between the Sanskrit word *ahi* of *Ahir*

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1. Law B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 79; Elliot, *Races of N.W.P. of India*, Vol. I, London, MDCCCLIX, p. 305.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Bom. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 134.
4. Atkinson, *Statistical description and Historical Account of North Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, Allahabad, 1874, p. 268.

and the word *nāga*, that the Ahirs and the Nagas of Gujarat probably belonged to a common[1] lineage.

According to a legend current in Uttar Pradesh, the children of the Rajput slave and a Vaisya girl, who were living in a forest, used to propitiate snakes with the milk obtained from their herds, therefore they were called *ahihera*, and from this word, the appellation Ahir came into existence.[2]

Needless to say that none of the above derivations have any historical basis, therefore they may safely be relegated to the realm of fantasy. As a matter of fact, the appellation Ahir is also pretty old. In an epigraph of the Yadava ruler Singhana II, 1215 A.D. one Jaitungadeva, a ruler of Konkan, has been styled as an Ahira.[3] It seems that the appellation Ahira, was prevalent at least in Maharashtra in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Antiquity of the term Abhiras

The term Abhira has ethnic significance in the ancient history of India. It cannot however, be said in the present stage of our knowledge when this appellation actually came into existence. The Epics and the Puranas are silent about its etymology. A modern author Taranath Tarkavachaspti, compiler of the Sanskrit dictionary Vachaspatyam derived the literal meaning of the term after dividing it into two—*Abhi* + *īra* meaning fearless people,[4] which is again a fanciful derivation.

Prof. Raychaudhary suggests a Dravidian origin of the appellation Abhira.[5] V. Kanakasabhi Pillai derives it from the Tamil word *Ayir*, which also means 'a cow'. He equates the Ayars with the Abhiras.[6] Prof. L. D. Barnett discusses the problem of the Ayars further, and observes that the Ayars were the prototype

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1. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 264, f.n. 5.
2. Based upon personal survey of Ahirs.
3. *Epigra Car*, Sb. 276, 99, 48.
4. *Vachaspatyam*, compiled by Taranath Tarkavachispati, Vol. I, Cal., 1873, p. 758.
   गोपेसंकीर्णजातिभेदे सहिअल्पभीतिहेतोरप्यधिकं विभेतीतितस्य तथा त्वम्
   अभीरयतिगा आभिमुखी कृत्य गोष्ठंनयति
   अभि + ईर + णिच् + अच् = आभीरः गोपः
   Sabdakalpadrum, Vol. I, Cal., Saka 1808, p. 78.
5. RAYCHAUDHARY H. C., *Early History of Vaishnavite Sect.*, Cal., 1920, p. 91.
6. V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, *Tamil* 1800 *years ago*, Madras 1904, p. 57.

of the Abhiras, who inhabited the Tamil States of the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras in the earliest times.[1]

Dr. Sunitkumar Chatterji is doubtful whether the letter '*a*' in Abhira has the same import as the Dravidian '*a*' in Ayar[2] and Dr. G. V. Tagore supports him.[3] In the early Tamil works the letter '*a*' means 'a cow'. In *Kuralventa* of the *Tirukural*, written about the 1st and 2nd century B.C., there is a phrase *ayayan kunram*, which means, 'the produce of a cow.' In the famous Tamil poem *Maṇimekhalai*, there is a character named Aputra, who has been described as 'the son of a cow'.[4] In the *Silappadikaram* a Tamil classic of about 150 A.D., the terms *Ayar* and *ayarpadi* means 'a cowherd' and the house of a cowherd respectively.[5]

The traditions of the Ayars recorded in the Sangam classics, seem to be the prototype of the traditions of the Abhira-gopas mentioned in the Harivamsa and the Bhagavatapurana, which are much later works than the Sangam literature. According to a tradition quoted by the Rev. Heras from Sangam classics, the Ayars came to the South with the Pandyas.[6] This shows that probably the Ayars of the Sangam classics were not originally the residents of South India, but were the immigrants from the north. The legends of the cowherd Krishna, and his romances in the forest life, recorded in the Saṅgam classics, suggest that these traditions were possibly brought to the south by the Ayars, which, in course of time, not only arrested the attention of the poets of Sangam-age but enthused their imagination. The age of the Sangam literature has been taken to the 1st century

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1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, 596.

2. & 3. Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. G. V. Tagore have expressed their opinions in a letter to Dr. Buddhaprakash, *J.B.R.S.XL.*, pp. 258-259.

4. The story of Aputra has been given in the *Manimekhalai* thus:—

There was a Brahmana at Varanasi well-versed in the Vedas with his wife Sali. Having fallen from her conduct, she wished to get rid of her sin by bathing in the sea at Kumari, which was prohibited to her in this condition. She gave birth to a child in course of her journey, but left the child weeping in a garden and went her way. Hearing the weeping of the child, a cow came there and started licking the child and gave him milk. Thus the cow kept the child for seven days. A Brahman who was going his way heard the weeping of the child. Thinking that it could not be the child of a cow he delivered the child to his wife. The youth after getting education was called Aputra or 'a cow's son'.

Manimekhalai in its Historical setting, Aiyangar, S. K., London, 1928, pp. 143-45.

5. *The Silappadikaram, Translated by Dikshitar V.R.R.*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 229, 231-234.

6. *Kalitogai*, 104, vide Rev. Heras S. J., *Studies in the Proto Indo Medeterranean Culture*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1953, p. 119.

of the Christian Era. Therefore, the appellaton Ayar is at least as old as the Abhira, if not more. As the Abhiras were a people of non-Aryan stock the possibilities of Ayar, as the original appellation of the Abhiras, becomes more probable. It is interesting that the old appellation Ayar has not completely disappeared from the Ahirs in the north; they cherish the memory that they were called Ayars[1] formerly. There are all possibilities to accept the view that Ayar was the original appellation of the Abhira trībe before they came in contact with the Aryans It is possible to believe that the name *Abhira* is a Sanskrit term for the Dravidian *Ayar*. Those Abhiras who could not come in contact with the Aryans, due to their migration to the south, retained their original appellation. But originally they would have been the same people.

Ghosha

Ghosha has its modern equivalent as ghosi. Etymologically, the term ghosha, being derived from the Sanskrit root *ghush*, meaning ' to shout ', is an indicative of the[2] profession of a herdsman, as he shouts while herding the cattle.

The Mahabhashya of Patañjali refers to the Ghoshas at several places. In his sutra number 2, 4, 10 Patañjali questions to himself, *kaḥ punarāryanivāsaḥ* and answers that they are the *grāma*, *ghosha*, *nagara* and *samvāha*.[3] Here, each term denotes the sense of a settlement *viz*. *grāma*, means a village and *nagara* means a city. The contiguity of grama and ghosha referred to, in the above sutra, clearly suggests that the *ghoshas* were a settlement of some people like a *grāma*.

In sutra No. 7, 3, 14 of the Mahabhashya, the entity of *ghosha* as a distinct settlement near the villages of Aryans is apparent.[4] A question arises whether

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1. Based on personal enquiry in the Bombay Session of the All India Yadav Conference.

2. घोषन्ति गावोऽत्र घोषः

Nāmaliṅgānuśasan of Amarasimha, with the two commentaries Amarakosodghatana of Kshirasvamin and Tikasarvasva of Vandyaghatiya sarvananda, Edited by T. Ganpati Sastri, Part I, 2nd Khanda, Trivendrum Sanskrit Series XLIII, 1915, p. 43; *Hermann Grassmann Worterbuch Zum Rig Veda*, Leipzig, 1936, p.427; A grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic I, Phonetics, by Surya Kanta Sastri Vyakarnatirtha, Delhi, 1953, p. 96.

3. Keilhorn, *The Mahabhasya of Patanjali*, 2.4.10, Vol. I, Bombay, 1892, p. 485; Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankara, *The Vyakarana Mahabhashya*, Poona, 1956, II, p. 465: Dr. V. S. Agrawal opines that Ghosha was a small village of Ahirs. AGRAWAL V. S., *Panini Kalina Bharata*, Benares, 2012, p. 79.

4. *Mahabhashya*, *Op. cit.* III, p. 320; Abhyankar, *Op. cit.* VI. p. 179.

they formed a part of the Aryan settlement as explained by Patañjali. The Mahabhashya no doubt represents *ghosha* as a unit of Aryan settlement with *grāma*, *nagara* and *samvāha*, but it is possible to argue that the cowherds who were the residents of these *ghoshas*, were non-Aryans. If the ghoshas were non-Aryan settlements, how were they included in the samghas of the Aryans? Katyayana, as a matter of fact, advocates the cause of the *ghoshas* to be taken in the samgha.[1] Probably, by the time of Katyayana, the *ghoshas* were outside the pale of Aryan society, later on being professional milkmen, the cowherds seem to have been allowed to establish near the villages of the Aryans.

In another example, Patañjali represents the *ghoshas* as a habitation of professional milkmen. In the sutra No. 3, 2, 110. Patañjali gives an illustration which means ' let us go to the *ghosha* and we will take milk there '.[2]

The Markandeyapurana contains a tradition when these cowherds were roaming about from one place to another in search of new pastures.[3] These moving cowherd, settlements were also called *ghoshas* which carried their pots and pans on bullock carts.

Another tradition of the Markandeyapurana reveals the later stage of these ghoshas, when they were settled in the vicinity of a village surrounded by lofty ramparts, though their entity was separate.[4]

The tradition recorded by the Vayupurana does not describe the *ghoshas* as a nomadic settlement but a separate unit in a village.[5] The same conclusion

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1. संघादिषु घोषग्रहणम्, संघादिषु घोषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; असति तु घोषग्रहणेऽन्यादयस्त्रः संङ्घादयोऽपिस्त्रय इति समानाद् यथा संख्यंस्यात्। घोषे च प्रत्ययो न स्यात्

Mahabhashya, Vol. II, 4, 3, 127, p. 319; Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar, IV, p. 253; *Kasika Vivarana Panjika*, Vol. I, p. 1013.

2. अगमाम घोषान् अपाम पयः.....गमिष्यामो घोषान् पास्यामः पयः

Mahabhashya, Vol. II, 3, 2, 110, pp. 117-118; Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar, *Op. cit.*, III, p. 245.

3. *Markandeyapurana*, edited by Banerjea, Calcutta, 49, 50; Pargiter, *Markandeyapurana*, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 241-242; Agrawal V. S., *Panini kalina bharata*, *Op. cit.* p. 147.

4. PARGITER, *Markandeyapurana*, 44, p. 241.

5. आश्रमानथ ग्रामांश्च घोषांश्चनगराणि च;
पुराणि घोषान् ग्रामांश्च पत्तनानि च सर्वशः
Vayupurana, Ch. 33, 10; 32, 40.

can be drawn from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Ramayana.[1]

The lexicographer Amarasimha equates the term *ghosha* with *Ābhīrapalli*.[2] The commentator Kshirasvami explains the suffix *palli* to mean 'a village' or 'a dwelling place'.[3]

Therefore the term *ghosha* means a village of the cowherds. It has no ethnic significance and does not carry the sense of a tribe at least in early literature.

The Abhiras and their Ghoshas

There is however a definite relationship between the terms *ghosha* and *Abhira*. It should be noted that the *Mahābhāshya* indirectly reflects upon the profession of the *Abhiras*, to denote the *dvandva compound*. In the same context, he has used some phrases *viz. gobalivardam*, which means 'cows and bulls', and *gāva utkālitapunsakā vāhaya cha vikrayāya cha*, means that 'the cattle are driven out purchased and sold'. These phrases, indirectly point to the profession of the Abhiras. Throughout the whole Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, the Abhiras have only been portrayed as professional cowherds from the earliest times. Our suggestion finds support from the sutra No. 2, 4, 10, 5 wherein, the *Chaṇḍālas* have been referred to as living beyond the four units of the Aryan settlements. Here, the phrase *mritapāśchavasanti*, has been employed to reflect upon the profession of the *Chaṇḍālas*. The *Chaṇḍālas* used to remove the corpse of the animals and tan their skins. As the phrase *mritapāśchavasanti* indicates the settlement of the chandalas on the cremation ground as well as their profession, similarly the phrase, *gobalivardam* and others may be taken to reflect indirectly upon the profession of the Abhiras.

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1. रजकास्तुन्नवायांश्च ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः
The Ramayana of Valmiki with the Commentary (Tilak) of Rama, Bombay, 1909, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 83, 15; *The Valmiki Ramayana*, Ganpatkrishnaji edition, Bombay, 1781, Saka, Ch. 83, 15, p. 161. The North Western recension of Valmiki Ramayana has different reading in which the term *ghosha* does not appear at all. The sloka is as follows:--
रजकास्तंतुवायाश्च सूत मागधवन्दिनः
The Ramayana of Valmiki Ayodhyakanda, critically edited by Pt. Ramlabhaya, Amritsar, 1928, Ch. 94, 15, p. 365.
2. घोष आभीरपल्लीस्यात्पक्कणः शबरालयः
Amarakosha, *Op. cit.*, 1894, p. 63.
3. घोष आभीरपल्लीस्यात् पाल्यते पल्लीगृहालीकुटी ग्राम
Nāmaliṅgānuśāsan of Amarasimha, *op cit.*

The Natyasastra of Bharata describes the language spoken in the *ghoshas* (*ghoshasthān* i.e. *ābhīrapalli*) as *Ābhīrī* or *Śabarī*.[1] It is known that *Ābhīrī* was the language of the Abhiras. The use of *Ābhīrī* further proves that the *ghoshas* were the settlements of the Abhīras.

Gopa or Gopala

The appellation *Gopa* or *Gopala* is professional and gives an idea of a milkman. This term as we have seen has its modern derivation as *Guala*.

It is worth noticing that the epigraphs of the Hoysalas, Kalachuris, Chalukyas of Kuntala and the Yadavas of Devagiri, have used the term *Guala* for the Ābhīra rulers of Konkan and Khandesh.[2] It would appear therefore, that like Ahir, the appellation *Gvala* was also prevalent in the 13th Century A.D. at least in Maharashtra. The term is strictly professional, as such it does not possess any ethnic significance. The Abhiras were cowherds by profession, and though they acquired kingly dignity, yet the fact that they were a professional milkmen tribe remained in the memory of the people. That is why the term *Gvala* has so freely been employed by the panegyrists of the Hoysalas, Kalachuris, Chalukyas and the Yadavas.

The terms Abhira, Ghosha, and Gopa or Gopala in ancient Sanskrit literature

After discussing the history of the above terms we pass on to investigate their use in the sources, especially the Epics and the Puranas. In the Epics and the Puranas, the terms *Gopa*, *Gopala*, and *Ghosha* have been employed in their respective sense as relating to the Abhiras. The *Mahabharata* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* use the terms *Gopala* and *Ābhīras*.[3] The Abhiras have further been described as low born Gopas in the Bhagavatapurana in connection with the above.[4]

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1. गवाश्वाजा विकौष्ट्रादिघोषस्थान निवासिनाम्
आभीरोक्तिःशाबरी वा द्राविडी द्रविडादिषु
Natyasastra of Bharata, Edited by Pandit Kedarnath, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1943, 17, 55, p. 275.
2. See Chapter III.
3. आभीरामन्त्रयामासुः समेत्याशुभदर्शिनाः
Mahabharata, Maushalaparva, Ch. 7, 221, 223; 16, 8, 45, B.O.R.I.;
आभीरामन्त्रयामासुरसमेत्यात्यंतदुर्मदाः
Vishnupurana, V, 38, 14, 49.
4. *Bhagavatapurana*, I, 15, 20.

Not only the writers of the Epics and the Puranas but even the secular writers have also used the terms *Gopala*, *Ghosha* and the *Abhiras* for the same people. Budhasvamin, in his *Brihatkathāślokasamgraha* refers to the story of an Abhira, who lived in *ghosha* wherein *Abhira* and *Gopa* both the terms have been used to the same people.[1]

Another evidence to identify the Gopalas and Abhiras can be furnished from the Brahmapurana. The Brahmapurana specially uses the terms *Gopali* and *Ghoshakanyā* while referring to the mother of Kālayavana, the famous enemy of Krishna.[2] At another place in the Brahmapurana, the Gopalas have been described as living in the *ghoshas*.3

To sum up we find that the terms *Ābhīra*, *Ghosha*, *Gopa* or *Gopala* are identical and have the same import from the earliest time. The term *Ābhīra* is an ethnic name of the tribe while the *Ghosha* denotes their settlement. The reason of giving such a name to the residence of the Abhiras seems to be that the Abhiras being cowherds cried aloud while herding their cattle. Thus these noisy spots of the village came to be called '*Ghosha*'. As tending cows was their profession, hence the appellation *Gopala* or *Gopa*, is purely professional and has no ethnic significance.

II

The Abhiras in Tradition and Literature

The origin of the Abhiras is steeped in obscurity. Though we often come across references about them in ancient Indian literature, hardly any of them throw light on their origin. The *Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali* simply mentions them as a tribe distinct from the Śūdras, but no information about their origin is available from it.

The Mahabharata, represents them living with the predatory forest tribes, already specified in the 1st Chapter. It is evident from the *Bhuvanakosha* chapters of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* that these forest tribes were organised in the form of the *gaṇas* of the mercenaries and free-looters, hostile to Aryans. In some

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1. *Brihatkathaslokasamgraha of Budhasvamin*, Edited by Lacote, Chapter XX, Paris, MDCCCCVIII, śloka 235-56.
2. *Brahamapurana*, Ch. XIII, śloka 48-50.
3. *Ibid.* Ch. 103, 14.

later references however they have also been connected with the fourfold order of the society.

An interesting legend in this connection may be cited from the *Mahābhārata* wherein it is recorded that the *Draviḍas*, *Ābhīras*, *Puṇḍras* and the *Śabaras* became *Śūdras* (*vrishalas*) due to neglect of their *Kshatriya* duties assigned to them.[1] The context of this tradition is the legend of *Paraśurāma*, according to which, the tribes mentioned above, took refuge in the forests and hills due to fear of being killed. An analogy may be suggested here, that the aim of the author of the *Mahabharata* was to give a status of the degraded Kshatriyas, to the Abhiras to provide some place in four-fold order of the Aryanas. This legend however hardly deserves any serious consideration, hence the Abhiras cannot be regarded to be of Kshatriya caste. No authentic geneology can be produced to prove that the Abhiras originated from the Kshatriyas.

According to Manu the Abhiras were born of a Ambashṭha woman and Brahmana father.[2] The Abhiras, according to this statement should be taken as degraded Brahmanas, rather than the degraded Kshatriyas, as the society of Manu was patriarchal. It is possible to suggest that the above theories were incorporated in the texts when they acquired considerable political status. But the Abhiras, could not attain high status in the society, inspite of their capacity to bear arms and command the services of the *Kshatriya* caste.[3] Hemachandra opines that the Abhiras, being cowherds (*gavādyupajīvī*) were a section of the Vaisyas (*vaiśya-bhedena*),[4] the analogy seemsto take its birth from the four-fold classification of Manu, who assigns cultivation and cattle-breeding to the Vaisyas. It should be noticed that the tending of cows was regarded as the profession of a herdsman in the time of Hemachandra, hence the opinion of Hemachandra remains as his view only, while the society could not recognise their status of a *Vaiśya*. However a section of the Ahirs of Purenia district of Bihar believes that they were the Vaiśyas of Brindaban and trading in milk and butter. The persistence of the traditional belief of the people got impetus from the unusual institutions of the Abhiras which

1. *Mbh. Aśvamedādhikaparva*, Ch. XXIX, 830-832.
2. *Manavadharmasastra with commentary of Govindaraja*, Edited by V. N. Mandlik, Bombay, 1886, Vol. II, 1288.
3. *Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Benares Edition, p. 294.
4. *Abhidhanachintamani of Hemachandra*, Edited by Boehtlink and Riew S.T., Petersburg, 1847, p. 522.

were looked down upon by the people. The lax morality of the women and their predatory instinct may be cited as an example of the same. The *Smritichandrika* of *Devaṇṇabhatta*, a treatise on Hindu Law, assigned from 1200 A.D. to 1225 by Dr. P. V. Kane records that the *Ābhīrapadas* were always placed outside the *varṇas* and the *āsramas*.[1] This indicates that the Abhiras were not included in the varṇāśramadharma even in the 13th Century A.D.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata*, records that *Śabari* and *Ābhīri* were spoken in the *Ghoshas*, the settlements of the *Ābhīras*.[2] This use of *Śabari* and *Ābhīri* dialects may indicate a close association of the Sabaras and the Abhiras, rather a class as a whole.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the Abhiras as a fierce looking wild-race[3] called *dasyu*, a term generally attributed to the non-Aryan primitive tribes of India in ancient literature. The *Ramayana* goes to describe them as untouchables and it is a sin to touch them (*tairnatatsparśanampāpam*).

The *Vedavyasasmriti*, maintains that *Nāpitas*, *Gopas*, *Kiratas*, *Kayasthas* and the *Mālākaras* are *śūdras* though their professions are different.[4] Similar statement has been made by the *Brahmavaivartapurana*, wherein the Gopas have been described as *varṇasaṅkaras*.[5] The term *varṇasaṅkara* certainly means ' a man of the low or impure origin.' *Somadeva* in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*, describes the Gopa as a man of low origin.[6] The *Brihannāradiyapuraṇa* further testifies that the Abhiras were not entitled to worship the gods. The *Brihannāradīyapurāṇa* records that " by saluting a *linga* worshipped by an Abhira, one goes to hell..... even though one be versed in the Vedas or knows the meanings of all the *śāstras*." The high class people have been warned by *Brihannāradīyapurāṇa* that " one who salutes a *liṇga* or (an image of) *Vishnu* worshipped by an Abhira meets with des-

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1. *Smritichandrika of Devannabhatta*, Translated by J. R. Gharpure, Vyavahara Khanda, Bombay, 1948, Pt. I, p. 52.
2. *Natyasastra of Bharata, op. cit.*
3. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, XXII, 30-36.
4. *Vedavyasasmriti*, I, 10-11; Kane P. V., *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 76.
5. *Brahmavaivartapurana*, Brahmakhanda, Ch. X, 17.
6. Tawney C. H., Ed. by Penzer, *The Ocean of story*, V, London, MCMXXVI, p. 149.

truction."[1] This extreme contemptuous view of the *Brihannāradīyapurāṇa* represents the opinion of the most conservative section of the society. If we accept the dates established by Dr. R. C. Hazara for the compilation of this work (circa 7th Century A.D.to 15th Century),[2] then it would appear that during this period the Abhiras lost their glory due to the onslaughts of the south Indian powers. This problem as has been dealt with thoroughly in the third chapter of this work, would show that in most cases the wholesale political distruction of the Abhiras were brought by the *Chālukyas*, *kadambas* and the *Yadavas* etc. on the initiation of the Brahmans. Therefore this attitude of the *Brihannāradīyapurāṇa* is not surprising.

It is evident from the above data that the Abhiras had no connection with the Aryan blood. Being forest-dwellers they were living in the mountain fastness hence their identity seems to have remained obscure for a long time that is why possibly they have not been mentioned in the records earlier than the 2nd Centruy B.C. In course of their migration they came in conflict with the Aryans. As these forest tribes were organised in the form of a *gaṇa* or a republic of the mercenaries, they started their inroads upon the Aryans. They were nomadic herdsmen living in the forest, hence thay had no connection with the Aryan *varṇas*.

Evidently the Aryans considered them as *Śūdras* who were outside the pale of the Aryan society. Due to their considerable importance they were regarded better than the ordinary Śūdras. *Kaśika*, a commentator of *Mahabhashya* describes them as *mahāśūdras*.[3]

Are Abhiras Foreigners ?

Some scholars have branded the Abhiras as foreign hordes upon Indian soil which seems to have been based upon the Puranic evidences. The Puranas have used the term *mlechchhas* to the Abhiras.[4] The term *mlechchha* has been taken by Dr. Bhandarkar in respect of the Abhiras, to mean ' a foreigner '[5] he opines that the Abhiras were foreign hordes who made incursions into India. V. A. Smith,

1. *Brihannaradiyapurana*, Edited by Panchanan Tarkaratna, Vangavasi Press, Calcutta, Second Edition, 14, 63; 14, 566-67; Hazra, *Studies in the Upapuranas*, Vol. I, Cal. Sanskrit College Series, 1928, p. 324: Naradiyapurana of Bombay edition does not contain this sloka.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.
3. *Kasika Vivaranapanjika*, Edited by S. C. Chakravarty, Bengal, 1913, Vol. I, p. 809.
4. *Matsyapurana*, 50; 70; *Vishnupurana*, V, 38, 13; Mbh. Mausalaparva, 7, 222.
5. BHANDARKAR D. R. ' Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population ', *Ind. Ant.*, XL, p. 16.

A. B. Keith and W. W. Tarn are in agreement with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, but assign different periods of their entry into India.[1]

The theory of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is sustainable on the correct interpretation of the terms *mlechchha*. The term *mlechchha* means, a 'foreigner', 'non-Aryan', 'unbeliever of Hindu rituals', and 'non-Sanskrit speaking man'.[2] In the *Śatapatha Brahmana*, this term has been used in the sense of 'non-Aryan—one who does not speak Sanskrit and an unbeliever of Hindu ritual'.[3] This term has not rigidly been used in the Sanskrit literature in the sense of a foreigner especially in the Epics and the Puranas. In its modern sense it is used for a person not conforming the traditional Hindu rites and customs. This striking continuity of the traditional concept of the term *mlechchha*, from the *Satapatha Brahmana* to the modern age, leads us to suggest that the term *mlechchha* may better be taken in the traditional sense and not as a foreigner, especially in the Epics and the Puranas, which are the depository of ancient Indian lores.

The Abhiras were a non-Sanskrit speaking tribe as mentioned by Dandin,[4] addicted to predatory habits. They were hostile to the Aryans and lately taken into Vaishnavism.[5] This may suggest that they were not conforming to the usual Hindu rites, hence the term *mlechchha* seems to have been used for the Abhiras. The passage of the Matsyapurana, revealing the *mlechchha* origin of the Ābhīras, gives an appropriate sense in the light of the above interpretation[6] but not

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1. Smith V. A., *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, p. 200; Keith, A. B., *History of Sanskrit* Literature, Oxford, 1928, pp. 33-34; Tarn W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, London, 1928, p. 172.

2. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dic.*, Oxford, 1899, p. 837.

3. Weber, *The Satapatha Brahmana*, *Berlin*. 1855, p. 325.

4. *Kavyadarsa of Dandin*, Edited by Rangacharya Reddi, Shastri B.O.R.I., Poona, 1938, sloka 36, p. 35; Keith, *Op. cit* p. 32; Ghosal S. N. 'Dr. Jacobi's Introduction to the Bhavisatta Kaha', *Journal Orient. Insti., M. S. University, Baroda*, V., p. 30.

5. किरात हूणान्ध्रपुलिन्द पुल्कसा
आभीर कंङ्का यवनाः खसादयः
येऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाश्रयाः
शुध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवेनमः
Bhagavatapurana, II, 4, 18.

6. तेभ्योऽपरेऽपि ये त्वन्ये ह्यत्पत्स्यन्ते नृपाः पुनः
क्षत्राः पारशवाः शूद्रास्तथाऽन्ये ये बहिश्चराः
आन्ध्राःशकाः पुलिन्दाश्च चूलिका यवनस्तथा
कैवर्ताभीरश्बरा ये चान्ये म्लेच्छ संभवाः

Continued on P. 27

'a foreigner'. The *Mahabhasya of Patanjali* also does not support the theory of foreign migration of the Abhiras.

The evidences of Buddhist, Jain or Greek sources do not give the slightest indication of any Abhira-migration into India in any period of Indian History. All the sources unanimously portray their well-settled life in the country with Indian aboriginals, directing their activities to pastoral pursuits. The theory of foreign migration, however, seems to have been based on mere speculation.

The period of the migration of the Abhiras has been suggested by A. B. Keith to be before 150 B.C.[1] while W. W. Tarn places it just after Alexander's death.[2] In order to ascertain the possibility of the Abhiras migration, it is advisable to analyse the events took place in the above period. The historians of Alexander clearly inform us that Alexander appointed Satraps all over his empire which was divided between his generals immediately after his death. In such a political upheavel when there was a great rising in the country against the foreign yoke, the migration of foreign tribes should be difficult, if not impossible. The possibility of this migration was still less in the time of the strong Mauryan rule. The death of Asoka was followed by the establishment of the Indo-Greek power in Western Punjab, the North Western Frontier Provinces and Sindh. It is in the 2nd Century B.C., that Patañjali speaks about the Abhiras settled in India as a caste (*jāti*). It is remarkable to note that if the Abhiras were not very well-known to the people in the second Century B.C., Patañjali would have not selected them as an example to illustrate a '*dvanda*' compound, which proves their long establishment in India.

The Ethnographical Survey of Bombay identifies the Abhiras with the tribes settled on the N.W.F. of India on the basis of the similarity of certain common traits. The theory is too far-fetched to ascertain their origin.[3] William Hunter's

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Pargiter translates it as follows:—

'Moreover, there will be other kings besides then, who shall arise, Kshtriya, Parasavas, Sudras and others who will be foreigners; Andhras, Sakas, Pulindas, Chulikas and Yavanas, Kaivartas, Abhiras and Sabaras and others who will be of Mlechchha origin".

Matsyapurana, Steam Press, Bombay, 50, *slokas* 75-76; Pargiter, *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 2-3, 65.

1. Cf. f.n. no. 1. page no. 26.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ethnograpgical Survey of Bombay*, Bombay, 1903, p. 6.

opinion that the Abhiras were Scythians has been based upon the custom of a widow marrying the brother of her deceased husband,[1] prevalent amongst the Ahirs today. He understands that the custom indicates their Scythian origin. This view of Shri Hunter seems to be doubtful as according to Manu, the custom of widow-marriage was already known in India. This custom is prevalent among many castes *e.g.* Pasis, Jats and Meher even today. Hence, it cannot exclusively be a Scythian custom and therefore, the theory of the foreign origin of the Abhiras is speculative and there is no evidence to prove it.

Shifting Foci

With the establishment of the Magadhan Empire in Eastern India and Eastern Punjab, these primitive tribes took shelter in the Rajasthan which became a centre of their accentuated activities after the decline of the Mauryan Empire. The Malavas and the Yaudheyas may be cited as an example. From this period we get definite information about the Abhiras.

1. *Ibid.* p. 3.

Chapter III

RISE AND FALL OF THE ABHIRAS

The unrecorded history of the Abhiras could partly be surmised from the stray references in the Epics and the Puranas. Like many other predatory tribes of the Punjab, they must have led a turbulent life fighting for money besides grazing their cattle. Earlier than the Epics and the Puranas there are no written records of the valourous deeds of the Abhiras. There is no doubt, that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Abhiras, discarding their tribal culture, rather primitive economy, formed a kingdom which however did not last for long.

The Mahabharata gives glimpses of the constant fight between the primitive savagery and the Aryan colonies. The legend of the disappearance of Sarasvati at Vinasana, due to the hatred towards the Sudrabhiras[1] points to the above. The reason of this perpetual hatred has not clearly been defined in the Mahabharata; possibly, it would have been a result of the expansion of the Abhiras, however, it is difficult to be certain when it actually happened. Their participation in the Mahabharata war, being placed in the eyes of *Drona's suparnavyuha*[2] from the side of the *Kauravas*, clearly attests their mercenary character.

All brahmanical sources are agreed upon the point, that the Abhiras were an independent people and organized like a *gaṇa* (republic) of mercenaries.[3] According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal, they had some kind of constitution, like the other *vrātyas*,[4] to carry out their activities. The Ramayana of Vālmīki, postulates them as the stalwart-doyen of the wrong-doers.[5]

Nevertheless, some characteristics of the tribal republics of the Abhiras can be had from the sporadic references in the Epics and the Puranas. It appears however, that they used to assemble to decide the important issues in their dire need, and the decisions were taken by the members on the floor. The *Bhāgavata-*

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1. *Mbh.* IX, 37, 2119.
2. *Ibid.*, VII, 20, 6; VII, 20, 798.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, 10, 46; sabhaparva, XXIX, 8; *Markandeyapurana*, 49, 50.
4. Agrawal V. S., *Paninikalina Bharata*, Benares, 2012 V.E., p. 431.
5. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, *op. cit.*

purāna explicitly states the occasion, when a meeting of such a nature was summoned to determine the question of averting the impending danger, in the cowpens of vraja.[1] We come across another reference of such a meeting when Arjuna was passing through the *Pañchanada* country, with the women and wealth of the *Vrishṇis* after the death of Sri Krishna. The Abhiras met to decide the question of an attack upon Arjuna.[2] The proceedings of these meetings are not known. However, the meeting in the cowpens of Vraja indicates that the floor was dominated by the old and influential members of the tribe,[3] as it happens in the caste *panchayats* of today.

The tribal chiefs of the Abhira confederacy seem to have been the most influential and powerful members of the tribe. The *Bhāgavatapurāna* mentions Nanda, as the head of the Gopas and all the cows were his property. According to the Harivamsa, the tribal metters were also discussed in the meeting.[4] The other tribal persons of the Gopa confederacy known from the Puranas were Upananda and Sunanda.[5]

The period of these primitive republics of the Abhiras is difficult to ascertain due to lack of contemporary evidences. The history of the Abhiras before the second century B.C., as a matter of fact, is vogue. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, on the slender evidences of *Mrichchhakaṭika* of Sudraka and *Pratijnāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhasa, has endeavoured[6] to prove that King Chandapradyota of Avanti was an Abhira. His argument that Aryaka, the grandson of Prodyota and nephew of King Palaka, a character in the *Mrichchhakaṭika*, was an Abhira cannot conclusively prove Pradyota to be an Abhira. The Puranic[7] references also about the accession of Pradyoṭa, on the very site of the Kshatriyas, do not seem to cohere with the evidences of *Mrichchhakaṭika*. The primitive free-booter Abhiras how-

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1. *Bhagavatapurana*, X, 11, 21.
2. *Vishnupurana*, V, 38, 18; *Mbh.* XVI, 7, 223, 8270.
3. *Bhagavatapurana*, *op. cit.*, *Harivamsa*, Vishnuparva, Ch. 9, pp 6-9.
4. *Ibid.*, slokas 1-4.
5. *Bhagavatapurana*, X, 11, 21-22; *Padmapurana*, Patalakhanda, II, 72, 6.
6. BHANDARKAR D. R., ' Note on Ancient History of India ', *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 15-16; *Mrichchhakatika of Śudraka*, Edited by K. P. Parab, Bombay, 1900, Act. IV, p. 112; Ryder, The *Little Clay Cart*, Cmb., 1905, p. 100; *Pratijñāyaugandharayana of Bhasa*, Edited by Ganapatisastri, Trivendrum, 1912, p. 24.
7. PARGITER, *Puranic Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, pp. 18, 68.

ever cannot be equated with the highly civilized Pradyotas of the sixth century B.C. Therefore, the theory of Bhandarkar is untenable.

The Abhiras, being mercenary people came in close contact with the Sakas. References to Saka overlordship over the country of the Abhiras, can be seen in Ptolemy's geography. In the 1st centruy B.C. Abhiradesa formed one of the provinces of Indo-Scythia. From the fact that the Sakas stepped in to the shoes of the Greeks, W.W. Tarn suggests that Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus, the King of Bactria was the first to conquer the country of the Abhiras.[1] A. K. Narain refutes W.W. Tarn and suggests that the tradition of the great conquests of Demetrius in India rests entirely on slender threads of evidence.[2] The conquest of Abhiradesa may however be accredited to the Sakas, rather than the Greeks in the 1st century B.C. What part the Abhiras played in the conquest of their country is difficult to recall. It is borne out from the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman I however, that the Sakas continued their occupation of Abhiradesa and Gujarat in the 1st century A.D.[3]

A record of *Rudrabhuti*, the commander-in-chief of Saka Satrap Rudrasimha III, dated 191 A.D. indicates[4] that the Abhiras were patronised by the Sakas, and held responsible positions under them. It mentions that Bapaka, the father of Rudrabhiti was a commander-in-chief of the Saka army. The generalship passed from father to son is an interesting example of Indian History.

It appears that due to the patronage of the Sakas, the Abhiras gave up their mercenary character and became regular soldiers in the Saka army, which provided them ample opportunity for training in the state crafts.

Rise of the Abhiras

Tradition of the earliest kingdoms of the Abhiras, has been preserved by *Vātsyāyana*, the author of *Kāmasūtra*, in the circa first century B.C.[5] Mention

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1. Tarn W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Camb., 1951, p. 142.
2. Narain A. K., *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 44.
3. Raychaudhary H. C., *Pol. Hist. of Ancient India*, Cal., 1938, p. 371; Filliozat J., *Pol. Hist. of India*, Cal., 1957, p. 198.
4. *Indian Ant.*, X, p. 157-8; *Epig. Ind.*, XVI, p. 236.
5. *The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Benares, 1912, p. 287; Chakaladar H. C., Social Life in Ancient India, Cal., 1929, p. 33.

is made of an Abhira king of Kotta. This Kotta, can be indentified with the Kota-Bundi of Rajasthan, on the basis of the traditions of Ahir rule current there.[1]

This rise of the Abhiras was not limited to Gujarat only, but Maharashtra also was not free from their activities. It is reasonable to hold that in the hey-day of the Andhra Empire, the Abhiras were occupying responsible positions specially in Khandesh. *Vishnupurana* have specifically mentioned the Abhiras as the servants of the Andhras.[2]

Politically, South India after the last Satavahana emperor Pulumavi IV, witnessed mighty unheavals and the government of the Andhras gave place to anarchy.

As a result of the dismemberment of the Satavahana empire the local feudatories rose up in arms and proclaimed their independence.[3] The Abhiras, who were truculent from the beginning of their history, utilised this god sent opportunity and plotted out to found a kingdom in the 3rd century A.D.

Isvarasena an Abhira Chief, known from an inscription in Cave X at Nasik dated 250 A.D. was the founder of this kngdom.[4] Sivadatta, the father of Rajan Isvarasena, bears no title in the epigraph, which indicates that he was not a king.

The sovereignty of the Abhiras was established firmly with the inauguration of *Abhira-era* which scholars have unanimously accredited to Iśvarasena.[5] Later on, when the Traikutakas, Kalachuris and early Chalukyas ruled over the above regions, it came to be called as *Kalachuri-chedi* era.[6] (Fig. 4)

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1. The commentator of the Kamasutra, however, locates Kotta in Gujarat, *Ibid.*, p. 294.

2 *Vishnupurana*, IV, 24, 51. Generally, the puranas have *āvabhṛitya*, in the texts which has been commented by Sridharaswami as the Abhiras belonging to the city of *āvabhritya*. But Pargiter takes *Adhrabhritya* as the correct reading of the text.

3. Sircar, D. C., *The successors of the Satavahanas*, Cal., 1939, p. 3.

4. *Epigr. Ind.*, VIII, 88-89; Mirashi *Corpus Inscri. Indicarum.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, Ootacamond, 1955, p. xxxiii.

5. Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, London, 1908, cl., xii, Mirashi. V.V., *Op cit.* xxxiv.

6. Mirashi, V. V. ' Were the Maharajas of Khandesh the Feudatories of the Guptas', I.H.Q., XXIII, p. 158; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. I to XXX; *Epigr. Indica*, XXIII, p. 48.

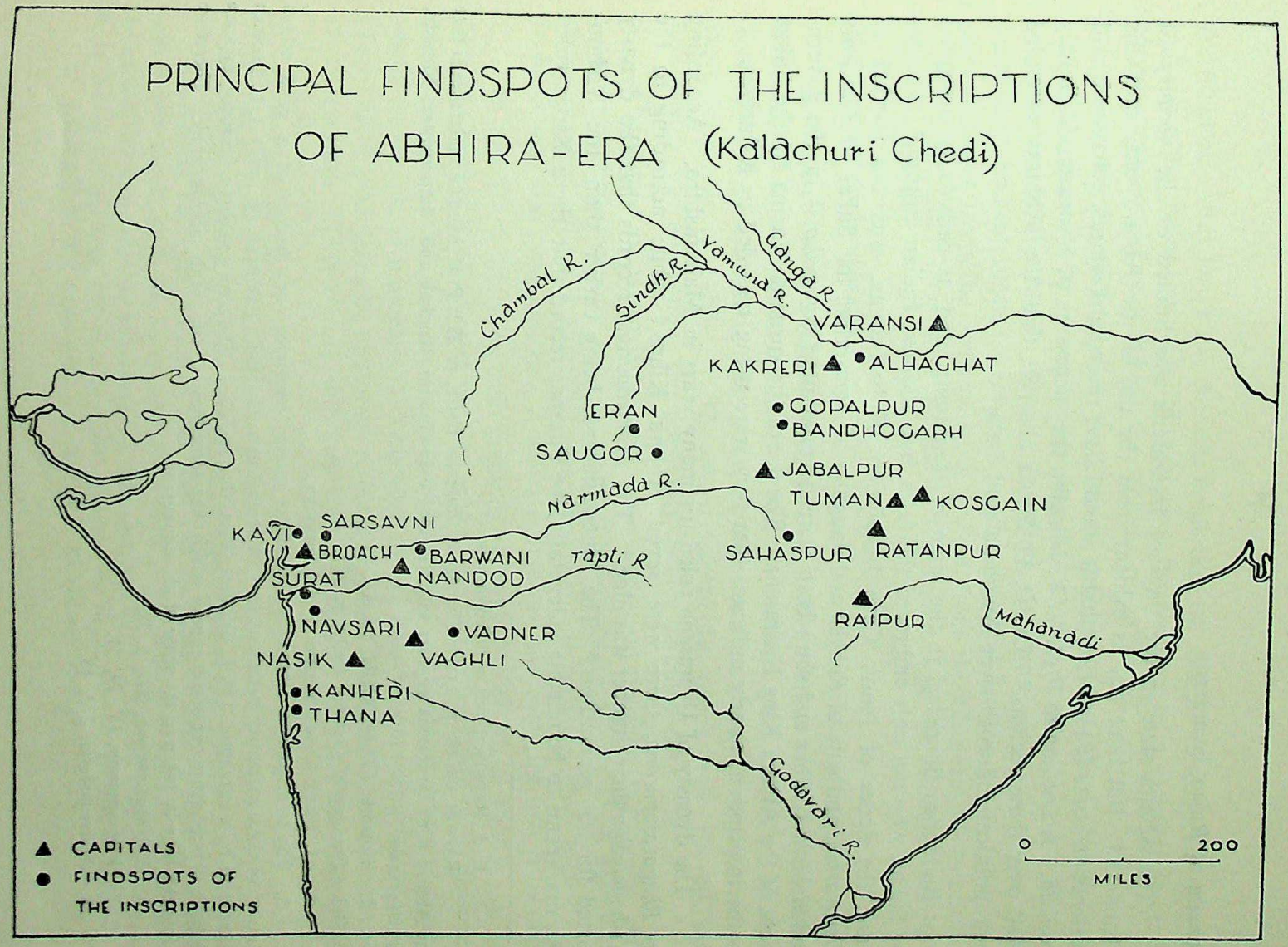
PRINCIPAL FINDSPOTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS
OF ABHIRA-ERA (Kalachuri Chedi)
Chambal R.
Sindh R.
Yamuna R.
Ganga R.
VARANSI
KAKRERI
ALHAGHAT
ERAN
GOPALPUR
BANDHOGARH
SAUGOR
JABALPUR
Narmada R.
TUMAN
KOSGAIN
SARSAVNI
KAVI
BROACH
BARWANI
NANDOD
Tapti R.
SAHASPUR
RATANPUR
SURAT
RAIPUR
Mahanadi
NAVSARI
VADNER
NASIK
VAGHLI
KANHERI
THANA
Godavari R.
CAPITALS
FINDSPOTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS
0
200
MILES

Fig. 4

Domain of Rajan Isvarasena

The Abhira state in the days of Iśvarasena was limited to the vicinity of Khandesh.[1] But later on, as evident from the use of the Abhira era, and the existence of some feudatories, that it should have included Gujarat, Khandesh and Konkan. According to Prof. V. V. Mirashi, the successors of Iśvarasena definitely ruled over these regions.[2] Dr. D. C. Sircar observes that the Abhiras extended their political influence over Aparanta and Lata.[3]

Buddhism flourished in the reign of Iśvarasena, and its catholicity attracted the Sakas, who not only embraced the faith but adopted Indian culture.[4] *Vishnu-dattā*, the donee of Nasik Cave Inscription of Iśvarasena, was the mother of *Visvavarma*, and wife of *Rebhila* and daughter of *Agnivarma*, the Saka. *Viśvavarma* and *Rebhila* (father and son) both were accountants (*gaṇapaka*)[5] in the government of the Abhira King Iśvarasena. The use of the surname Varma by the Śakas in the inscription, clearly indicates that they were being regarded as Kshtriyas.

The dynasty of Iśvarasena ruled for many years in Maharashtra. According to *Bhagavatapurana*, there were seven Abhira Kings,[6] while according to the *Vishnupurana* their number was nine.[7] The *Matsyapurana* records that the dynasty lasted for ten generations.[8] The Matsyapurana, being earlier than the Vishnu-purana, seems to be reliable. Generally, the Puranas record that these Kings ruled

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1. E. J. Rapson, holds a different view.
Rapson, *op. cit.* p. xxxiv; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222; Prof. Mirashi understands that the Abhira King Iśvarasena appears to have ruled over Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, Mirashi, *op. cit.*, xxxiv.
2. Mirashi, *I.H.Q*; XXIII, pp. 157-8.
3. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222.
4. c.f. Nasik Cave Inscription of Iśvarasena.
5. The term *gaṇapaka* according to Bühler means 'protector' or 'leader' of a gaṇa which consists of three gulmas or battalions, may be equivalent to Colonel. (Buhler, *op. cit.*) B. L. Indraji takes it to be a surname. (B. L. Indraji, *Bom. Gaz. op. cit.*) The term *ganapaka*, however, appears to have derived from the word *gaṇana* which has something to do with accountancy. Therefore *gaṇapaka* may be taken in the sense of an accountant.
6. *Bhagavatapurana*, XII, I, 29.
7. *Vishnupurana*, IV, 24, 51.
8. *Matsyapurana*, 273, 18.

for 67 years. But Dr. V. V. Mirashi holds that the rule of 10 kings for 67 years only, is abnormally low. Dr. Mirashi cites the evidence of a manuscript of the Vayupurana according to which the Abhiras ruled for 167 years.[1]

It is worth-noticing, that the Abhira territories of Gujarat, Konkan and Khandesh, passed over to the Traikutakas in A.D. 415, exactly 167 years after the establishment of the Abhira State.[2] The *Traikutakas* rose up in 415 A.D., under Indradatta, and established themselves in Khandesh and Konkan. The *Traikutakas* were different from the Abhiras as is evident from the Chandravalli Inscription of Mayursarman. Thus after the rise of the Traikutakas, the Abhiras receded in the background.

Mahakshatrapa Isvaradatta

Iśvarasena has been identified by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar with Mahakshatrapa Iśvaradatta,[3] known from his coins found in Gujarat with the coins of Śaka Kshatrapa Rudrasena III. Generally, scholars are agreed upon the point that Iśvaradatta was an Abhira.[4] Though it cannot be conclusively proved that Iśvaradatta was an Abhira, the possibility cannot be ruled out.

The period of Iśvaradatta can be ascertained on numismatic grounds. His coins have been unearthed with the coins of Svami Rudrasena III which have been dated between Śaka 273 and 301.[5] As the coins of Iśvaradatta, have been dated in his regnal years one and two, it indicates that his rule lasted for two years only.

In the hoard which contain coins dated Saka 273 of Svami Rudrasena, we also find Iśvaradatta's coins of the first regnal year. Another hoard of Rudrasena's coins dated Saka 301, contain the coins of Iśvaradatta, dated in the first and second regnal years. It is important to note that in the hoards containing the coins of Saka 272 of Rudrasena or any other Kshatrapa, before him there is not a single coin of Iśvaradatta. This clearly indicates that Iśvaradatta acquired the throne of

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1. MIRASHI, *op. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. BHANDARKAR, *Arch. Surv. of India Annual Report*, 1913-14, pp. 230-231.
4. RAPSON, *Catalogue of Coins*, *op. cit.*, Plate XIII, pp. c.xxxiii-V, 124; Indraji B. L., J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 657; Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 226. Rapson refutes with Bhandarkar on the identity of Isvaradatta with Isvarasena, and places him in A.D. 236. (Rapson, *op.cit.*, pp. c.xxxv-vi) B. L. Indraji assigns A.D. 249 to Isvaradatta. (Indraji, *op. cit.*,); Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.
5. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XX (Old series), p. 201; N.S. XLVII, pp. 95-96.

Gujarat in the year Śaka 273. Since he could rule for two years only it is possible that he was dethroned by someone in Saka 274. The history of the Abhiras being obscure, the details of this possible event is difficult to recapture.

As Iśvaradatta never ruled ealier than 350 A.D. therefore he had nothing to do with the war of succession which broke out in A.D. 293, between Varhran III and Narseh for the throne of Sakasthan.

In this war, the Sakas were the supporters of Varhran III. The Paikuli Inscription gives an account of this war. But when Narseh was victorious, the Śakas and the Abhiras congratulated him on his accession.[1] In the list of the princes who came to congratulate, Varhran III one *Abhiran-Sāh* has also been mentioned which proves that the Abhiras were ruling as governors under the Śakas in Gujarat. After this war, the Śaka satraps of India proclaimed their independence. The reference of *Abhiran Sāh* or ' the King of the Abhiras ' indicates that the Abhiras also utilised this god-sent opportunity to establish themselves as a ruling race especially over Kathiavad.

Imperial status of the Abhiras

We have no definite information about the imperial status of the Abhiras. However, the vide use of the Abhira-Era through out Khandesh, Konkan, Gujarat and Saurastra indicates that in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, the Abhiras enjoyed a considerable imperial dignity. A recent discovery of an Abhira inscription from Nagarjunakonda indicates that Rajña Vasushena was a paramount sovereign of his times. On the basis of the internal evidences, the inscription may be assigned to the middle of the fourth century A.D. It records the consecration of a wooden image of *Ashṭabhujasvāmi* by *Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivasevana of *Kauśikagotra*, Yonarajas of Sañjayapura, Rudradaman Śaka of Avanti and Vishṇu-Rudra-Sivalananda Satakarni of Vanavāsi. It is worth noticing that none of the above princes has any title except Sivasevana who has been styled as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahāgrāmika* which are evidently his official designation while Vasushena has been stylled as *rajña* which is an indicative of his superiority over the above princes. It is not unlikely to understand therefore that Vasushena was the overlord of Śivasevana, Yonarajas, Rudradaman and Vishnu Rudra Sivalananda Satakarni.

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1. Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli Monuments and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire*, Vol. I, 1924, pp. 35-44.

It is possible to suggest the identifications of the above feudatories with some certainty except in few cases. Taking for example Śivasevana, we see that he seems to be an Officer, evidently of Vasushena Abhira. Since his title *Mahātalavara* akin more to the Ikshvaku princes if not exclusively, it is very probable to understand that he was a scion of the Ikshvakus. As the inscription has been discovered at Nagarjunakonda at Ikshvaku level, the probability of Sivasevana being an Ikshvaku prince cannot be ruled out. The Sañjayapura of Yonarajas may be the same as Sanjayanti referred to in the Mahabharata in connection with the conquest of Sahadeva.

Since the word *Yonarājabhiḥ* is plural, hence it seems that the word has been used for more than two princes of the same line. Rudradaman of Avanti seems to be the Rudradaman II who was the father of Rudrasena III and ruled at Avanti between A.D. 327-348. The last prince Vishṇu Rudra Śivalananda Śatakarni had his capital at Vanavasi (modern Vanavasi) and was a scion of the Imperial Satavahanas as his name suggests.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi has pointed out the names of some other feudatories of the Abhiras[1] who have been placed more or less in the same period. These feudatories were the Maharajas Svamidasa, Bhulunda and Rudradasa, known from their grants. They are recorded to have ruled in Khandesh in the years 67, 107 and 117 of the *Abhīra-era* which may be rendered to the year 316, 356 and 366 of the Christian era.

The questions of the identifications of these Maharajas with the feudatories of the Abhiras is controversial. Dr. D. C. Sircar argues that the dates recorded in the land-grants of these Maharajas should better be referred to the Gupta era, and therefore the Maharajas Svamidasa, Bhulunda and Rudradasa[2] were possibly the feudatories of Chandragupta II or Kumaragupta I.

The earliest date of the Gupta era known to us is 82 G.E. of the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta. As the Gupta era never spread to Khandesh, evidently the dates of the land-grants in question cannot be taken to have been recorded in the Gupta era. The only era which was used in the 4th century A.D. there was the Abhira era. Paleographically also, these grants should be assigned to the 4th century A.D., therefore, the years 67, 107 and 117 of the grants should

1. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscr. op. cit.*, XXXV; 'Age of the Bagh Caves', *I.H.Q.*, p. 81.
2. Sircar, D. C. , *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 222-223.

be referred to the Abhira era. The suzerainty of the Guptas as a matter of fact was never recognised officially in Khandesh, thus there is no possibility of the Gupta over-lordship in that region. It is worth noticing that the above mentioned dates cannot be taken to the Gupta-era as the empire of the Guptas did not extend to the Deccan. Therefore the above Maharajas were the feudatories of the Abhiras.

The other feudatories of the Abhiras *Iśvarata* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyak Saka Śrīdharavarman* are known to us from their inscriptions discovered at Chhota Udaipur and Kanakhera near Sanchi. *Iśvarata* was ruling in Central Gujarat and *Śaka Śrīdharvarman* was evidently the chief of the region near about Sanchi. As both the chiefs have used the Abhira-era therefore the possibilities of their being the vassals of the Abhiras cannot be ruled out. We can also rely to some extent on the numerous unwritten legends of strong Ahir-rule spread in Khandesh and other regions about the imperial status of the Abhiras. It is however evident from the epigraphs that the Abhiras ruled over Konkan also.

Events of the reign of the Abhiras

The Abhiras witnessed their hard days sometimes in the fourth century A.D. This was the time when the Abhira kingdom started facing the inroads of the contemporary powers. The Chandravalli Inscription records that Mayurasarman of the Kadamba dynasty carried out his extensive conquests upto Vindhya range and defeated the Abhiras also successfully.[1] We are apt to think that this invasion would have checked the rising power of the Abhiras but no permanent results are known to us.

During the same period we hear of the famous invasion of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta. The Abhiras have been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar as a republican tribe with the *Madrakas*. If we agree that the names of the republican tribes mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription have been recorded in the geographical order, than the Abhiras mentioned there in cannot be identified with the Abhira sovereigns of Khandesh. It can also be pointed out here that both the Abhira kings *viz*. Isvarasena and Vasushena of Khandesh known to us so far have been called as *rajna* and it is difficult to believe that the Khandesh Abhiras were republican at all. It seems Samudragupta in his *dakshiṇāpatha* conquest

1. Chandravalli Inscription has been assigned to 345 A.D. by Dr. G. M. Moraes. Dr. Moraes G. M., *The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay, 1931, p. 16. cf. *Arch. Surv. of Mysore*, 1929, p. 60; *Epi. Car.* VII, Introduction, p. 9.

never faught with the Abhira power of Khandesh. Therefore the Abhiras who paid tributes to Samudragupta were not the monarchical Abhiras of Khandesh about whom we have enough epigraphical evidences. The republican Abhiras who have been stated to be living in contiguity with the *Madrakas* are located in the region near about Kangra and Chamba hills in the first Chapter. Possibly this group of the Abhiras paid tributes to Samudragupta.

War with Pulakesin I

About the end of the 6th century A.D., the country of the Abhiras witnessed the invasion of the Chalukyan Emperor Pulakeśin I, who established his away as far as Badami in Kaladgi.[1] It is noteworthy that, amongst the defeated people, in course of the invasion of Pulakesin, the name of the Abhiras does not appear, but J. F. Fleet observes, that Pulakesin I, actually directed the course of his victory and conquered Nasik, the seat of the Abhiras.

What happened to the Abhiras in this invastion we do not know. It can be, taken for granted that the Abhiras became independent again when the storm had passed over.

Dark Period

The history of the Abhiras between the 6th and 8th century A.D. is obscure. During this period the Deccan witnessed the growth of the powerful empire of the Vākāṭakas. It is possible that the Abhiras who had lost their importance due to the rise of the Traikutakas, receded further to the background, and managed to keep themselves aloof.

Downfall of the Abhiras (C 861-1341 A.D.)

In this period, the Abhiras passed through very critical times. They appear to have acquired considerable importance which seems to have incensed all the important powers *viz.* the Chalukyas of Anhilpatana, the Chalukyas of Kuntala, the Hoysalas, the Kalachuris and the Yadavas of Dvaravatipura to launch their campaigns against them. These powers formed a confederacy and trumped up charges to subdue the impregnable and truculent Abhiras.

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1. *Ibid.* 90; FLEET J. F., 'Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions', *Ind. Ant.* VII, p. 247; Prof. Nilkant K. A. Sastri fixes the date of Pulakesin as 543 A.D. *A History of South India*, Madras, 1955, p. 107.

The Abhiras were spread over two States—Saurashtra and Khandesh; both the States being independent. Towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the rival Kshatriya powers, surrounded the Abhira States and plotted their way to uproot them. In this period of 500 years, one after the other, almost all the Deccan powers fought against them. The Abhiras fought singlehanded and could not be overpowered immediately. They resisted for 500 years and faced the tumultuous attacks but in the end succumbed to their fate.

To enter into the detailed history of their downfall, we find that the Ghatiyala Inscription of Kakkuka 918 V.E. (A.D. 861) brings the Abhiras again to the stage of ancient Indian politics. The inscription records the destruction of a village named Rohinsakupa (identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with Ghatiyala, 20 miles N.W. of Jodhpur).[1]

The village became unsafe for residence. Kakkuka, the Pratihar, destroyed the Abhiras and constructed a market place, houses and streets. Kakkuka requested the Brahmans and the Vaisyas to occupy the village as their residence and promised them means of livlihood and safety.

AFFAIRS OF THE ABHIRA-CHUDASAMA KINGS OF GUJRAT

War with Mularaja c. 900-99 A.D.[2]

At the end of the 10th century A.D., the Abhiras faced the invasion of the Chaulukyan king Mularaja of Anhilwara. The Abhiras were rivals of the noble Kshatriyas. Hemachandra in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* mentions Graharipu, as a mighty Abhira—Chudasama king of Saurashtra.[3] He has been described as an oppressor, a turbulent arrogant man addicted to wine and women.[4] His queen, according to Hemachandra was *vidushi*, a learned and virtuous woman.

Graharipu has been described as the lord of Sindhu (*Sindhupatin*).[5] The kingdom of Graharipu comprised of the whole region of Saurashtra, where he

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1. *Ep. Ind.* IX, p. 279.
2. Date according to H. C. RAY, Dynastic Hist. of N. India.
3. *Dvyāśrayakāvya of Hemachandra*, Ed. by KATHAVATE, Bom., 1915, p. 1, 2. The Chudasama kings are described as Abhiras by Merutungacharya.
4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179-186.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 2. 84, p. 187, *Ibid.* v, 64, p. 175; v. 109, p. 206-7.

reigned like the god Vishnu and around his kingdom was the roaring sea.[1] His capital has been described as Mahishmati[2] and his residence as *Vàmanasthali* (modern Vanthali 8 miles from Junagadh).

Causes of War

Hemachandra mentions that Mularaja, the Chaulukyan king, a devout worshipper of Somanath, was instructed by the Lord to destroy Graharipu as the latter was oppressing his worshippers. By force of arms he conquered the Raivataka and adopted the ways of a *mlechchha* (*mlechchhāchāra*). He used to undertake hunting excursions in *Prabhasatīrtha*, the sacred place of the Saivites.[3] Hemachandra represents him as beef-eater.[4] Graharipu was always alert to face any danger.

On the tenth day of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha*, Mularaja started his expedition with great fanfare accompanied by the chanting of the mantras by the Brahmanas.

Marching towards the Battle-field.

King Graharipu sent a messenger to Mularaja who was encamping at the bank of Jambumali river to enquire why his army had come there. Here the statement of the messenger that ' whether he had been invited by the Brahmanas who had made false complaints about their sufferings' is important. Mularaja replied that he could not be friendly with Graharipu, who annoyed the Brahmanas and obstructed the pilgrims.[5]

Graharipu made ready the Mewasi, Bhillas, Lakha, the King of Kachchh and others. He was joined by his sons and his friend; the king of Sindhu was on the sea shore with a huge army.

Battle of Jambumali river

The opposing forces met on the Jambumali river, the border, of Sorath[6] The Abhiras, offered sacrifices to the goddess Durga and the goddess of Death to win the battle and marched for the battle field. Mularaja was assisted by the

1. *Ibid.*, v. 65, p. 174.
2. *Ibid.*, v. 65., p. 174.
3. *Ibid.*, 1, 2, v. 86, p. 189.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
6. The river Jambumali has been indentified with the river Bhogawati or Bhogo which passes through the village Jambu to the east of Vadhvan, *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 192.

Maharaja of Kasideśa and the princes to the north of Arbuda. The *Paramararaja Srimala* also fought well. The Abhiras were assisted by *mlechchhas*, who according to the commentator, came from Tukhara, numbering one lakh.[1] Mularaja made Graharipu a prisoner, but Lakha the King of Kachchh rushed upon the latter who speared him to death.[2] The Jadeja raja was also trampled to death. The Chudasamas got defeated and Mularaja won the battle.

A review of the events cited above seems to be necessary here. It can not be doubted that Mularaja was oppresser and the reasons advanced by Hemachandra to fight with Graharipu are fake. The fact remains that Mularaja could not tolerate the Abhira power and wanted to crush them.

It is almost impossible to believe that the Abhira king being a Hindu, took to beef-eating. This was the creation of the Brahmanas, who wanted to destroy them. Dr. A. K. Majmudar's view that the Abhiras of medieval times were beef-eaters seems to be doubtful.[3] Further, the maltreatment of the dead body of Lakha by Mularaja was essentially a reprehensible act.

As a result of this victory, the country of the Abhira was occupied by the Chalukyas, and the portion of Somnath Patan was annexed to the Chaulukyan territory. However, though the Abhiras were defeated their power was not completely broken down.

After this war, we do not hear of the Abhira till we come to the reign of Siddharaja Jayasimha, son of Karṇadeva, and great grand-son of Mularaja I, who according to Ray, reigned c. 1094-1144 A.D. Jayasimha was a great warrior and conqueror. The provenance of his inscriptions unearthed from Kotah, Banswara, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Cutch, Ujjain shows that his dominion must have extended over large portions of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, besides Gujarat and Kathiawad and Cutch.

War with Siddharaja Jayasimha

The earliest war of Siddharaja was against the Abhira ruler of Saurashtra.[4] It seems that the Abhiras had again regained their power. Therefore, Siddharaja

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1. According to the commentary of Abhyatilaka Gani on the Dvyaryakavya the Mlechchhas came from Turushka. *Dvyasryakavya*, *op. cit.*, V. 5, 49.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 5, 102-103.
3. MAJUMDAR A. K., *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956, p. 429.
4. *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 170.

Jayasimha was forced to launch a campaign against the Abhira ruler Navaghana. Merutunga describes him as *Abhirarāṇaka*. According to the Dohad stone inscription of Siddharaja he threw into prison, the lords of Saurashtra, Malava, and Sindhu.[1] King Navaghana, alias Khangar has been mentioned as a ruler of Saurashtra, in the same inscription.

Causes of the War

According to bardic traditions, Khangar wanted to marry a beautiful damsel named Rāṇakdevi who was the daughter of a potter of Mejavadi, a village about nine miles north of Junagarh. In this venture, he found Siddharaja as a rival. But Khangar managed to get her, and Siddharaja, enraged by this, declared war on him.[2]

According to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Siddharaja went in person to subdue Navaghana.[3] Jinaprabha Suri in the *Tirthakalpa* says that Jayasimha killed Khangar and appointed Sajjana the viceroy of Saurashtra which is corroborated by Merutunga. A Girnar inscription dated V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120)[4] attests the subjugation of the Abhira country.

According to Prabhachandra, Siddharaja sent Kirtipala, the brother of Kumarpala, against King Navaghana, but Kirtipala was defeated and later was joined by the minister Udayana, and together they (Kirtipal and Udayana) defeated Navaghana, though Udayana died in the battle. But later on Prabhachandra says that Siddharaja killed Khangara. However, the efforts of Siddharaja could not bring any successful result as we are told that he could not enjoy the country as too many of Khangar's men were still there.

Merutungacharya gives a detailed account of the campaign. According to that, Navaghana defeated the army of Siddharaja eleven times.[5] In the twelfth encounter Siddharaja played a trick. Khangar had ramparts erected around Vardhamana and certain other cities. Merutunga informs us that Siddharaja won

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 158-60.
2. *Bom. Gaz.* I, Pt. I, pp. 176-77.
3. *Prabandhachintamani*, Edited by MUNI JINAVIJAYA, Singhi Jain Jyñāpitha Bengal, 1953, pt.I, p. 95.
4. MAJMUDAR, *The Chalukyas of Gujrat*, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 442; Indraji *Bom. Gaz.*, I, pp. 176-77.
5. *Prabandhchintamaṇi*, Edited by SASTRI, D. K., Bombay, 1932, p. 104.

several relatives of the Abhira King Khangar to his side.[1] It was the battle of Devalavara which brought success to Siddharaja. The valour of Khangar and the high-handedness of Jayasimha cannot be refuted. After his death Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka Sajjana was appointed to look after the affairs of Saurashtra by Jaysimha.[2]

War with Kumarapala

Though the Abhiras were defeated by the Chaulukyas, yet they maintained their force and were a constant headache to the Chalukyas of Anhilpatan. Their existence as potential enemy of the Chaulukyas was realised by Kumarapala (c. 1144 A.D.). Merutungacharya refers to one of his wars with Samvara, also known as Samusara, the Abhira chief of Saurashtra. B. L. Indraji suggested that the king of Saurashtra was probably some Gohilvad Mehar Chief,[3] but Majumdar suggests that he was an Abhira.[4] The tradition finds support from the Prachi Inscription of Kumara-pala in which he refers to a war with the Abhiras in Saurashtra. The expedition, we are told, was led by Udayana, the minister of Kumarapala. In the struggle that followed, Udayana was defeated, and the Chaulukyan forces were beated back. Bhagwan Lal Indraji thinks that this event must have taken place about 1149 A.D.[5] *Kumarapalacharita* mentions that Samvara was in the end defeated and his son was placed on the throne.[6] From the Prachi stone inscription of Kumarapala, we learn that there was some trouble with the Abhiras in Saurashtra, and Kumarapala appointed Gumadeva to control the Abhiras who were afraid of Gumadeva's sword.[7]

The Sundha Hill inscription tells us that one Ahladana, the Chahamana of Naddula, helped the Gurjara king in supressing the disturbances in the mountainous part of Saurashtra (*girau Saurashtre*).[8] Thus, it is evident, that the victory over the Abhiras was obtained with the help of the Chahamanas. It is seems the

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1. *Ibid.* p. 64; *Prabandhachintamaṇi*, Edited by JINA VIJAYA, Calcutta, Pt. I, 1940, Translated by Acharya Hajari Prasad Dvivedi, pp. 76-78.
2. *Prabandhachintamani*, Edited by DURGASHANKER, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
3. *Bom. Gaz.*, I, I, 186.
4. MAJUMDAR, A. K., *op. cit.*, p. 116.
5. *Bom. Gaz.*, Pt. I, p. 186.
6. *Kumarapalacharita of Jayasimha* Suri, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, pp. 581-82; *Kathiavad Gaz.*, p. 609.
7. DISHALKAR D. B., ' Prachi Inscription of Kumarapala ' *Poona Orientalist*, I, No. 4, p. 38.
8. ' Sundha Hill Inscription of Chachigadeva ', *Ep. Ind.*, IX, 72.

Abhiras of Saurashtra who succumbed to the confederacy of the rival powers headed the Chaulukyas of Anhilapatan and completely disappeared as a political power.

The question remains unsolved, when did Kumarapala launch a campaign against the Abhiras of Saurashtra? It is worth noticing that Kumarapala lived from V.E. 1200 to 1229 *i.e.* from A.D. 1143 to 1172.[1] The Kiradu inscription of Kumarapala of V.E. 1209, A.D. 1162, does not mention war with Saurashtra.[2] Therefore, the victory of the Abhiras may be placed sometime between A.D. 1163 and 1172, before the death of Kumarapala.

AFFAIRS OF THE ABHIRAS OF KHANDESH AND KONKAN

War with the Chalukyas of Kuntala

Towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D., when the Chaulukyas of Anhilpatan were busy in uprooting the Abhiras of Gujarat, the Abhiras of Khandesh confronted the powerful monarch Trailokyamalla, the Chalukyan Emperor of Kuntala. The Nagai inscription of Emperor Trailokyamalla dated 1058 A.D. refers to the defeat of the Abhiras at the hands of *Daṇḍanātha Trinetra*, the commander in-chief of the Chalukyan army.[3] This must have served as a check to the Abhiras who had become a secondary power in the Deccan.

But the Abhiras became independent again, as an inscription discovered at the village Kullu Mathda, dated 1068 A.D. issued by the Chalukyan Emperor Trailokyamalla Ahavamalla Deva, records that the Abhira King was stopped within his boundary and made to pay the tributes.[4] Perhaps, due to the non-payment of taxes it was the second Chalukyan campaign against them.

The Abhiras remained vassals of the Chalukyas of Kuntala, as is evident from an inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI, Saka Era 1006 (A.D. 1084).[5]

Another inscription discovered in Shikarpur Taluq dated 1114 A.D. issued by the Chalukyan King Vikramanika of Kuntala maintains that Chalukyas were the overlords of the Ābhīras.[6]

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1. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.* pp. 202-3.
2. DISALKAR, *op. cit.* Vol. I, No. 2, p. 49.
3. *Hyderabad Arch. Series No.* 8, *p.* 21; *Mysore Arch. Surv. Report*, 1915-16, p. 47.
4. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Pt. I, No. 136, p. 101.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 104.
6. *Ep. Car.*, VII, pt. I, Shikarpur, No. 137.

The Chalukyas of Kuntala ruled the country of the Abhiras upto 1129 A.D. An inscription dated 1128 A.D. describes the Chalukyan emperor Tribhuvanamalla as the overlord of the Gaulas (Abhiras).[1]

Another inscription in the Kedareśvara temple dated 1129 A.D. records the presentation of elephants and horses by hostile Gaula (Abhira) King to Emperor Vikramadityadeva of Kuntala.[2]

In the year 1128 A.D., the Hoysalas, who were the feudatories under the Chalukyas of Kuntala, became independent under the King Vishnuvardhana Hoysala.[3] King Vishnuvardhana launched a successful expedition to conquer the neighbouring rulers and their feaudatory chiefs. Naturally, the Abhiras could not escape. This conquest is known from an inscription discovered in Belur Taluq 1136 A.D. according to which Vishnuvardhana defeated the Gaulas in terrible wars.[4] This indicates that the Abhiras became feudatory of the Hoysalas.

The Abhiras did not remain the feudatories of the Hoysalas for a long time. An inscription dated 1145 A.D. of Narasimha Deva, the Master of Uddare of Ganga-vamsa, a feudatory of Chalukya Jagadekamalla Deva of Kuntala, describes the emperor Jagadekamalla, an ornament to the face of Abhira country.[5] It indicates that the Abhiras became a vassal of the Chalukyas again.

But the rising power of the Hoysala probably could not tolerate the Abhiras. According to an inscription issued by Narsimhadeva I, Hoysala, in the year 1173 A.D. from Dorasamudra, the Hoysala Emperor has been, described as ' the moon to the lotus eyes of the Guala women.'[6]

The victory of the Hoysalas over the Abhiras is confirmed by an inscription dated 1174 A.D. discovered in Hassan Taluq.[7] The Hoysala King Ballala II, successor of Narasimha I, subjugated the Abhiras. The fact that the Abhiras were completely defeated by the Hoysala Ballala II is further attested by another

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1. *Ibid.*, XI, Devanagare, 90.
2. *Ibid.*, VII, Shikarpur, 100.
3. DARRET, *The Hoysalas*, Oxford, p. 61.
4. *Epi. Car.*, V, pt. I, Belur, No. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII, pt. II, Sorab, 138.
6. *Ibid.*, V, pt. I, Belur, 114.
7. *Ibid.*, Hassan, 58.

inscription dated 1174 A.D. discovered in a village Channarayapattana in the same taluq.[1]

An inscription of Tribhuvanamalla, the Chalukya of Kuntala, dated 1178 A.D. again boasts of terrifying the Gaula King.[2] It is possible that the Chalukyan Emperor might have commenced his inroads on the Abhiras again.

It is certain, however, that Tribhuvanamalla, could not subdue the Abhiras permanently, as we find that an inscription of the Kalachuri King Sankama-deva of Kalayanapura dated 1179 A.D. records that the Abhiras (Gaulas) sent elephants to the Kalachuri King.[3] This indicates that the Abhiras tried to maintain their independent status and establish friendly relations with other powers.

The hostility with the Hoysalas could not last long. As the Hoysalas were an important power of the Deccan, therefore, in the same year 1179 A.D. Ballala II, the Hoysala Emperor, again commenced inroads on the territories of the truculent Abhiras. An inscription of the Hoysala Emperor Ballala II, discovered in Nagamangala Taluq, proclaims of his terrifying the Abhiras,[4] but the Abhiras could not be subdued permanently.

In the year 1181 A.D., the Kalachuris, who already enjoyed the overlordship of the Abhiras seem to have seized the opportunity to oppress them again. In an inscription, Emperor Apratimalla of Kalanjarpur, has been described as ' an enraged lion to the lusty elephant Gaula '.[5]

The Abhiras however though they were oppressed by the Kalachuris and the Hoysalas were not to be subdued so easily, and yet maintained their independent status. It is evident, from an inscription of Ballala II, dated 1184 A.D. inscribed in Malleśvara temple, that ' Gaula racked with pain.'[6]

The Abhiras, in the end seem to have accepted the overlordship of the Hoysalas. In an inscription dated 1190 A.D., emperor Ballala II has been described as a ' thunderbolt to the rock of the Abhira King.'[7] Their constant

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1. *Ibid.*, Channarayapattana, 146.
2. *Ibid.*, VIII, Pt. II, Sorab, 325.
3. *Ibid.*, VII, Pt. I, Sikarpur, 96.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, pt. II, Nagmangala, 15.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, pt. I, Shikarpur, 119.
6. *Ibid.*, V, pt. I, Channarayapattana, 254.
7. *Ibid.*, 179, p. 463.

tussle with the Hoysalas reduced them to servitude, as Hoysala Vira Ballala again claims himself as an oppressor of Gaula[1] in an inscription of 1193.

It appears that after their perpetual conflicts single handed, with the Chalukyas, Hoysalas and the Kalachuris, the Abhiras were reduced to servitude and started working under other kings. According to from an epigraph dated 1215 A.D. Jaitugi, an Abhira, was an official (*Potara Nayaka*) under the Yadava ruler Simhana of Dvaravatipur. In this epigraph Jaita has been described ' as a dweller at (Sinhana's) feet '. It has been described that when Jaitunga was in residence at Hiriya Balligave, ' protecting Jiddulige and other districts of the south.....,' he gave for the god Kotinatha, which according, to the Puranas was the original liṅga and thus a holy *tirtha*, his own village of chikkasakuna.' The Abhira ruler Jaitugi Deva has been described as a philanthropic learned man of the place, and the celebrated *āśraya* of the original liṅga of Kritayuga.

It is worth noticing, that the Hoysalas were still a potential enemy of the Abhiras. This rivalry lasted even in the reign of Hoysala emperor Narasimha II, and on the occasion of his accession, the Abhiras sent their envoy. An inscription dated 1220 A.D. clearly reveals that the envoy of Gaula King trembled with fear on account of their enmity with the Hoysalas and admired their superior military power.[3]

In the thirteenth century however the Yadavas in their own turn carried on a ding-dong battle with the Abhiras. According to the Amba Inscription, the great general Kholeśvara is said to have routed the Abhiras in 1228 A.D.[4] Kholeśvara was a *Maudgala Brahmana* and the commander-in-chief of Simhana. The inscription describes Kholeśvara, as ' an axe in cutting off the remnants of the race of the heroic Abhira kings '. Thus he was an instrument in effecting the defeat of the Abhiras, in Simhana's expedition to Gujarat.[5] But most probably these restless people were not completely subdued, for, an inscription again mentions an expedition against them.

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1. *Ibid.*, VII, Shikarpur, 105.
2. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sorab, 276, p. 48.
3. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Channagiri, 72.
4. ' Amba Inscription ', *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, III, pp. 86-87.
5. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, Bombay, 1882 p. 242, *Bom. Gaz.* II, Pt. II, p. 240.

The Amba Inscription No. 2 describes that Simhana defeated the Abhira king, the lord of Bhambhagiri who has been named as Lakshmideva (*bhambhāgirivarābhīra simharājalakshmīdeva kula vana dahana dāvānala*).[1]

In the year 1235 however, the Abhiras were again reduced to servitude by the Hoysalas. The inscription of Vira Narasimha, dated 1235 A.D. boasts that the Gaula King became just like a servant to the Hoysala Emperor Narsimha II.[2] The Purushottampuri Plates of Ramchandra dated 1232 Saka-era describes Simhana as the ancestor of Ramchandra Yadava,[3] and confirms the victory of Simhana upon the Lord of Bhambhagiri (Hemadri mentions that his name was Lakshmidhara).[4] G. H. Khare identifies Bhambhagiri with Bhambhari in the Ahmednagar district of *Raja chi Bham* near Yeotmal in Berar.[5] Dr. Mirashi objects to the identification due to the absence of any fort near the site, as the name Bhambhagiri suggests to be a fortified place. He opines that as Lakshmideva belonged to the Abhira dynasty, therefore he would have been ruling probably somewhere near the discrict of Khandesh, where the Ahirs (Abhiras) are in large numbers. Dr. Mirashi identifies Bhambhagiri with an old ruined town called Bhamer four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner Taluqa of the west Khandesh district. The town of Bhamer lies at the foot of a great fortified hill having many ruined gates, towers and some old caves locally known as 'Raja's house.'[6] This shows that Simhana exterminated the Abhiras totally.

In A.D. 1255, we find that the Abhiras were defeated and crushed again by another Yadava king, Kanhadeva who has been described as a 'Lord of *Dvaravatipura* (*Dvārāvatīpura-varādhīśvara*)'. King Kanhadeva has been described as *Śrī Khanhadeva* a 'wild fire to the forest of the Abhīras'.[7] It indicates firstly that the king Kanhadeva continued the traditional policy of ousting the Ābhīras and secondly that the Abhiras far from being exterminated or completely subdued,

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1. G. H. KHARE, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marathi) Vol. I, pp. 60, 64. Hemadri mentions his name as Lakshmidhara.
2. *Ep. Car.*, III, pt. I, p. 18; IV, pt. II, pp. 20-21.
3. MIRASHI, 'Purushottampuri Plates of Ramachandra Saka Era' 1232; *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 209, 220.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 203.
5. KHARE, *Opcit.* p. 60.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 203.
7. *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 136, p. 18; text, p. 39.

were still striving hard to survive and resist inspite of the repeated attacks of the contemporary powers.

The Yadavas were the ferocious enemies of the Abhiras, and after twenty one years, war broke out between them again. An incomplete inscription, which may be assigned to the times of the Yadava king Ramdeva dated A.D. 1276, calls him " the sole great fire in burning the forest of trees and bamboo groves, the terrible marauder king of the Abhiras named Gambhīra ' (*Gambhīrābhīra prachaṇḍapeṇḍāra nikhila kula kāntāra vamśāvalīdahana*) '.[1]

Inspite of the murderous campaigns of the Yadava King Ramadeva, the Abhiras maintained their strength and seem to have violated the territories of the Yadavas again. Consequently king Mahadeva Yadava, known from his inscription dated 1280 A.D., launched a successful campaign against the mighty Abhiras and made them run in the forests.[2]

It is evident from the Tasgaon Plates that the Yadava ruler Krishna also won a victory over the Abhiras, who have been described in the inscription as Gopalas. This Chief of the Abhiras was a ruler of Konkan and a feudatory of the Yadava king. Dr. V. V. Mirashi suggests that the description of the plates evidently intended to eonvey the victory over the Abhira ruler of Konkan.[3]

Inspite of these wars, the Abhiras contrived to remain independent, which appears to have abetted the Hoysala emperor Vira Ballala III, to overpower them. A copper plate inscription dated 1292 A.D. of the Hoysala King in the Phalahara matha describes him as the lord of the country of the Gaulas.[4]

The Abhiras could not repel the Hoysalas and became their vassals. An inscription, issued in the year 1303 A.D. discovered in Hole Narsipur Taluq describes the Hoysalas emperor Ballala III as the terrifier of the Gaulas.[5]

The beginning of the 14th century A.D. brought disaster upon the Abhira power. One after the other, the Hoysalas and the Kalachuri Kings defeated the

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1. *Arch. Surv., Mysore*, 1929, p. 143.
2. *Ep. Car.*, XI, Devanagere Taluq, 59.
3. KHARE, *op. cit.*, III, 18, p. 14; Mirashi, *op. cit.* p. 204.
4. *Ep. Car.*, VI, CM, 108.
5. *Arch. Surv. Report, Mysore*, 1912-13, p. 40.

shattered Abhiras. It is evident from an inscription of Vira Ballala Devarasa, dated 1320 A.D. inscribed in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of Rameśvara temple that this emperor gave a crushing defeat to the Abhiras.[1] In the inscription he has been described as a 'fever through the fight to Gaula'. Another inscription of the same ruler dated 1331 A.D. discovered in the Gubbi Taluq also confirms the defeat of the Abhiras.[2]

It is remarkable to mention that inspite of repeated murderous campaigns, the Abhiras of Khandesh could not be uprooted, as we hear from an inscription dated 1340 A.D. about the Hoysala Vira Ballaladeva to be a terrifier of the Gaula.[3]

Finally, the Abhiras seem to have fought their decisive battle with *the Kalachurya* King Vishnuvardhana Vira Ballaladeva. In an inscription dated 1341 A.D. of *Poysala pratāpa chakravarttī Viṣṇuvardhana [vīra Ballāladeva* discovered at Kalya, the King claims himself as the terrifier of Gaula.[4] This is known to be the last inscription describing the defeat of Abhiras after this they were never heard of again, perhaps they disappeared as a ruling race.

Summary

Thus we see how the Abhiras, a hilly-tribe of the Indian aboriginals, rose to political prominence in the second century B.C., and after a chequered political career relapsed into oblivion in the 14th century A.D. From the very beginning of their history, they were great warriors as their resistence to the Deccan Indian powers shows. Throughout the long period of their rise and fall, the Abhiras, raided Deccan and proved their capacity to bear arms against the great powers of the age. Their disastrous campaigns started in the 10th century A.D. and ended in the middle of the 14th century till they were completely crushed down. In the face of the joint opposition, however, they finally disappeared from the map of India as a ruling race. It seems that some of the Abhiras took refuge in the forests and reverted to their former stage. The *Amuktamalyadā*, a work by emperor Krishnadevaraya, describes them as a typical wild tribe.[5]

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1. *Ep. Car.*, VII, sh. 69.
2. *Ibid.*, XII, Gubbi, 30.
3. *Ibid.*, IX, Banglore, 111.
4. *Ibid.*, IX, Ma, 19.
5. *'Amuktamalyada, S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar Commemorative Volume*, p. 401.

As centuries rolled on, the Abhiras seem to have settled down as ordinary people and took services under the contemporary monarchs. One *Sali-nayaka* of Gaula gotra evidently an Abhira, in a copper plate inscription belonging to the reign of Vijayanagara ruler Maharayaraya dated 1669 A.D., has been described as favoured by *śāsana* for the office of Amara Nayaka Yareyakatta in the Hoysala country.[1] The inscription deals with the grant of a village Anehalli to Ramaiya, son of Chennaiya and grand-son of Yaddanapludi Peraneya Timmaiya of the Bharadvaja gotra. The land was given to Ramaiya together with the facility of taking water from the Hagalavadi tank for one Khandyga of rice land. This inscription indicates that this Abhira official was of some importance and was occupying a responsible post under the Vijayanagar Emperors.

1. *Ep. Car.* XII, Ck. 38.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL LIFE AND CULTURE

Glimpses of the Abhira life and culture can be obtained from Sanskrit and Pali literature. The material, however, is too scanty to reconstruct their modes of existence and social structure.

In the course of this chapter, the life and customs of the Abhiras have been reconstructed. The Abhiras are well known in tradition, as being a pastoral community with a way of life depicted, in Indian literature, specially Harivamsa and Bhagavata Puranas. Since the Abhiras are synonymous with the terms Gopa and Ghosha, it is proposed to give a brief description of their pastoral life and their festivities.

If the Ramayana is to be believed, it could be assumed that they were fierce-looking (*ugradarśana*) wild people termed as *dasyus*.[1]

Roving from one place to another, in search of new pastures, with their utensils, families and cattle, was the life of the Abhiras in their primitive stage. When the land became dreary and no fodder was left for cattle, they migrated to new pastures. The old men, women and children used to board the waggon and the young men protected them armed with bows[2] and arrows from highway robberies.

Before settling at a particular place, the permission of the king was necessary.[3] After obtaining that they were asked to pay annual taxes.[4] These taxes were paid in kind, possibly jars full of milk and butter.

The Abhira hutments, were made of dry grass and brushwood to protect

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1. The Ramayana of Valmiki, *op. cit.*
2. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 49, 50; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Cal. 1904, XLIX, 50, p. 242; *Harivamśa*, LXIII, ' slokas 8-11 ', Translated by M. N, Datta, Cal. 1897, p. 268; *Bhagavatapurana*, X, 11, 21-29; Agrawal V. S. *Panini Kalina Bharata*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
3. *Harivamsa*, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, Sloka 65-66, p. 368.
4. *Ibid.*, CXXXI, 27-30, p. 343; LXXVII, 85, p. 328; *Vishnupurana*, V, 5, Sloka, 6.

themselves from rains,[1] therefore were highly inflamable. The *Harivamśa* records an event, when fire broke out in the cow-pans of Vraja.[2]

The cowherd settlements were protected on all sides with thorny creepers, trees and ditches[3] for safety against wild beasts. The stakes were tied round with ropes. The hutments were provided with a place for burning fire.[4] Before settling on a new place, the trees were cut down and the branches of such trees were used for preparing hutments.[5] The hutments of the cowherds were laid out in accordance with the age old pattern. A passage was thrown open between the two huts with a drainage system, evidently primitive, for the waste water to flow.[6] Temporary hutments were erected by means of handy building material carried on carts from one place to another.[7] The walls of the hutments were fastened with wooden bolts.[8]

It is interesting to note that the hutments of the cowherds have changed little from the earliest times to this day. In *Puratanaprabandhasamgraha*, Buddhasvamin, and the author of *Brihatkathasloka samgraha* (*c. 7th Century A.D.*) describe the Abhira hutments.[9] They were made of bamboo and reeds (*traṇagraha*), while the doors were decorated with flowering creepers. Cattle were kept in large cattle-pens called *goshṭha*.[10]

Cowherds in Ancient Indian Literature

Herdsmen (Gopalas), formed an important aspect of the society. Some of these cowherds were in the services of the Aryans.[11] Cattle were supplied with

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1. *Harivamsa*, LXIV, 23, p. 272.
2. *Ibid., op. cit.*, LXIII, 10-11, 268.
3. *Ibid.*, LXIV, 6-8, 23, pp. 272-2.
4. *Ibid.*, 27, p. 272.
5. *Ibid.*, 30, p. 272.
6. *Bhagavatapurana*, X, 7, 25-7; Sanyal, IV, 39.
7. *Harivamśa, op. cit.*, LXIV, 17, pp. 271-2.
8. *Ibid.* LXIII, 10-11, p. 268.
9. *Brihatathasloka Samgraha of Budhasvamin*, XX, Slokas 236-240; *Puratanaprabandhasamgraha*, Edited by Jinavijayamuni, Singhi Jain Series, Calcutta, 1936, Vol. II, p. 82.
10. *Avvśyaka Niryukti of Bhadrabahu*, Edited by Manikyasekhara Surat, 1939, 47; *Avasyakachurni*, Jinadasagani, Ratlam, 1928, p. 280 f; *Vedic Index.*, I, 233.
11. *Maitriyanisamhita*, Edited by Sripadamodar Bhatt, Aundh, V. S. 1998, IV, 2, 9, p. 342.

necessary grass and water . Every morning, the cattle were entrusted to a herdsman to look after at the time of grazing, and to guard them against their being lost. Cattle were branded to indicate their ownership.

According to Panini, the settlements of the Gopalas were known as *ghoshas*.[1] A young gopala was called *anugavīna*.

The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakatha*, *Manorathapurni*, *Papanchasudani* and *Sumangala Vilasini* describe the story of a herdsmen[2] and devaputra Kotuhalaka. According to the story when devaputra Kotuhalaka was unableto get on well with his family, he came to the house of a herdsman, where, having eaten too much, he died and was reborn in the same house as a dog; when the dog grew up, he used to accompany the herdsman on his visit to *Pachcheka Buddha*. When the dog died he was reborn as a *ghoshaka seṭṭhi*.

In his sermon, called *Mahāgopalaka sūtra*, in the *Anguttaranikaya* and *Majjhimanikaya*, the Buddha furnishes a comparative account of the good qualities of a monk and a gopala.[3] The passage gives essential qualifications of a herdsman. It is specifically pointed out that a good herdsman possesses an eye for the form and cattlemarks, removes ticks, dresses the wounds and smokes out lairs. In addition to these qualities the gopalas had the knowledge of watering places, roads and pastures and milking the cows. This is a true picture of a pastoral people.

The *Vimanavatthu* also gives the story of a gopala, who, owing to the merit acquired by offering food to Moggallana, attained heaven when bitten by a snake.[4]

The cupidity of the Abhiras is evident in the story of Arjuna and the Abhiras, described in great detail in the Agnipurana. The hatred of Arjuna infuriated the Abhiras who assembled to decide the question of attack upon him.[5]

The *Divyavadana*, mentions the Abhiras in connection with the intrigue of

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1. *The Mahabhasya of Patanjali*, *Op. cit.*, VI, 2, 78; VI 2, 85; Agrawal V. S., *India as known to Panini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 142, 409; *Panini Kalina Bharat*, *Op. cit.* p. 216.

2. *Dhammapadatthakatha*, Pali Text Society, I, 169; *Manorathapurni*, S. H. B. Series, Colombo, I, p. 227; *Sumangalavilasini*, Pali, Text Society, I, p. 317.

3. *Majjhimanikaya*, German Pali Society, II, p. 71; *Anguttaranikaya*, P.T.S. V, 347 ff.

4. *Vimanavatthu*, Edited by Rahulasamkratyayana, Anandkosalyayana, and Jagdish Kasyapa, published by Uttam Bhikku, 1937, VII, 6.

5. *Vishnupurana*, V, 38, 14; *Agnipurāṇa*, Edited by Rajendralal Mitra, Cal., 1873, I, 15, 8; Translated by M. N. Datta, Calcutta, 1903, I, p. 68.

Tishyarakshitā against Kunala. It is evident from Divyavadana that they were employed as menials in the service of Aśoka.[1]

The *Abhidhanarajendram* gives another story from *Uttaradhyanasutra*, relating to the simplicity of the cowherds. The story goes that there was once a village merchant, to whom one day an Abhira approached to buy goods worth two rupakas. The village merchant tried to swindle him in the transaction, which the Abhira could not understand, but due to some mistake in his balance, the merchant himself got cheated.[2]

Stories of the ferocity of the cowherds are famous in Sanskrit literature. The K*athasaritasagara*, records that once a Brahman lodged a complaint with Udayana that a herdsman had cut off the hands and feet of his younger son, when he was roaming in the forest.[3] The cowherd was arrested and on being questioned confessed, that he had carried out the orders of his king who was incensed at the behaviour of the Brahman's son, who had refused to bow down to the cowherd King.

Another story relates, that there lived a rich but silly herdsman in a certain forest. Some rogues conspired together and made friendship with him. One day they told him that they had arranged his marriage with the daughter of a rich merchant of the town. At this the cowherd became very pleased and gave money to the rogues. Sometime after they came again and told the herdsman that his marriage had been performed and again fluced him. On the third occasion, they delivered him the news that his wife was going to deliver a son. The cowherd was so much pleased that he gave up all his wealth to them. With the desire to see his son and bring his wife home he set out to the house of the merchant, but was turned out by him as the news was false. Thus being cheated he lamented for the loss of his treasure.[4]

Numerous stories appear one after the other to depict the characteristics of the Abhiras. The story of Kalidas, a *paśupāla*, according to *Prabandhachintamani*, also contains a glimpse of the stupidity of cowherds.[5]

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1. *Divyavadana*, Edited by Cowell and Neil, Camb., 1886, XXVII, p. 409.
2. *Uttaradhyanasutra*, Chapter IV, vide Abhidhanarajendram, p. 313.
3. PENZER, and TAWNEY, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. II, London, MCMXXIV, pp. 51-52.
4. *Ibid*. V, 69.
5. *Prabandhachintamani*, Edited by Durgashanker K. Shastri Op. cit. p. 5.

Besides stupidity, the cowherds are famous in Sanskrit literature for their romantic nature. The *Kathasaritasagara* mentions their love affairs with the wives of the members of higher castes. According to a story, a Brahmana named Rudrasoma had gone to some distant lands for some work; when he was returning he saw a cowherd singing with joy on the bank of the river near his house, like one beside himself. The Brahmana Rudrasoma became anxious to know the reason of his rapture. The cowherd on being questioned, revealed the secret of his own connection with the wife of Rudrasoma not knowing him. When Rudrasoma got the truth of it, he renounced the world.[1]

According to another story, a woman pestered by a monkey, requested a cowherd to help her. The gopala agreed to help her on the condition of getting her love. She consented to the proposal, but when the cowherd was busy with the monkey she ran to her home.[2]

Another story also reveals the secret love affairs of a cowherd (*gopala*) with the wife of the Brahmana Vamadatta, when the latter was out. The wife being a witch, made her husband a buffalo. When the secret was out she continued her love with the cowherd.[3]

It is possible to question the authenticity of these stories, but the romantic instinct of the cowherd also finds support from the *Kāmasutra of Vātsyayana.* The *Kāmasutra* mentions an Abhira King of Kotta, who was killed by a washerman, employed by his brother, when he was in the house of some other citizen.[4] The abusive practices carried out in the seraglios of the Abhira kings noticed by Vatsyayana are not an exception here. Vatsyayana describes that the queens of the harems of the Abhira kings used to give themselves up to the guards of those harems, who belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.[5] Thus, from the numerous references, the passionate character of the Abhiras is apparent.

To Abhiras, life in the wilderness was very pleasent. They enjoyed the real pleasure of nature. The *Bhagavatapurana* embodies numerous sketches of their day to day life, in the woodland pastures. Starting in the morning, carrying their

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1. PENZER and TAWNEY *op. cit*, V, 148.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 4.
4. *Kāmasutra of Vatsyayana*, Benares, *op. cit.* p. 287.
5. *Ibid.* p. 294.

afternoon meals along the cattle, singing and playing on flutes, they used to go to distant lands to graze their cattle.

Their artistic talents and cultural attainments are often referred to in the Purāṇas. Their corporate life, picturised in the *Harivamśa* and *Bhagavatapurana* was full of glamour. They passed their day in the woods enjoying the bliss of nature. A scene of the forest life of the Abhiras has been described in the Bhagavata. Krishna desirous of taking early meals in the forests aroused his playmates, with the charming music of his flute, issued forth with the calves, joined by other boys with their horns and rods. They reached a very beautiful spot to pass their day.[1] Thus the party enjoyed the day, sporting, playing on flutes and horns, singing chorus. Some boys ran after the shadows of the birds, some followed the swans and some sat with cranes and some danced with peacocks.

Another scene in the *Bhagavata* also gives us the picture of their forest life. After being tired of walking, the cowherd boys sat facing one another in a circle. Some boys having converted flowers and leaves into plates, gathered tender roots and fruits and having seated on stones began partaking their meals, in joke.[2]

Grappling with bulls, dancing hand in hand with the young cowherdesses, on luxuriant meadows, where their cattle grazed, they used to play flutes and pass their time in the forest.

Robbery

The Abhiras, were a forest tribe called *vrātas*. Panini mentions these *vrātas* as robbers.[3] The story of the highway robbery of the Yadava women, by the Abhiras, clearly testifies the above contention. The *Ramayana* also speaks of their vile deeds.

Not only in their primitive stage, but even after attaining the status of a ruling race, the Abhiras could not give up robbery. The Ghatiyala Inscription of Pratihara ruler Kakkuka bears testimony to their highway robbery.[4] Cattle lifting by the Abhiras has also been referred to in Jain Literature.[5]

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1. *Bhagavatapurana*, X, Ch. 12; Datta, *Op cit.* p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
3. *Ashtadhyayi of Panini*, 5, 2, 21; Agrawal, V. S., *Bharata ki Maulika Eakata, op. cit.*, p. 128 f.n.
4. *Epi. Ind*, IX, p. 279.
5. *Vivagasuya*, edited by A. T. Upadhye, Belgaum, 1935, 2, p. 24, f.n.

Merutungacharya, in his *Prabandhachintamani* alludes to the learning of the Abhiras.[1] It is referred to in the course of a discussion between a Brahman of Malwa and one of Gujarat. During the discussion, the Gujarati Brahmanas claimed that the Abhiras and women of Gurjaradesa were better read than the Brahmanas of Malwa. The statement may not be true, but it is fair to affirm that some members of the Abhira race would have attained some proficiency in the field of learning.

Professions

Tending cows and preparing butter from the milk was the main profession of the Abhiras.[2] Tending cattle in the distant pastures throughout the day, was the work of men while the women were visiting in groups to the neighbouring markets to sell their milk and butter.[3] Merutungacharya gives a story, wherein the earthern pot of a cowherdess containing butter-milk (*takra*) was smashed to pieces by the crowd.[4]

Some of the cowherds were serving in the house of the *nagarikas* to graze the cows and they received the milk of one of the best cows out of ten, as their salary.[5] The gopala was expected to look out that the cows do not go astray and protect them from reptiles and dogs or falling into pits, during the day only. In case the cattle were forcibly carried away by the robbers, the cowherd (gopala) was not held responsible.

The profession of milkmen went on developing and organised later on. They formed their professional guilds, which indicates their efficiency and capability. The *Jainpraśanavyākaraṇa* enumerates the name of eighteen professional guilds, in which was included the trade union of the gopalas called *guaraśreṇi*.[6] The

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1. *Prabandhachintamani*, edited by Jina Vijaya, supra.

2. *Bhagavatapurana*, X, 7, 25-7; *Avasyaka Niryukti of Bhadrabahu*, Edited by Manikyasekhara, Surat, 1939, 47; *Avasyakachurni*, Jinadasagani, Ratlam, 1928, p. 280 f.

3. *Harivamsa*, Anandasrama series, ch. 60, Sloka 39, p. 261; Merutungacharya, *Prabandhachintamani*, edited by Jinavijaya Muni, Santiniketana, 1933, Bengal, pt. I, p. 49

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Manusmriti*, Edited by Haughton, Vol. I, p. 238.

6. *Jainprasnavyakarana*, Dr. Motichandra, *Presidential address—Technical section. Proceedings, of the 16th All India Oriental Conference, Lucknow*, 1953, Vol. I, p. 226; *Avasyakachurni*, Jinadasagani, Ratlam, 1928, II, p. 319; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depictedi n Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947, p. 94.

existence of a trade union ensures high degree of business efficiency among the Abhiras. In the medieval period, the Abhiras were not only milkmen, but adopted various professions. The *Brahmapurāṇa* records that some of the Gopalas were dealing in sugar, salt and corn also.[1]

Dress and Ornaments

The cowherds wore a particular kind of costume. The *Brahmapurana* records that the mother of Kalayavana, a *gopali* or *ghoshakanya*, was recognised from her dress.[2] The male Abhiras used to put on a blanket and with a stick in their hand while grazing their cattle.[3] They had a fasination for yellow and blue clothes. Yellow garment of Krishna called *pītāmbara*, is famous in the Sanskrit and Hindi literature. On auspicious occasions, silken garments of yellow and blue colours were also used.[4]

They were conversant with the art of decorating their bodies with white and yellow paints.[5] Feathers of peacocks, white crows, leaves and flowers of wild trees were specially used for decoration.[6] They used to prepare their head-gear from peacock's tail and leaves so as to ensure a graceful look.[7] From the references in the *Harivaṃśa* and *Bhagavatapurāṇa*, it is not unlikely that some distinguished Abhira families were using cosmetics, bangles and necklaces to decorate their persons.

The Cowherd women

The beauty of Abhira women has been a famous episode of Sanskrit poets. They contrived to attract young men by putting on fine clothes decked in shining yellow and blue colours.[8] Their dress consisted of a bodice and a skirt, sometimes of matching colour but mostly contrasting blue and yellow. Their heads were decorated with flowers and garlands.

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1. *Brahmapurana*, Ch. 42, pp. 37-38.
2. *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. XII, sloka 50; *Harivaṁśa*, 56, pp. 13-15.
3. *The Ocean of Story*, *op. cit.*, V, 149.
4. *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, ch. 61, sloka 12; 78, sloka 20.
5. *Ibid* 63, sloka 3.
6. *Ibid* ch. LXIII, p. 268.
7. *Bhāgavatapurāna*, Datta, M. N. Cal. 1895, XXI, p. 101; *Harivaṁśa*. Datta LXIII, p. 268.
8. *Padmapurāṇa*, Anandasrama Series, II, 72, slokas 111-2 pp. 594-596.

The *Nātyaśāstra* mentions that Abhira women had two *veṇīs* (hair plaits) on their head and had a fascination for blue garments.[1]

Yaśodā, the wife of Nandagopa, has been represented in the *Bhāgavata* as a village woman of spacious waist putting on armlets and ear-rings.

The *Padmapurāṇa*, however, takes a special notice of their fine delicate features. Their graceful look and gait are also attested by the *Brihatkathāślokasamgraha*.[2]

The women used to work in the houses and churn their curds for butter.[3] Buddhasvamin has specially paid attention to their hospitality shown to the guests by the Abhira women. Guests were offered cosmetics etc. at the time of bath to keep the body clean. Entertaining with milk, butter and curd was usually the practice, but wine was also served to them.

In the medieval period, their dealings with other communities were also very wholesome. In a story, embodied in the *Avaśyakaniryukti* of Bhadrabahu and the *Avaśyakachūrṇi*, the character of the Abhira women has been well sketched. An Abhira woman of Mathura used to supply milk and curds to a perfumer. On the occasion of her son's marriage, she invited her customer—the perfumer. The perfumer could not attend the wedding but sent ornaments and clothes to the bride. The Abhiras were very pleased and presented two strong bull-calves to the perfumer.[4]

The authors of the Jain sutras have shown favour in portraying the peculiarities of the Abhira women. Bhadrabahu mentions an occasion when some Abhira women drove a village lord Bhogika out of their own village, when the latter was staying in a temple situated in a village inhabited by the Abhiras. His stay in the temple hampered the freedom of the Abhira women. In order to drive him out, they took their herds out of the village but allowed their calves to remain in their stables. When the night came and the cows could not return to their stables, the calves started crying aloud which was equally responded by the cows who were standing out of the village. As the gateway of the village was closed by the women, Bhogika could neither go out of the village to sleep outside nor could he sleep in the temple.

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1. *Nātyaśāstra of Bharata*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. CXXIV, Vol. III, 21, 68-69.
2. *Brihatkathaslokasamgraha, op. cit.* slokas 240-256.
3. *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 61, sloka 28, Anandasrama series, p. 261.
4. *Āvaśyakaniryukti, op. cit., Avasyakachurni, op. cit.*

In the morning he thought it better to make a move from the village.[1]

Manners and Morals

The love play of Krishna with the Gopikas (cowherdesses) indicates the custom of promiscuity in Abhira society. Though these love scenes have been interpreted by propounders of Vaishnava cult as a symbolic representation of God and *ātmaśakti*—his own eternal blissful nature, yet the freedom of sexual intercourse among the Abhira women is doubtlessly evident from it. Being forest dwellers, the Abhiras loved nature, especially the green woodland glades dotted with the forest of Vrinda must have inspired them with art and love. The free morals of the gopis, found free expression against the sylvan background and they did not feel shy in offering their love to youth and beauty. Their wanton love is vividly described in the *Bhāgavata*.[2] Attracted by the soul stirring music of Krishna's flute they reached the forest and engaged themselves in love and sport, kissing and embracing him. The fact that Krishna enjoyed the women of the Abhiras in the knowledge of their husbands and parents shows lax-morals of a nomadic society.

It is evident from the *Bhāgavata*, that this physical love was not appreciated in the civilised society of the Aryans. The *Bhāgavatapurana* records that Uddhava, a civilian from Mathura, called the gopikas as 'wanderers of forests' (*vanacharis*) and corrupted[3] (*vyabhichāradūshitā*). This opinion of Uddhava, a member of the civilised society, clearly reflects the general opinion of that age, about them.

Games

Playing games was the favourite pastime of the gopa boys. Being forest-dwellers, finding out kine and roaming in the forest was their day's engagement.[4] The gopa boys used to tend calves near their houses in the forests. Playing on flute, foot-ball, crawling on four and imitating the sound of wild beasts like the lion and tiger, was their pastime. Sometimes, they used to imitate the sounds of thunder, crows, cocks, cows, bees, parrots and chattering in indistinct notes, or warble like

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1. *Brihat Kalpasutra and original niryukti of Arya Bhadrabahu Swami*, with a commentary of Acharya Malayagiri, edited by Shri Chaturvijaya and Punya Vijaya Bhavnagar, 1936, Vol. III, p. 629-30.
2. *Bhāgavatapurāna*, X, XXXIII, Sloka 11-19, 65, 7.
3. *Ibid.* X, XXIX, Sloka 42-48; 47, Sloka 59.
4. *Bhāgavatapurāna*, X, 11, Sloka 40-43; Translation of Sanyal J. M., IV, p. 48.

a cuckoo. While playing foot-ball, the ball was struck to the ground and kicked high.

Bull-fight was a famous sport of the Abhiras. The Harivaṁśa describes that in the autumn nights Krishna used to arrange bull fights in the cowpens of Vraja, in which strong youths participated.[1] A beautiful picture of the bull fight of the Gopas is found in the mythical story of *Arishtavadha* in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Here we see an angry bull ready to fight, with huge horns and hump, pawing and shaking the earth underneath his hoofs and giving forth a terrific roar. Seeing the youths ready to fight, the bull, rushed towards them, breaking the ground underneath his legs with his tail erect, lifting earth with the ends of his horns and discharging dung and urine in small quantities with his eyes fixed and staring. Putting forth the ends of his horns he coursed swiftly towards the youth. The youths used to overpower the bull by holding his horn and drive him back. The bull also used to offer a tough fight, till he was completely exhausted and fell flat senseless on the ground. Vomitting blood profusely and simultaneously passing urine and discharging dung, throwing his eyes rolling, the bull lay dead.[2]

Soon after this, bull fight being over, the young cowherd-maidens used to join the youths for a bull-dance which was performed in the company of the young girls dressed in shining yellow and blue raiments and garlands of wild flowers.[3]

The traditions of the bull fight and the dance of Ayars, have been preserved in the Tamil classics, of the Saṅgam-Age wherein the girls used to marry the victorious youths.

While tending their kine, the Abhiras used to wrestle daily. They were famous wrestlers and travelled to distant countries to meet a challenge.[4] The *Harivaṁśa* portrays legendary origin of wrestling. It was first introduced by the Creator, to use skill and strength rather than weapon against the opponent. The success and failure in wrestling was decided by the judges.[5] Adequate rules and regulations were provided for the wrestlers. The parties were asked to wait for the appointed

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1. *Harivamsa*, Translation of Bose, LXXVI, p. 208; Translation Datta M.N., XXV, Sloka 16-17, p. 316.
2. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 36, Slokas 1-10.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Harivaṁśa*, LXXXII, sloka 32; *Bhāgavata* X, 43, sloka 31-40.
5. *Ibid.*, LXXXV, sloka 12-15; 22-26.

hour for wrestling. Before wrestling the wrestlers were asked to remove their toil with water. They used to besmear their bodies with cow-dung. Particulars of the trial were given to the wrestlers before the beginning of the tournament. The success of the wrestlers in the arena mainly depended upon fortitude, manliness, good conduct and strength. By throwing down his antagonist, the wrestler was declared successful.[1]

The arena for wrestling consisted of many platforms and scaffolds for persons of different grades. It was perfectly decorated and drums and tabors were sounded. The platforms were decked with festoons of garlands, flags of torn pieces of cloth and ornamental arches. On the platforms town and country folk were seated in order.[2] There was a special apartment for ladies also.

In a wrestling tournament organised by Kaṁśa, the Yadava King of Mathura, the Abhiras won, and Krishna killed the mightiest wrestler Chāṇūra of his times. The *Bhāgavata* describes that with the sound of tabors and roars of the combatants the tournament began. Thereupon, the haughty combatants with their trainers entered in the arena. Chāṇūra, Mushṭika, Kūṭa, Sala and Toshala and their Abhira combatants took their respective positions to prepare themselves for the contest.[3]

The details of the contest have graphically been given in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Bhāgavata*, which clearly represent the wrestling tactics of the Abhiras. The contest began by clasping one another by the hands and turning each other with the legs. They struck each other with their knuckle bones, knees, heads and chests. They fought with each other by moving in a circle, striking and grasping one another's arm by throwing the other down on the ground, by retreating and facing one another. They wounded each other by raising each other from the ground, pressing one another's joints and contracting one another's limbs. In the end, the combatant Chāṇūra was dashed on the ground. The other wrestler also was struck by fist vomitted blood and dropped down dead. The victorious Abhiras rejoiced by sounding drums and tabors and danced[4] in the arena.

This athleticis of the Abhiras were not limited to wrestling only; but they loved several other sports in which physical strength was required. Sometimes

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, XLII, Slokas 32-38; XLIV, S. 17.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, X, 44, Translated by J. M. Sanyala, p. 184.

they used to divide themselves in two parties, each headed by a leader. At a distance, a tree was fixed as goal and both the parties used to run in competition, the winners were entitled to enjoy a ride from the tree to their place over the shoulders of the defeated party.[1]

In leisured hours, the boys and girls used to enjoy *andolikā* in the forest.[2] Playing like a deer was also their favourite game.[3] They played a game, known as *nilayana*, in which some acted as thieves and other played the part of protectors and keepers, while some acted as lambs.[4] Fatigue was removed by chafing the feet, after lying down.[5]

The Abhiras, being primitive herdsmen, had primitive ways of treatment also. A humped back was cured by placing both the feet on the toes of the person and after holding his chin he was raised upward, thus the body was made straight.[6]

Being horse-riders, the Abhiras mastered the art of controlling the most wicked horses of their times. The *Bhāgavata* presents a beautiful picture of controlling a naughty horse in the myth of the death of Keśi.[7] The horse rushed at the terrific speed, chafing the ground with the pawing of his hoofs and throwing his manes and terrifying with his neighs, the Abhira youngmen, who mastered the horse, after escaping from his bites.

Sometimes, the boys were decorated with foliage, peacock tails, nosegays, garlands and red ointment. After that, they used to leap, jump and strike their arms with hands. Acting like a king and councillors in company of boys was also a favourite game of the boys.[8]

Water Sports

The sports of the Yadavas in the ocean described in the *Harivamśa*, have also some bearing on cowherd culture. As Krishna lived amongst the Abhiras for a

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1. *Ibid.*, X, 18, Sloka 18-20.
2. *Vishṇupurāṇa*, V, 9, Sloka 8.
3. *Ibid.*, Sloka 12.
4. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 37, Sloka 23-30, Sanyal p. 153.
5. *Ibid.*, X, 15, Slokas 9-18, Sanyal, p. 69.
6. *Ibid.*, 42, Slokas, 1-10; Sanyal, p. 174.
7. *Ibid.*, 37, Sanyal, 151-2.
8. *Ibid.* 18, Slokas 15, 17-18.

long time, therefore the cultural traits of the Yadava Kshatriyas have an impact with the pastoral culture of the day. The story of the water sports as appended below, actually belonged to the Abhiras.

The *Harivamśa*[1] records that the Yadavas, desirous of sporting in the Ocean, set out in groups with accomplished dancing girls. On reaching the beach, Balarama, the elder brother of Krishna, inebriated, adorned himself with garland of wild flowers. The Yadavas enjoyed a bath in the high tides of the ocean. Some women were rowing in the wooden boats. The dancing girls were brought by force to enjoin the party; standing in the water, they played many notes and delighted themselves by songs with music of the bangles produced by the girls. Holding the damsels by hand, they began to move about freely and dive into the water.

Throughout the day, after taking various sorts of eatables and drinks they enjoyed in the water. When the evening set in, the Yadavas came out of the water and began to sport in the house boats. These sports were enlivened by the sound of trumpets, music and dance.

The dancing girls were brought from different parts of India; and after drinking, they sung in their own languages set of thousands of tunes. Soon after, some members reeling with intoxication and holding the hands of damsels jumped sportively in the ocean. Some women started throwing water on one another with instruments in harshness. Seeing the harshness increasing, Krishna prevented them but the damsels continued dancing. When all the members of the party came out of the water, they sat on the sandy beach to enjoy their dinner and drink. Food was followed by dance and music of the women.

Adventures of the forest life

The adventures and tribulations of the forest-life of the Abhiras, may be explained from the *Bhāgavata*. The act of hunting the wild assess from a forest closeby, demonstrated in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, shows the hunting spirit of the Abhiras[2] in wilderness. While roving in the forest, the Abhiras used to face wild beasts, hence the stories of *Vakāsura*, *Aghāsura* and *Batsāsura* in the shape of a bird, a mountain

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1. *Harivamśa*, Chitrasala Press, Poona, 1936, Chs. 88, 89, pp. 371-380; Datta M. N., Chapters CC XXXV -CCXXXVI, pp. 635-647.
2. *Vishnupurana*, V, 8, Sloka 6-13.

and snake described in details in the *Harivamśa* and *Bhagavatapurāṇas*, throw importance light on the nature of the cowherds.

Food and Drink

Milk and butter was the principal food of the Abhiras. Various preparations of milk, wheat and rice were known to them. They prepared dishes of various kinds, enjoyed soup and, mostly, their plates were made of leaves.

Starting early in the morning with a morsel, the boys used to take bilva, rice, butter and curd mixed together.[1] Rice was also taken sometimes with honey[2] or boiled milk. They used to take palm dates and sweet ripe dark blue fruits in the forest.[3] The Abhiras preferred milk preparations as their food, even in the eleventh century as recorded by Hemachandra, though Grahripu has been accused of being a beef-eater in the Dvyāśraya Kavya.[4]

References to meat-eating of the Abhiras can even be seen in the Harivaṁśa. The Abhiras were also addicted to drinking. The Harivaṁśa sheds light upon the rich heritage of the cowherd shepherd lore, coherent in numerous stories of Krishna and the Yadavas. On auspicious occasions special dishes of meat were prepared.[5] A young buffalo was roasted on iron rods and soaked in ghee and mixed with salt for the dinner. A fat deer was also roasted in ghee and seasoned with vinegar. At the time of eating, a complete leg of the beast duly fried with ghee was served to one person mixed with salt and mustard. Meat was taken with the roots of *arum*, *campanula*, *pomegranates*, *asafoetida*, *ginger* and other vegetables.[6] It was followed by drinks, *viz. Maireya*, *Madhvika* and *Āsava* prepared specially from the meat of birds roasted on rods with ghee and juice. Salt and savoury dishes, curds and other preparations of ghee used to serve the purpose of side dishes. Various drinks, other than wine, were prepared from *palavi* and rice boiled in milk.[7]

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1. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 13, Slokas 7-13, Sanyal, p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*, 42, 25; Trans. Sanyal, IV, p. 176.
3. *Vishnupurāṇa*, V, 8, Sloka 5; *Harivamśa* Datta, 63, p. 286.
4. *Dvyāśraya kavya of Hemchandra*, Edited by Kathavate, Bombay, 1915, I, Sloka 9, p. 214.
5. *Harivaṁśa*, Chitrasala Press, Poona, Ch. 89, Slokas 57-60.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, Slokas 61-65.

Ceremonies, festivals and worship

It is evident from the Govardan worship, that the Abhira women used to enjoy equal status with men in the ceremonies.[1] In the eclipse of sun, they used to take bath ceremony.[2]

Aja, *Animat*, *Yajña*, *Achhiya*, *Hayagiriya*, *Isha*, *Sun* and *Vishṇu* were their favourite deities.[3] *Animat*, belived by the Abhiras, to be a deity to guard knees, *yajña* to guard thighs, *Achhaiya* was deity that never lapseth and protector of waist. *Hayagriva* was regarded as the god of stomach, *Keśava* of heart, *Iśā* of abdomen and Dhanurdhari and Urugaya were believed to be the blower of conch-shell and walk near the ankles of the body. Besides these the other deities were *Svetadvipa*, *Govinda*, *Madhava*, *Dakinis*, *Jaladhari*, *Kushmandas*, *Matris*, *Piśāchas*, *Yakshas*, *Rakshasas*, *Vindhyakas*, *Kotari*, *Revati*, *Jaishtha and Putanā*.[4]

Birthday Ceremony

When the Abhiras enjoyed the kingly status, they performed all the ceremonies with royal dignity. Birthday ceremony, as picturised in the *Bhāgavata*, gives an idea of the royal customs of the Abhira kings in their glories. It was considered as a day of rejoicing and the panegyrists the singers and the royal bards used to pronounce benedictory verses. Kettle drums and tabors were sounded. The capital city was decorated and the houses cleansed and sprinkled with water and adorned with variegated pennants and flags and pieces of silk raiments and artificial garments. Oxen and calves were decked with precious ornaments, peacock feathers, garlands, garments and golden strings. The cowherds wearing valuable garments and ornaments, visited the king's palace with presents. Beautiful cowherdesses decorated themselves with collyrium visited the king's palace, putting on bright diamond, pendants and the tresses fully decked with chaplets.[5]

All the calves and oxen were smeared with oil and turmeric paste. They were ornamented with valuable metals, peacock's feathers and beautified with turbans and Kanchukas.[6]

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1. *Bhagavata*, XXIV, Sloka 21.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, 21-27.
3. *Ibid.*, 42, 1-32.
4. *Ibid.*, VI, Slokas, 20-29.
5. *Ibid.*, X, V, Sloka 7-12; Sanyal, Translation p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

The newly born baby was smeared with turmeric powder, oil and washed with water. The cowherds sang choruses and smeared ghee and curd upon one another and rejoiced by throwing each other down on the slippery pavement at this occasion. Gifts were also distributed.

Magic rites and rituals

The Abhiras also believed in exorcism. Children were exorcized to avert the impending danger, by waving cow's tail on their head. Immediately after this, they were bathed in cow's urine and the dust of cow's hoofs was sprinkled upon their bodies.[1] If an earthen vessel fell down and broke to pieces, it was taken as an inauspicious sign, and its broken parts were worshipped[2] to propitiate the evil spirit.

Social life

The traditions of the cowherd-lores in the *Purāṇas* betray the antiquity of pastoral life in India. Being pastoral people, the Abhiras loved cows and developed a liking for them. The cows and calves were loved like the members of their own family. Different names were given to the calves and cows and the cows used to hearken when called for.[3]

Women worked in the house and men used to start early in the morning with cattle to forest with their day's meal and returned in the evening before the sun-set.[4] The women milked the cows, husked corn, churned the curds before dawn in the light of a lamp, which was fixed to the door jamp.[5] Milk was boiled on the hearth.

The *Bhāgavata* furnishes a beautiful picture of an Abhira home, wherein, Yasodā has faithfully been portrayed as an Ahir woman. The mother (Yasoda), was churning the curds, when the child entered the room. Seeing his mother holding the churning rod, he sucks her milk. While he was busy in sucking, she saw milk boiling over from the pot placed on a hearth. Leaving the unsatisfied child, she rushed to save the milk; the naughty child, out of anger broke the churning pot with a piece of stone and when curds spread on the ground, he started eating the

1. *Ibid.*, Slokas 11-18; Sanyal IV, V, p. 27; *Vishṇupurāna*, V, 5, Sloka 12.
2. *Ibid.*, 6, Sloka 7.
3. *Bhāgavatpurāṇa*, X, XIX, Sloka 6.
4. *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 80, Sloka 14, p. 339.
5. *Bhāgavatpurāṇa*, X, ch. 46, Sloka 44.

butter and distributed it to the monkeys assembled outside the window. After saving the milk, when the mother saw the scene and her child eating butter seated on a wooden mortar, she rushed to punish him. The child ran out of fear; ultimately he was caught and tied to the same wooden mortar. The child tried to pacify her by weeping and wiping the collyrium with his own hands, but in vain.[1] No more realistic picture of an ordinary Abhira house can be furnished, than this.

From morning till night, the women used to keep themselves busy in their houses, by plastering and cleaning their houses with cow-dung, sprinkling water on the floors, watering the plants, rocking the cradles and lulling their crying babies.[2]

The children played with calves and cows and their bodies were pasted with cow-dung and ashes for cleaning.[3]

Generally, the gopas used earthen pots. Milk was kept in a *kumbha* or an earthen *bhāṇḍa*.[4] They had cots to sleep, while a small cot *paryaṅkika* was used for the babies.[5] Among the other essential things of the houses, were wooden seat, pestle and mortar.[6]

Dances

The Abhiras were not only great warriors, but their artistic talents have been noted in the Puranic traditions, The monotheism of *Harivamśa* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, though diffused with the idea of Krishna, as a personal god yet combines in itself the traits of Abhira culture in which love romance and outdoor life played an important part.

Their dances, as a matter of fact, popularly known as *rāsa*, were the most picturesque and valued part of their life. These *rāsas* were autumn dances, held on full-moon nights, under a cloudless starry sky.[7]

Love forms the supreme theme of the *rāsa*. Several stages of *rāsa* dance are depicted in the *Harivamśa* and *Bhāgavata* each contributing to the final dance

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1. *Ibid.*, X, 9, Slokas 1-11;
2. *Ibid.*, 44, Sloka 11-16;
3. *Vishṇupurāṇa*, V, 6, 11-12.
4. *Ibid.*, 6, 1.
5. *Harivaṁśa*, LXIV, Sloka 27.
6. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 9, 9; *Vishṇupurāṇa*, V, 5, 22.
7. *Bhāgavatayurna*, ch. 29 and 30.

where the drama ends. Besides several dialogues, songs, music and discourse, there are nine different dances in all, each with its own place and technique, for the purpose of delineation of the meaning and value of the drama of *rāsa* as a whole, so as to pave the way for and to enact the *rāsotsava, i.e. Mahārāsa.*

There are six main dances, in which Krishna dances with cowherdesses in different formations.[1] In the beginning a ballet is called *laghurāsa* but there are five others which constitute the *Mahārāsa.* Out of the five, three dances are enacted by the *gopis* alone in the absence of Krishna, as a devise to recall him and undo the effect of separation. These three dances play the role of cleaning the gopis of the last specks of dirt from their minds and preparing them for the final beatitude in the *rāsotsava.*

The scenery of these rasas as picturised in the *Harivamśa* and the *Bhāgavata* used to change from woodland glades to the river banks, onward into waters of the river, and from thence back to dense forest, where the flowers of every shape and colour, bedecked with honeyed pearls of dew, sent out aromas of infinite and maddening variety over the soft breezes that oscillate between the river and the forest in the midst of the constant hum of wasps hovering over them.[2]

In the *rāsa* dance, the presence of the flute, the dress of the people and the sentiments displayed in the dance, constitute an important aspect. The *Harivamśa* describes the *rāsa* dance, played with sticks, known as *daṇḍarāsaka* and other clapping of hands known as *tālarāsaka.*[3] The dance were accompanied with music, while the ornaments of the women used to sound as they move to and fro with the beat of drums.[4] According to the *Harivamśa* and *Bhāgavata,* the damsels in dance used to stand holding one another's hand and a young man standing in the middle of the two, putting his arms round their neck. Thus, foot movements, toes, heels and legs, first start their journey to explore rhythmic expression in measured steps, long short, quick and slow, accompanied in single, double and trible timings. These rhythms of feet and legs accompanied by articulations of hands, arms and fingers like themselves up with harmony.[5]

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1. *Ibid.*, X, ch. XXXIII.
2. *Ibid.*, X, ch. XXIX, XXX.
3. *Harivaṁśa*, Cal. edition, ch. 77, Slokas 4080-4096; *Vishṇupurāṇa*, 20, 27-35, Bombay, 1895, *Brahmapurāṇa*, ch. 81, 21.
4. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 33, 3 and 4.
5. *Ibid.*, X, ch. XXXIII, Sloka 10-11.

Later tradition of the rasa dance

The folk dances having been patronised and popularised by the cowherds, soon gained currency all over the country, and therefore with the march of time, this form of popular dance came to be recognised and adopted by the refined sections of the society. Bhāsa, in his drama *Bālacharita* Act III, refers to *hallīshaka* which was played by Kṛishṇa with the beat of drums.[1]

With the expansion of the cowherd cult (Krishna cult), the *rāsa* dance gained more popularity. Rajasekhara, the celebrated author of *Karpūramañjarī*, mentions *daṇḍarāsaka* and Jayadeva has also anticipated the same in his *Gītagovinda*.[2] Hemachandra in *Kavyānuśāsana*[3] mentions it as a form of dance accompanied by song.

Traditions of the *rāsa* dance as a matter of fact, transplanted from generations to generations with the development of the cowherd cult. Vallabhāchārya, the sage, and propounder of Vallabha-sect, in his commentary upon the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa—Rāsapañchādhyayi*, has given a faithful portraiture of the *rāsa* dance of Kṛishṇa. This indicates the popularity and impact of pastoral culture with popular Brahmanism.

The glories of these dances of the cowherds (Abhiras) are still living in the shape of the folk dances in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. The *gárbā* dance of Gujarat, as a matter of fact, is a derivation of the old *rāsaka*. The dance of the cowherds thus enveloped the folk art of the day and not only did it encompass the horizon of India but enriched the spirituality and art consciousness of the residents of the countries of Java, Combodia, Bali and Siam.

Paintings and sculptures of the dances of the Abhiras

Before we conclude our study of the dances of the Abhiras, it is advisable to have a view of the earliest paintings and sculptural representations of the *rāsas*.

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1. *Bhāsanātakachakram*, critically edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona, 1937, Balacharita, III, 13, 99, p. 337.

2. *Karpuramajñari* with commentary of Vasudeva, Edited by M. M. Durga Pd. and V. S. L. Pansikar, Bombay, 1927, p. 14; *The Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, with commentary of Rasikapriya Edited by M. R. Telang and Mathuranath Sastri, Bombay, 1937, 1, 12, p. 36.

3. *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemachandra with his own gloss edited by M. M. Pandit Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Bombay, 1901, p. 328.

Plate II

Daṇḍarāsaka (Bagh Fresco)

(By Courtesy Dr. M. R. Majmudar)

The theme of the dances and music as we see, could not escape the eyes of the painters. In a scene of the frescoes of Bagh caves a musical party has been exhibited.[1] It portrays women dancing in a circle, keeping time with small sticks (*daṇḍa*) held in either hands. Evidently, it represents the scene of *daṇḍarāsaka* as given in *Harivamśa*. This frescoe of Bagh is unique in the pictorial History of India.

Music

The musical propensities of the Abhiras are a familiar feature in the Sanskrit Literature. These musical traits were a part and parcel of their variegated activities. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, clearly reflects upon their musical talents. From the primitiveness of the Abhiras, to the highest stage of their culture, or in other words, from woodland glades to the palaces of the Abhira Kings, we find a peculiar happy blend of the sentiments and erotic expression, pulsating the life of the people which is more pronounced in their history.[2] The panorama of Vraja would have served as a beautiful background for the cowherds to pour out their sentiments in the form of music.

Kṛishṇa was exceptionally efficient in the flute and learnt the diverse ways of playing on it. He could play all the notes of the gamut.[3]

According to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, he could make out all the *svaras viz. rishbha, nishada, sadja*, in *hṛasva, madhyama* and *dīrgha*[4] form. The excellence of his sweet melodies, not only hailed the heart of the human beings, but cattle also were not out of it. The cows and calves used to gaze attentively at a moment by hearing the appeasing notes of his flute, and used to stand paralysed.[5] He was unequal in his music but the Abhrias as a whole were capable enough to sing and dance. Their instrument, *parṇavādya* has been described in the *Harivamśa* of pleasing sound. It resembled in shape like three snake-hoods.[6] Trumpet sounding was regarded as a sacred sign and it was used to please the gods on auspicious ocasions.

1. Marshall Sir John and others, *The Bagh Caves, in the Gwalior State*, London, 1927, pl. D. pp. 49-51.
2. In several stories of the Kathasaritasagara, the cowherds have been portrayed as singing in rapture.
3. *Bhāgavata*, X, 19, 16; III, 2, 29.
4. *Ibid.*, X, 35, 14-15.
5. *Ibid.*, X, 35, 4-5.
6. *Harivamśa*, ch. 63, 3, p. 268.

Music of the cowherd women

The gopikas who also excelled in music, have been depicted in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as *Veṇuvādyanipuṇaḥ*.[1] Though, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* speaks of their knowledge of classical music, their capability to take *alāpa* and transform some of the *rāgas* into *dhruvatāla*,[2] it seems doubtful to accept that the Abhiras mastered the classical music, specially at the nomadic stage of their culture. The classical music was an outcome of the civilized society, though it was developed from the songs of the pastoral people in the very beginning.

In the advance stage of their culture, the Abhira women seem to have learnt the art of painting also. Mention is made of a gopi *Raṅgaveṇī*,[3] in the *Padma-purāṇa*, who was well-versed in this art. *Raṅgaveṇī* has been described as the daughter of a cowherd of Vraja.

Later traditions of Abhira music

Looking up at the history of the classical music of India we find that the acharyas of music have divided it into two parts, *viz. mārgī* and *deśī*; later when applied to music means indigenous born in the land, natural and unrefined as opposed to *mārgī* which is refined. The *deśī* ragas according to king Someśvara (1131 A.D.) derived their names from their regions.[4]

Sāraṅgadeva, the author of *Saṅgitaratnākara* (1210 to 1247 A.D.), lays down that the folk music captivates the popular ears and appeals directly to the heart of the people of various lands and climate.[5] He mentions *Abhirika* and *Abhiri* ragas in the catalogue of *grāmarāgas*.

The folk music, therefore, may be defined as a viamedia of inner feeling, unbounded by any rules or regulations. It originates from the heart of a person, hence it bears the true impression of the society.

Narada, the author of *Saṅgitamakaranda* (C. 7th to 9th A.D.), mentions a rāga named *gopika*, to be sung in the day time. Thus *gopikārāga* seems to be a form of cowherd music, as *Abhīrī* or *Ahīrī* or a variant form of it.[6]

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1. *Bhāgavataqurāṇa*, X, 33, 9-10; *Padmapurāṇa*, Anandasrama Series, II, ch. 72, p. 595.
2. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 33, 10.
3. *Padmapurāṇa*, *op. cit.* Sloka, 20, p. 593.
4. *Manasollasa*, Slokas, cited by Prof. O. C. Gangoly from a MSS of B.O.R.I., Poona, Supra, p. 20.
5. *Sangitaratnākara*, Anandasrama series, 1896, ', I, 1, 23.
6. *Sangita Makaranda of Narada*, Edited by Mangesh Ramkrishna Telang, Baroda, 1920, 3, 14, p. 15.

A tradition of the folk (*deśī*) music of the Abhiras, is also traceable from the *Brihaddeśī*, a treatise on *deśī* (folk) music, ascribed to the period of c. 4th to 7th century A.D., by Prof. O. C. Gangoly.[1] In this treatise the author has specifically mentioned Abhiri as a famous melody in the ancient ragas with its compound notes as a minor *rāgini bhāshāgītī* affiliated to *Pañchamarāga.*

The iconographic features of this raga as noticed by Prof. Gangoly are as follows:—

Nāga kanyātitaraṅgī dugdhapāna madotkaṭā
sukuṇḍalā nāgavāhā āhīrī kaṭhiṇasṭhanī

Further, *Saṅgītasāraṇī*, a work on classical music furnishes the iconographic features of *Abhīrī* or *Abhīrikā* as follows:—

vā....kaṅkaṇa vibhūshita bāhuvallī
runnidra champakamanoharagātrayashṭiḥ
srīkhaṇḍaśailaśikhare gajamauktikauṅdhaiḥ
ābhīrikā vidadhatī śrajaminduśubhram[2]

These iconographic features of Abhiri raga impend the glory of the Abhira culture of India. The basic traits and characteristics of the Abhiras, trimmed in their true colours and tanscended in their history and culture, have nicely been projected and picturised in the above iconography. It represents a complete view of the Abhira society with their true personation, embedded in love and life of wilderness so pronounced in their traditions.

The first description symbolically represents an amorous Abhira damsel in her full bloom. Her love for snake recalls the story of Hīra, the socalled ancestor of Ahirs or their appellation *Ahir*, divided into two, *ahi*, a 'snake' and *hīra*, a 'lover'. The idea of such a daring sport, *viz.* to play with snakes, reveal the adventurous spirit of the Abhiras, enjoyed in forests. In a life as theirs, love and mastery over snakes is not unlikely.

Another prominent factor in the Abhira culture, has been the beauty and youth of the Abhira women, known to Sanskrit literature. The Abhira women were

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1. *Brihddesi of Matanga*, Edited K. Sambasiva Sastri, 1928, Trivendrum Sanskrit series No. XCIV, 1928, pp. 106, 116, 121; Gangoly, 'Non-Aryan Contribution to Indian Music', *Jourl. of Bhan. Ori. Res. Insti.*, Poona, XIX, p. 268.

2. *Sangitasarani* vide *Bharatakosa*, Comp. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, edited by Prof. P. V. Ramanujasvami, Tirupati, 1951, p. 53.

amorous by nature, similitude of which has been drawn with a *nāgakanyā*, putting on *kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings) in her ears.

The tradition, that the Abhiras originally constituted a part of hilly races of nomadic herdsmen, has been clearly delineated in the second iconographic portrayal of the *rāga Abhiri* or *Abhirika*, recorded by *Sangitasaraṇi*. The author of *Sangitasarani* tends to delineate the features of the Abhiras, with their kingly glamour. The woman, figured in the iconography dilates the ideas of delicate feature of the Abhira damsel. The ornamentation and gait of the goddess Ābhiri, is an impressionism of their advance culture. The exponents of these iconographic forms, have carefully commingled the pastoral and luxuriant life enjoyed by the tribe in their hey-day. The description of the youthful gaity and fully decorated goddess again, bears the import of their amorous contexture.

Abhiri and *Ahiri* as a melody has also been mentioned by later *āchāryas* of music in their works. In 1131 A.D. Someśvara, the author of *Manasollasa* has given a catalogue of the different *ragas* current in his times.[1] He describes the structures of various melodies, in which Āhiri is one of them. In his treatise the author has given many *rāgas* and *rāginīs* of the tribal people like the *Todas*, *Takkas*, *Śakas* and the *Śavaras*.

To the first quarter of the 14th Century, an interesting document hailing from Mithila, *Varṇaratnākara* written by a scholar and connoisseur of music named *Jyotiriśvara*, a high official of King Harisimhadeva of Karnata dynasty, ruled between 1300-1324 A.D., confers a long list of the *rāgas* and the *rāginīs* current in his times. In his work he refers to a *rāga* named *Gaula* along with *Gujjari*.[2] The term *Gaula* evidently means a cowherd.

It is interesting to note that *Lorika*, the famous legend of the Ahirs was also developed in the form of a dance in the 14th Century, as mentioned in the *Varṇaratnākara*.[3]

In 1550 A.D., the greatest land-mark in the South Indian music, was provided by a short but eminently scientific treatise, called *Svaramela-kalānidhi*,[4] the com-

1. *Manasollasa of Somesvara, op. cit.* vide Gangoly, p. 21.
2. *Varnaratnakara*, Edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Calcutta, 1940, 60 Ka.
3. *Ibid.*, 10 Kha.
4. *Svaramelakalanidhi*, reprinted in Captain N. A. Williard's A treatise on the Music of Hindustan, 1882, p. 167; M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar, *Svaramelakalanidhi of Rāmamātya*, Annamalai, 1932, ch. V, p. 35.

position of which we owe to Ramamatya a minister of Vijayanagar king Ramaraja. He mentions all the *rāgas* of Karnataka school, current in his times, in which *Abhīrī* is one of them and has been described as the tenth raga in the list of the roots of the *rāgas*. Besides *Ahīrī*, he describes *Kannaḍagaulā* and *Gauli* as variant from *Ahīrī*, It seems that by the time of the Vijayanagar kings, the music of the Abhiras became prevalent in the society. Consequently we find the development of the *Gaulārāga* which has been defined as *Kannadagaula*, *Ritigaula*, *Narayanagaula*, called *gramarāgas* or the folk music. Ayyar has given the grammar of the *gaula raga*.[1] These songs would have been the developed forms of *Abhīrī*, the music of the *Abhīras* as given by Matanga.

Coming to the age of Akbar, we find that *Pundarik Vittal*, in his work *Sadrāga-chandrodaya*, written sometimes between 1562-1599, under the service of prince Burhan Khan of Khandesh, has classified all the South and North Indian ragas under nineteen *ṭhāts* or parent scale, in which *Abhīrī rāga* has been described to be sung in the afternoon. Deva, a famous poet of Hindi, has also given a form of *Ahīrī rāgas*.

Prof. Gangoly opines that *Gurjari*, *Saindhavi*, *Gandhari* and *Abhīrī* are some of the earliest feminine melodies designated by Matanga under the name of Bhasa. In the second stage, the melodies derived their names from the ancient tribes inhabiting various parts of India. Thus the Sakas, the Pulindas and the Abhiras appear to have lent their names to the *Sakaraga*, *Pulindi raga* and *Abhīrī ragas*, respectively. The Bhairavas according to Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasha* were an aboriginal sect mentioned with the *Todas*, *Sakas*, *Abhīras* and *Chaṇḍelas*.[2] Somanatha, in his *Ragavibodha*, (1609 A.D.) gives the timing of the various ragas in which he places *Abhīrikā* between day time after the third watch.[3]

Thus we see that the Abhrias influenced the culture of India in various fields specially religion, art and social customs. In the field of religion they gave an impetus to the Krishna Cult (Cowherd Cult) and introduced various customs such as *Govardhanapuja* amongst the high *varṇas* of the Hindus. Their contribution to the field of art is specially noteworthy. They vanished from the map of India

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1. C. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *The Grammar of South Indian Music*, Madras, 1951, p. 48.
2. *Bhavaprakasan*, Gaekwad Oriental series, Vol. XLV, 1930, Introduction, pp. 61, 73.
3. *Somanatha Ragavivodha*, translated and edited by M. S. Ramaswani Aiyar, Madras, 1933, ch. V, p. 27; Gangoly, *Ibid.*, p. 88.

as a political tribe but have left a lasting impression upon the music and dances of India. They have excelled in their folk songs and to this day the folk songs of the Abhiras are very famous for their sweet melodies. These folk songs are sometimes called as *birha, i.e.* the ' song of separation from the lover.' They have some heroic ballads also in which the ballad of *Lorika* is very famous to-day. Their dances developed in the shape of *garbas* and *rāsas* throughout the state of Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. The tradition gives one an idea of the hey-day of the Abhiras.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE TODAY

After studying the social life and culture of the Abhira tribe, it is advisable to probe into the life of the present Ahir community to understand the continuity of the Abhira traditions. Today, the Ahiras are a significantly numerous community inhabiting almost all the states of India and rank in social status with the Gujaras, Jats, Bhars, Bharwars and Kurmis.[1]

The appellations *Ahir*, *Gauli*, *Goala* and *Goar* signify their profession.[2] The Ahirs converted to Islam are called *Ghosis* and *Gaddis*; they inhabit Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh an Maharashtra[3]. The offshoots of this community can even be traced in South India, where they are called *Gollar*, *Gollam*, *Golla*, *Golkar* or *Gopal* in Belgaum, Kanara, Chanda, Dharwar, Bijapur, South Maharashtra, Ratnagiri, Berar and Telugu speaking districts.[4]

The most significant feature of the Ahir traditions is homogenity and to a certain degree continuity of their traditions. Yet, wherever they migrated, they adopted the local caste and kinship. In the following pages, a few details of material

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1. ELLIOT, *Memoirs on the History, Folklore of the races of N. W. P. and O. of India*, Edited by Beams, Vol. I, London, MDCCCLXIX, pp. 5, 6; *Raebareli Settlement Report* No. 15 and *Chronicles of Unao* No. 20, vide Crooke, *The Tribes and caste of North Western Provinces of Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, I, p. 52; Risley, *The Tribes an dcastes of Bengal*, I, Calcutta, 1891, p. 290; Dalton, *The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Cal. 1872, p. 314. Prof. Ghurye in his *Caste and Class in India* p. 176, opines that Ahirs come next to Kayasthas in grade in Hindu Society. This opinion of Prof. Ghurye seems to be doubtful as the present day Kayasthas are a well-advanced community, occupying a priminent position in the Hindu society, while the Ahirs constitute a backward class.

2. RISLEY, *op. cit.* p. 282.

3. RUSSELL & HIRALAL, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. III, London, 1916, p. 32; Crooke, *op. cit.* II, 419; Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and castes*, Vol. I, London, 1872, p. 334; Tod understands that Pal is a synonym of Ahirs. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, Madras, 1880, p. 409.

4. *Golla*, is a contracted form of *Gvala*, Sanskrit *Gopal*. Mysore, Iyer, *The Mysore tribes and castes*, Vol. III, 1930, p. 197; Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18; III, 35, 36; Enthovan, *The Tribes and castes of Bombay*, II, Bombay, 1922, pp. 9, 22.

culture and customs of the Ahirs of Northern India is given to throw some light on their culture.

The traditions of the Ahirs throughout India ascribe their common origin from Mathura and gradual migration to distant places.[1] This is itself seems to suggest oneness of their traditions throughout India.

In Cutch, Kathiawad, Palanpur and Khandesh and in other States they consider themselves as immigrants from the North. Some of them came from their home on the bank of the Yamuna as milk suppliers to the Mughal armies marching towards the South.[2] Some of the surnames of the Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh still preserve the memory of their ancient homes in Uttar Pradesh, *e.g. Jujhotia* named after Jujhoti or Jujhota an old village in Tahsil Aliganj in District Etah of U.P., and *Kanaujia* from Kanauj. The Ahirs of Purnea District of Bihar cherish the tradition of their original home in Brindavana.[3] The Kantitaha Gualas of Bihar also believe that their ancestors migrated from Uttar Pradesh.[4] They are, however, debarred from inter-marrying with other Ahirs and are consider inferior in grade.

Divisions and Surnames of the Ahirs

Generally speaking, the Ahirs form three distinct divisions, *viz. Nandbans*, found chiefly in Central Doab, the *Yadubans*, found chiefly in Upper Doab and West of the Jamuna river and the *Gvalbans* found chiefly in the Lower Doab and districts adjoining Varanasi.[5] These three groups of Ahirs are not inter-connected and do not intermarry. The *Nandbans* division is further divided into 84 gotras in Uttar Pradesh some of them are:—

Samarphalla, Kishnaut, Bhagta, Bilehnia, Diswar, Nagowa, Kanaudha, Dunr, Rawal, Tenguria, Kor, Kamaria, Barausia, Mujwar, Dahima, Nirban, Khar khari, Dirhor, Sitauliya, Jarwariya, Barothi Gonda Pathak.

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1. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 3, Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 283; *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, 1903, pp. 13-14.
2. Gunthorpe, 'On the Ghosis and Gaddis of Deccan; known as Muhamdan Gvalis', *Jourl. of the Anthropological Society* of Bombay, Vol. I, p. 41.
3. Buchanan Francis, *An account of the District of Purnea* (1809-10), Patna, 1921, p. 225.
4. Risley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.
5. Bhattacharya J. N., *Hindu Castes and Sects*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 297. In the *Arch. Survey of India.* The Gujars are also included in the Ahirs, *A. S. R.* IV, p. 230; Elliot, *op. cit*, I, p. 4.

Besides these, there are sixty-four surnames, some of which are as follows:—[1]

Molak, Santoriya, Bighoto, Khosiya, Khalliya, Linival, Aphariya, Maila, Khiala Khoro, Sesotiya, Gondwal, Gird, Bhamsara, Janjoriya, Kankauriya, Nagamiya.

In U. P., the Ahirs have eighteen sub-castes, *e.g. Benbansi*, off-spring of Raja *Bena, Bhirgudi, Dauwa, Dhindhori, Gaddi, Gamel, Ghorcharha, Ghosi Gujar, Khunkhuniya, Rajauria and Rawat.*[2]

The endogamous groups *i.e.* the groups which intermarry are:

Lilar, Chopar, Gaddi, Gujar, Padhan or *Pradhan*, and *Lala*. Besides these, there are local endogamous groups like *Deswali, Kanaujia, Maghariya* and *Purabiya*. The surnames of the Mohammedan Ghosis or Ahirs are: *Baghela, Behua, Chaudheri, Chauhan, Gahlot, Gaur, Gual, Pathan, Rajput, Sayyid, Sadiq, Tomar* and *Turk*.[3] In Bihar a series of subcastes different from those of the U.P. Ahirs have developed. They include *Naomulia* or *Majraut*, *Satmulia* or *Kishnaut* and *Goria* or *Dahiraj* and *Dahiaras*.[4] In purnea district, there are some other groups also such as:

Ghosin, Nandgop, Saphasi and *Goyaria*. In Bengal and in Purnea district of Bihar some local divisions are prevalent, which are *Goyalas*,[5] *Sadgop* or *Saphal gop*, all claim kinship with Krishna.

In Madhya Pradesh, the *Ghosis* claim themselves as Thakurs and their geneologies can be had from the bards, known as *Patias*. These *Ghosis* have been divided between two groups, namely *Havelia* living in villages and *Birchheya* who are forest dwellers.[6]

In Chhattisgarh and Orissa area, the Ahirs known as *Rawat* and *Gahra* are numerous.[7] The *Rawats* are further divided into various groups known as *Jhadia*,

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1. *Ibid.*, Crooke, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*,
3. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 419-20.
4. Risley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.
5. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, (Purnea Report).
6. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-6, III, pp. 34-35.
7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 19.

Kosaria and *Kanaujja*. The surname *Jhadia* came in vogue due to their forest dwelling habit. *Kosaria* was derived from *Kosala*.[1]

The *Dhauwa Ahirs* of being illegitimate off-spring by the union of Bundela Rajputs and Ahirs are inferior in rank and serve as wet-nurses in the houses of *Raghubansi* and *Ranya Ahirs*.[2] In Madhya Pradesh there are *Narwaria* section of Ahirs who hail from Narwar near Gwalior.[3]

The settlement of the Ahirs in Cutch and Saurashtra is older than the other residents of Gujarat State whose surnames are as follows:—

> *Ambalia*, *Baradia*, *Bhadarka*, *Bharia*, *Bhuthar*, *Chetaria*, *Chhuchar*, *Chudasama*, *Gagia*, *Gogham*, *Gohel*, *Gorai Jogal*, *Kachhot*, *Nandania*, *Pithia Ravaliya*, *Sisotia* and *Vasra*. Their endogamous groups have been named on a territorial basis, *e.g. Machha* from Machhu river near Morvi, *Prathalia*, living in *Vagad*, *Boricha Sorathia* from Sorath, *Chorida* from Chorad in Runn.

There are no inter-marriages between these groups but *Sorathias* are regarded as inferior. These *Sorathias* are the descendents of Rao Navaghana of Junagarh.[4] In Kathiavad all the above mentioned groups dine with each other.

In Khandesh the Ahirs have seven sections, of which *Gvalbansi*, *Bharvathia Dhidamvar Ghosi* and *Gujar* are prominent.[5]

The exogamous sub-divisions of the Ahirs of Poona and Khandesh include: *Baldarkhamvale*, *Bania*, *Barodiye*, *Biloriya*, *Dhanoriye*, *Hajariye*, *Himvar*, *Pathariye*, *Katariye*, *kookrelive*, *Moriye*, *Parwar* and *Phulsunge*.[6]

The Deccan Ahirs constitute endogamous groups like *Romabans*, *Gvalbans*, *Dhidamwar*, *Bharvathiya* and *Ghosia*. The Ghosis and Gaddis of Deccan have two sections which are called *Bendis* and *Gujars*.[7] The Gollars of Mysore style themselves as *Yadu-Kula* or *Krishnakula* and profess that they belong to the same caste as Krishna.[8]

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 25; Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
2. Captain, J. Murdo, ' On the Country of South ', *J.R.A.S.*, I., p. 248.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, p. 9.
5. *Bombay Gazetter*, (*Khandesh Dist.*), XII, p. 79.
6. *Ethno. Survey Bombay*, p. 9.
7. Gunthorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
8. Iyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99; Thurston, *Castes and tribes of South India*, II, Madras, 1909, p. 284.

The endogamous groups of the Kannada Gollas are as follows:—

Hal Golla, *Hav Golla*, *Kad Golla*, *Kempe Gollas* and *Uz Golla.*

These groups have inter connections between themselves.[1] In Belgaum district, the Gollas have six endogamous groups namely the *Advi* or *Telugu*, *Golla*, *Hanam Golla*, *Kishnaut Golla*, *Kenguri Golla*, *Paknak Golla* and *Sastra Golla.*

The *Kenguri Gollas* rear white sheep and are found mostly in Andhra Pradesh.

In Bijapur the exogamous groups of the Gollas are:

More, *Pavar*, *Shinde* and *Yadav.*

The last two have an infusion of Maratha blood.[2]

In Bengal the *Pallabh* or *Ballabh* are said to have been the descendents of *Gham Ghosh* who is believed to have sprung up from the sweat of Krishna while the *Bogre* or *Ujjainia* came from Ujjain. In Dacca the *Sada Gollas* or white Gollas and *Lal Gollas* or the red Gollas got their name from the colour of the clothes put on by the bride at the wedding ceremony. The *Sadas* are recognised higher than the Lalas.

The *Kantitaha* got their name from the custom of branding the cows with a *Kanti* or hook.[3]

Generally, the Ahirs in Madhya Pradesh eat pigs, fowl, sheep and goats, but some of them even eat mice.[4] They however, do not eat beef. There is a social uniformity between the Jats, Ahirs and Gujars who smoke and drink together. In Bombay State Ahirs take *Pukka* (Puris and Vegetables etc.) and *Kachha* (Chapatis, Rice and Dal etc.) with Marathas and smoke with them.[5] The Ahirs and Ghosis offer their pipe to the Marathas with a piece of cloth but the Marathas when offering the pipes to the Ahirs or Ghosis do not offer any cloth.[6]

The dress of a male Ghosi constitutes tight short drawers of white cotton, waist band with a fringe on either end, a short coat and saucer shaped tight turban, while their women wear a petticoat and long boddice peculiar to themelves. They live in mud and wattle huts. The chief of the caste is designated as Patel, who

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1. Enthoven, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. Risley, *op. cit*,; I, p. 284.
4. Rusell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*; II, pp. 34-35; III, 33, 38; *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 15.
5. Blunt, E. A., Bombay, MCMXXXI, p. 89; Crooke, *op. cit.*, I, 65; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
6. *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 15.

deals with the internal feuds with the help of his subordinates called *Chaudhari* and *Gaurwa*.

The Panchayats

The Ahirs and Ghosis have Panchayats all over India to manage the internal affairs of their caste. In Uttar Pradesh these councils are called Panchayats and are presided over by a permanent chairman called *Sarpanch* or *Chaudhari*.[1] The councils meet at the occasion of the marriage or death of a member of the caste, and on that occasion current affairs are discussed.[2]

These tribal councils or Panchayats discuss cases pertaining to the breach of caste rules and regulations, and family feuds in respect of immorality, eating with prohibited caste etc.

During the hearing of the case, the accused is not allowed to sit on the mat with the fellow members of the caste. The president of the council uses the members present on the floor of the council as asessors and after due enquiry and investigation, the decision is announced.[3] In Madhya Pradesh, if a man commits a serious offence, he is made to stand in the middle of the stream till he begs for mercy. In that case he is also fined to offer two feasts to the community[4] as a sort of punishment. In the Ahirs of Uttar Prdesh, people guilty of immorality are also dealt with the same way but in addition, the accused is required to deposit one rupee as a fine. Disobeying the orders of the Chaudhari is punished by hitting the guilty party with shoes before the council and ex-communication.[5] The cases of cow-killing are dealt with very severely. The accussed is sent to *Goshain* who weighs the evidence and if the charge is proved he is made to beg for four months roaming in the villages.[6]

Occupations

Breeding milch cattle specially the cows and she-buffaloes is the main profession of the Ahirs.[7] In some States the Ahirs or Gaulas are cultivators and land-

1. GUNTHORPE, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 43-46.
2. CROOKE, *op. cit.*, I, 58; Blunt, *Opcit.*, p. 107; Russell and Hiralal, *Opcit.*, III, p. 38.
3. CROOKE, *op. cit.*, I, 58.
4. RUSSELL and HIRALAL, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 34-35.
5. CROOKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 58;
6. BLUNT, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
7. The Gollas of South India keep cattle and sell milk. Thurston, *op. cit.*, II, p. 284.

lords also, but the Ghosis are simply cultivators and keep buffaloes only. They also serve in the cities as domestic servants.[1] Almost all the Ahirs have given up nomadic life, only some of them still rove about for pastures with their herds of cattle and families. During their temporary stay in the pastures, these nomads prepare encampments out of large bamboo mats.[2] In the days of Tipu Sultan and Hyder Ali, the Gollas were considered to be most trustworthy, and were appointed custodians of the treasury.[3]

Marriage

The marriage customs of the Ahirs and the rules governing to the various ceremonies in this connection do not differ much from those followed by the caste Hindus. A marriage is forbidden in U.P. between member of the same gotra and the gotras of their sister's relations upto three generations.[4] In Bengal the character of the exogamous groups of the Ahirs and the rules by which the inter-marriages are governed, differ markedly from those found in the Ahirs of other parts of the country.[5] The rules in general seem to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system. In Bihar, inter-marriage is regulated by a large number of groups called *muls* which are of territorial type. They avoid the following gotras:

1. His own *mul*
2. His mother's *mul*
3. His maternal grandmother's *mul*
4. His maternal great grandmother's *mul*
5. His paternal grandmother's *mul*
6. His paternal great grandmother's *mul*
7. His paternal great great grandmother's *mul*

These rules apply to all the Ahirs with little variations throughout India. The Gollars marry in endogamous groups.[6]

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1. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18; III, pp. 33, 37; Crooke *op. cit.*, II, p. 420; Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 314; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 296; Risley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284; *Ethno. Surv. of Bombay*, p. 8; Tod, *Travels in Western India*, London, 1839., p. 359; Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
2. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
3. Iyer and Nanjundayya, *The Mysore Tribes and Caste*, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 57.
5. Risley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 285, 288; Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 5. In Khandesh both sisters can be married to one husband. *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 9.
6. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26.

As a rule all the Ahir girls are married before or just after puberty, while the Golkars of Chanda, insist upon infant marriages, and fine the parents if an unmarried girl attain puberty. The *Kanora* Ahirs of Mandla, do not marry their girls till they show the sign of puberty[1].

If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a person of the same caste or by one outside, the girl is made over to him.[2] Among the Gualas of Bengal and Orissa, the orthodox view of Hindu marriage is wholly accepted. In Bihar the infant marriage is regarded as a matter of enhanced social respectability. In U.P., Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar,[3] there is also a custom of exchanging the girls between the two Ahir families. In the Ahirs of Chhotanapur both adult and infant marriages are recognised, the latter being regarded as a counsel of perfection for the well-to-do persons. If an Ahir girl in Orissa remains unmarried in her father's house, after attaining her puberty, the breach of ceremonial requirement may be got over by giving her away to an old man or invalid man. After such marriage the girl is divorced by her husband and remarried like a widow.[4] Smearing vermilion over the forehead of the bride is believed to be an important part of the marriage ceremony. On the marriage day, in Khandesh, women dance in a circle to the sound of drum and men perform the stick dance, moving in a circle round the image of Ganapati.[5]

The marriage ceremony in Khandesh is performed under a shed of twelve posts in front of the bride's hut. Twelve earthern pots full of water are kept under the shed for five days. The details of the marriage ceremony do not differ much from those followed by other Hindus.[6] In Poona and Khandesh the marriage of the Ahirs is conducted by the Northern Brahmans called Pandes[7]; but in Madhya Pradesh it is conducted by the relations called *Saivasins*.[8] In Bihar the final ceremony, celebrating the departure of the bride to the house of the bridegroom and regular connubial relations ordinarily take place after four months of the

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. RISLEY, *Opcit.*, I, p. 289.
5. *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 8.
6. ENTHOVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
7. *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 14.
8. RUSSELL and HIRALAL, *op. cit.*, 7, II, p. 27.

wedding ceremony.[1] In the marriage ceremony of the Mohammadan Gaddis or Ghosis, songs are sung in praise of the Hindu deities. It is believed that every house of the Ghosis must possess a silver image of the goddess. On the whole the marriage of the Ghosis is just like that of the Ahirs but party performed by a Kazi.[2]

The Ahirs permit second marriage of a person, in case of infidelity on the part of the first wife; and for this, the permission of the tribal council is necessary. The woman thus divorced from her husband is entitled to marry again. Adultery, however, is looked upon as a great offence. If a woman commits adultery with a man of higher caste, the matter is hushed up; an intrigue with a low caste man is punished with immediate expulsion from the caste. The Ahirs are polygamous in U.P. but polyandrous also in some districts along the bank of the Jamuna. Individual instances of adultery are not considered as a crime. The children of a virgin or widow rank equally. In some Ahirs of Maharashtra formerly an unchaste woman was punished very severely. Such a woman was tied with a tree and the man was also made to be dressed like a woman before the tribal council.[3] Widow-marriage is also recognised among the Ahirs but the ceremony is very simple. No Brahman conducts this kind of marriage. The bride is given a new *sari* and sweets by the bridegroom and vermilion is painted eiter by the widow or by the bridegroom himself, and then they are locked in a room. From that day, they start their usual married life. As a rule widow-marriage is allwed with the brother of the deceased husband, but if the brother is very young or unfit for marriate, she is allowed to select her husband from the persons of the same *gotra* of her husband, or she may remarry anybody of her choice. Under no circumstances she is allowed to marry the elder brother of her husband.[4]

Birth and death ceremonies

The ceremony of fulfiling the longing for pregnancy is called *sidhori*. In cases of delayed delivery, a line of men or boys is made and an earthern pot is passed from one to another and returned back to the room. Sometimes the lady is made

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1. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
2. Gunthorpe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 43-44.
3. Gunthorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Enthoven, R. E. The *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Bombay, 1922, Vol. I, p. 10; Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, III, p. 37, Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
4. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 288; Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, III, p. 35; II, p. 27; *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 13; Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

to drink the water, and the clay left on the potter's wheel for early delivery. If after three girls a boy is born, he is supposed to be unlucky, and in order to avert the impending danger he is kept in a basket, and fire is kindled around it in a pot which is then smashed on the floor to avoid the evil luck. If a male and female child are born on the same day in the same quarter of the village, it is considered to be a bad omen and the boy may suffer from illness and to avert this danger the maternal uncle of the child has to weigh the child aginst a lump of cow-dung.

After delivery, the woman is kept excluded for 21 days and the branches of *Kindu* and *ligu* are hung near the door of the house. Fried rice and wheat are distributed to the friends and relations on the occasion of the celebration of the birth ceremony. The worship of the goddess *Shashthi* is performed by placing two lumps of cowdung on each side of the door, and red powder is smeared for 14 days with green grass plucked from the side of a well. On the eighth day of the birth, all the members of the community are invited for dinner and finally on the 21st day, new cooking pots are brought into use. During this period the mother and father both are regarded as impure.[1]

Death Ceremony

The dead bodies are burnt. They generally put leaves, milk, rice, a rupee or gold in the mouth of the dead man before the dead body is taken for cremation. In U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh, the dead bodies are burnt,[2] but in some parts of Maharashtra State they are buried also.[3] The Gollas of Belgaum and Dharwar bury their dead.[4]

Religious belief

The Ahirs in Bengal are Vaishnava and celebrate *Janamshtami* and other festivals connected with the faith. In Bihar, most of them are Saktas and Saivaites. In general, the Ahirs observe all the religious festivals in honour of Krishna.[5] On the 10th lunar day of *Asauj*, the Ahirs worship *Sakambharidevi*, with red flags

1. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 28; Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
2. Crooke, I, p. 62; Russell and Hiralal, III, pp. 35-37; *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, 14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
4. Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
5. Risley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 289; *Essays on the Religion of Hindus*, Vol. II, vide Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

installed on the mountains.[1] In Khandesh and Poona they worship *Bhavani*, *Siva*, *Kalabhairava*, *Parvati* and Krishna.[2] On auspicious days they offer sacrifices to the mother goddess. Among other deities they pay special respect to *Bisahari*, *Ganapati*, *Gohil*, *Gosawan* the god of cattle disease, *Kalumanjhi* and some other ghosts. In the local deities they worship *Habby* of *Habba* hill and *Vachara* a special form of snake worship.[3] In Madhya Pradesh the Ahirs worship some caste deities like *Kharkadeo* located near *Khirka* or cattle pond represented on the platform in the form of a horse. *Matardeo*, the god of enclosure of cattle pound, made in a jungle is also their caste deity. The *Rawat* Ahirs, sacrifice goats to *Matardeo* within three days of Divali. Once a year they worship *Gurayadeo*, who is believed to be a deity of cattle stalls of the villages. The *Mahakula* Ahirs worship *Sahadeo*, one of the five *Pandavas* represented by a cow and Mahadeo is represented by a buffalo and Lakshman by rice.[4]

The Holi is regarded as their special festival which they enjoy in the company of their caste followers. In *Doljatra* which is held on the 14th day of the first half of *Phalgun*, they renew their oraments and harness and equipments of their cattle. They take a bath on that day and paint their forehead with Sandal and turmeric.[5]

Divali is the main festival of the Ahirs. On the day next of Divali they raise a big mound of earth called Govardhana.[6] They dance around it and run their cattle over it; this being over all the people drink and enjoy. In damoh they put on fantastic dresses and decorate their bodies with cowries and go round the village singing and dancing. In some places, they dance around a pole, tied with a peacock feather or white cock. They offer sacrifices to *Khilamutha*—the god of floor. In their 'walking ceremony' (*dhor jagana*) they roam about taking their stick tied with the branch of a tree in hand and shout loudly to declare the arrival of Nanda Guala. In Raipur the women also dance around the idol of Parvati to please her. In Gurgaon district, the Ahirs consider the Banyan tree as sacred, which is

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 323.
2. *Ethno. Surv. of Bombay*, p. 13; Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
3. Rissley, *op. cit.*, p. 290; *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, p. 8.
4. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 31-32.
5. Dalton, *Opcit.*, pp. 314, 315.
6. Varrier Elwin, *Folk songs of Chhattisgarh*, Bombay, 1946, p. 130; Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 33.

worshipped till it remains green.[1] In Bengal, a pig is let loose among the herds of buffalos on the 1st day of Kartik and buffalos are encouraged to gore it to death and the carcass is given to *Dosadhs* to eat.[2]

When the pestilence brakes out in the herd, the Ahirs propitiate the spirits by pouring blood, flesh and wine to appease them. After this sacrifice, a pig is buried under the ground with only head above the earth and cattle are made to trample it.[3]

Tattooing

The Ahir girls are tattooed immediately after the marriage, specially in Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh.[4] In Sagaur district tatooing is done on the occasion of Divali in honour of Krishna. The tattooing consists of various patterns representing their artistic talents and philosophy of life. The patterns of Rama's bed and Sita's heart represent the craving of Ahir women for a faithful husband. The symbols representing Krishna and Gopis[5] are tattooed two inches below their elbow.

Folk songs of the Ahirs

The folk songs of Ahirs are called *Birhas* which have direct conncetion with the yearnings of the heart of the Ahirs.[6] These songs are of three kinds: (1) fairly long ballads sung in accompaniment of flute; (2) short songs, sung on the bamboo flutes and (3) *Doha*.[7] All the *Birhas* are sung in the same melody. The *Birhas* express the inner feelings of the people and portray the glimpses of the care-free life of the cowherds. In Madhya Pradesh, the *Birhas* generally deal with the traditions of the past Ahir heroes, who ruled in the tract known as *Ahirwara*. Sometimes, these Birhas portray various events of devotion to their sacred gods. In these songs they also propitiate the goddess Durga by offering the milk of their best cow. The

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 54.
2. RISLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
3. *Ethno. Surv. Bombay*, pp. 13-14.
4. GUPTE, 'Female Tattooing in Vindhyachala and U.P.' *Indi. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 117.
5. Various designs of the tattooing of Ahir women, *Ibid.*
6. GRIERSON, 'Some Bhojpuri Folk songs', *J.R.A.S.* XVIII, p. 211; Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
7. *Ibid.*

Birhas also deal with the rapacity of the goddess. One can also trace in them many stories of the Mahabharata. Some of the *Birhas* sing of the transient world and offer prayer to the Almighty for mercy. The Birha love songs are equally enchanting and represent the love-life of wilderness full of youth and vigour. In the historical setting, they portray the heroism of their tribal chiefs. These songs bring before us the names of many unknown chiefs of the tribe like *Danu Rai* who is believed to have ruled over Mandla.[1] Some of the Birhas deal with family fueds, *e.g.* behaviour of a drunkard husband and advice to the drunkards.

Lorik legend

Among all the legends of the Ahirs Lorik is most famous and is a source of inspiration to these people, as is evident from a proverb current in Uttar Pradesh.[2] The story as it is now before us, is a fiction and not a history. Even if, Lorik is taken as a historical figure, the account does not seem to be so much importance.[3]

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1. According to the story Danu Rai was a Raja of Mandla who was famous for his bravery. He never allowed the Mussalmans to enter in his country. In an encounter with the Mussalman he died fighting and his Rani performed the rite of Sati. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, pp. 325-26. The scheme of the Birha is as follows: 6-4-4-2; 4-4-3; or 6-4-2-2- ; Grierson, *op. cit.*, XVII, p. 213.

2. ' How so clever an Ahir be, he will not sing other song than Lorik ' based upon the personal survey of the U.P.Ahirs.

3. There are various legends about Lorik but the famous account is about a woman Chandin and Lorik an Ahir. The story however describes various escapades of the woman Chandin who started loving Lorik. Chandin was the wife of Sivadhar an Ahir of the eastern part. Being cursed by Parvati, Sivadhar lost his manhood and Chandin forms an attachment with her neighbour Lorik and eloped with him. Sivadhar pursued the couple; Lorik fights with Sivadhar and defeats him. The pair goes to Mahapatya Dusadh the chief of gamblers, and in a game of disc Lorik loses everything including his wife. Chandin argues that her ornaments did not form part of the stake and induces Lorik to play again. she takes her seat before the eyes of Mahapatya and exposes herself while the latter was playing the game with Lorik. Mahapatya could not see the game due to the enchantment of the woman and finally lost it. Lorik cuts the head of the chief and starts wandering again. He defeats Hardin the king of Monghir who is assisted by the king of Kalinga. Lorik releases the king Hardin and returns to his kingdom and comes back to his native land. There he learns about the death of his brother Simru. Lorik determines to avenge the death of his brother Simru, and marries another beautiful woman Satmanin. He lived for many years and died at Benaras.

CROOKE *op. cit.*, I, p. 56.

Traditions

The exploits of the Abhira chiefs are often referred to in the songs sung by the Abhirs of different States of India. The glories of these chiefs or Rajas have not been recorded by any author in a chronological order but they have been retained by their descendents in the form of songs. The Ahirs of Madhya Pradesh, and Khandesh, still dream of the glories of these past heroes and their buried past.[1] Possibly, these traditions would have retained some of their historical footing which is difficult to make out due to the lack of proper contemporary evidences.

Among all the legends of the Ahirs current in India, the conquest of Nepal is invariably represented. The nature of the tradition is purely legendary[2] and unsupported by any evidence. The bardic tradition asserts that the Ahirs ruled over Nepal for 521 years and their dynasty continued for eight generations. The founder of the Ahir Kingdom was Bhuktamana, a cowherd who ruled for 88 years. In the time of Yakshagupta, the last ruler of the dynasty, another Ahir named Barasinh came from Hindustan and ruled the country. Barasinh was followed by his son Jayantisinh who in his turn was followed by his son Bhuvansinh the last mentioned was conquerred by the Kiratas.

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1. GUSTAV OPPERT, *On the original inhabitants of India*, Leipzig, MDCCCXCIII, p. 142.
2. The geneology of the princes is as follows:—

(1)	Bhuktamana	founder of the line ruled for	88 yrs.
(2)	Jayagupta	do	72 yrs.
(3)	Paramagupta	do	80 yrs.
(4)	Bhimagupta	do	93 yrs.
(5)	Bhimagupta	do	38 yrs.
(6)	Manigupta	do	37 yrs.
(7)	Vishnugupta	do	42 yrs.
(8)	Yakshagupta	do	71 yrs.

Shew Shunker Singh and Gunanand, *History of Nepal*, translated from the Parvatiya, edited by D. Wright, London, 1877, pp. 108-9.

There is a variation in the names of the above dynasty from the account given by Colonel Kirkpatrick. The name of fourth prince has been given as Hurkh and 7th and 8th are Bishengupta and Jayagupta (2nd). The dynasty according to the Colonel ruled for 491 yrs. and 4 months.

Colonel Kirkpatrick, *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London, 1811, pp. 169, 266; Francis Hamilton Buchanan, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819, pp. 188-189.

Apart from the doubtful character of the chronicles, one may question, whether the dynasty was Gopal at all. Francis Buchanan takes the suffix *gupta* attached to the name of the princes to mean a cowherd, which is itself doubtful.[1] *Bhula Sinh* or *Bara Sinh*, came from Hindustan, has been taken by Francis to be a Rajput, but he agrees that the Ahirs were also the sovereigns of Nepal sometimes. The whole geneological list is a creation of bards, and the names Barasinh or Bhulasiuh seem to be quite modern. Some scholars have recorded the dominance of Ahirs over the whole Gangetic Valley in later pre-historic period, which is rather fantastic.[2]

Further, the traditions indicating the former dominance of the Ahirs have also been kept in some districts of Uttar Pradesh where they are said to have been supplanted by the Rajputs.[3] The importance of the Ahir traditions is clearly discernible in Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh. The village folk still recapitulate that the Ahirs ruled over the land before the Gonds.[4] The general authenticity of the traditions is attested by the name of the districts as Ahirwara which reminds of their previous glory.[5] Ferishta mentions a traditon that Asirgarh was found by Asa, an Ahir chief in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Scholars are unanimous in their opinion that the foundation of Ahirgarh is a fiction.[6] The Ahirs, however, maintained their dominance over Kathiawad upto the end of 8th century A.D. till the arrival of Kathis.[7]

The tribe attained considerable importance in the Deccan also. In Khandesh and Gondwana districts several sites and ruins are attributed by the local residents to the Goali rajas.[8] According to the traditions of Bareilly district, U.P., the Ahirs were dominating the territory round about this district till the subjugation of Hindustan by Timur. At that time Raja Kharak Singh and Rao Hari Singh of Tirhut were deputed by the Emperor to defeat the rising Ahirs.[9] Tod also

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
2. WADDELL, Traditional Migration of the Santhalas, *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 294; *Jorl. of Francis Buchanan, op. cit.*, p. 21.
3. *Gazetteer* Gurgaon district, p. 62; Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.
4. GUSTAV OPPERT, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
5. TOD, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, pp. 338, 409.
6. RUSSELL and HIRALAL, *op. cit.*, II, 20; Elliot, *Opcit.*, I, p. 3; Crooke, *Opcit.*, I, p. 50.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Bombay Gazetter*, I, pt. I, p. 619; XII, p. 39; *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 205.
9. ELLIOT, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.

records another tradition that in Akbar's reign the Ahirs wielded much political power in the Saurashtra Peninsula. They had 3000 cavalary and equal number of infatry units with which they used to harass the Mughal armies and the Jadeja Rajputs.[1] Another tradition of U. P. Says that the Ahirs migrated to Farrukhabad district with Jagjit Chauhan and owned properties there.[2] In Kanpur district, they were much hostile to Chandela Rajputs of Sivarajpur.[3] They were principal land-owing classes in Dhampur Nagina, U.P. In Madhya Pradesh during the 15th, 16th and the 17th centuries they held Chhindwara, Deogarh, Gawilgarh, Nimar and Narala fortresses. The Sagaur tradition relates the dominance of the Ahirs to the end of 17th century.[4]

The aforementioned unrecorded traditions, however, prove the turbulence of the Ahirs in the Muslim period.

The significance of these traditions cannot be denied altogether as they do point out to certain basic facts about the history of the Ahirs of that period. Under British patronage, they slowly advanced and occupied prominent positions in the army and police and in other executive posts. They have come up now and getting good education and have opened some colleges and schools for the education of their children.

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1. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 358.
2. *N.W.P. and O. Gazetteer*, VII, p. 282.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
4. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, II, 20; *Bom. Gaz.* I, Pt. I. p. 619.

Appendix—I

INSCRIPTION OF RUDRABHUTI ABHIRA

Saka Era 102 (A.D. 180)

Text[1]

१ सिद्धं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि चष्टन प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजयदाम पौत्रस्य
२ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि रुद्र—
३ सीहस्य वर्षे द्युत्तरशते सं. १०२ वैशाख शुद्ध पंचमी धन्यतिथौ श्रवणनक्ष—
४ त्रमुहूर्ते आभीरेण सेनापति बाहकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति रुद्रभूतिना ग्रमरसों—
५ पद्रे हूदार्त्थे रवनित बन्धापितश्च सर्व्व सत्वानां हित सुखार्थमिति

Translation

Hail ! In the year one hundred and two of the King Kshatrapa Svami Rudrasiha (Rudrasinha) son of the King Mahakshatrapa Svami Rudradaman, grandson of the King Kshatrapa Svami Jayadaman and great grandson of the King Mahakshatrapa Svami Chashtana on the fifth day of the light half of the month of *Vaisakha*, on the lunar day called *Dhanya* in the *Sravana nakshatra muhurta*, Senapati (General) Rudrabhuti, son of Senapati Bahaka, an Abhira, caused the excavation to be made and an embankment to be thrown up for a tank in the village Rasopadra for the welfare and comfort of all living beings.

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF ISVARASENA

Year 9 (c. A.D. 258-9)

Text[2]

१ सिधं [।] राज्ञः [मा]ढरीपुत्रस्यशिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
२ अभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नव[मे] [९][गि]—
३ म्हपखे चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० [+] ३ [एत]
४ या पुर्वया शकाग्निवर्म्मणः दुहित्रा गणपक[स्य]
५ रेभिलस्य [भा]र्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य [मा]
६ त्रा शकनिकया उपासिका(क)या विष्णुदता(त्त)या सर्वसत्व(त्त्व)हि—
७ [त]सुखार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य [चातुर्दिश] [स्य]

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1. *Int. Ant.*, Vol, X, p. 157.
2. Mirashi V. V., *Corpus Inscri. Indicarum.*, Vol. IV, pt. 1, p. 3.

८ भि[क्षु]संघस्य गिलानभेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता व [वास्त--]
९ व्यासु आगता[नागता]सु श्रेणिषु यतः कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते क (का)र्षापण—
१० सहस्रे १००० ओंदयंत्रिकश्रेण्यां सहस्राणि द्वे २.....
११ [ण्यां] शतानि पंच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रे[ण्यां]
१२ एते च क (का)र्षापणा चतालो[पि].....
१३ .....[त]स्य [मास] वृद्धि[तो].....

Translation

Success ! In the ninth-9-year of the king, the Abhira Isvarasena ,son of the Abhira Sivadatta (and) son of Madhari, on the thirteenth-10 (and) 3-day in the fourth-4-fortnight of summer, on this aforementioned (day) the lay devotee Vishnudatta of the Saka race, mother of the Ganapaka Visvavarma wife of the Ganapaka Rebhila (and) daughter of the Saka Agnivarma, has invested the (following) perputual endowment in the present and future guilds, dwelling at Govardhana, in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dewlling in (this) monastery on mount Trirasmi, for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, *viz.*, a thousand-1000- *karshapanas* in the hands of the guilds of Kularikas, two thousands-2000- *karshapanas* in the guild of the manufactures of hydraulic machines, five hundred-500- in the guild of.....(and).....in the guild of oil-millers.

(Line 12) All these four (investments of) *Karshapanas*.....by the monthly interest of.....

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA

Abhira era ? 67 316-17 A.D.

Text[1]

१ वल्ला[त्]परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासः समाज्ञा—
२ पयति सर्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकाना युक्तकाद्वि ज्ञातमस्तु व[:] समनुजा—
३ नीयोस्मि शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मन(ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव—
४ ल्मिकतल्लवाटके आर्य्यवानि(णि)जक प्रत्ययक्षेत्रपदं ब्रह्मदेयमाचन्द्रा—
५ र्कतारककालीयं पुत्रपौत्रन्वयभोज्यं भोगायैवमिदानि(नी)मस्य (स्या) स्मा—
६ भिक्कृतः नज्ञस्यो चितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:] कृपतः कृपा

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

७ पयतश्चः सर्व्वैरेवा[स्म] पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभिस्समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम् ।)

८ नन्नभट्टि दूतकः [।] वर्षे ६० [+] ७ ज्येष्ठ शु. ५ [।]

९. *(In The Margin)* महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य[।]

Translation

From Valkha—the Maharaja, the illustrious Svamidasa, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) order to all his officers—

" Be it known to you that We (hereby) give Our assent to the Brahmadeya gift of a field belonging to the merchant Arya and situated in the southern Valmika-tallavataka in the Pathaka of Nagarika, to this Brahmana Munda of the Sandilya gotra, to be enjoyed (by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (Wherefore) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (since) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (the field), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying Brahmadeya (land)."

(Line 8) The Dutaka is Nannabhatti. In the year 60 (and) 7, (in the month of) Jyeshtha (and) the bright fortnight, (on the lunar day) 5.

(In the margin) Of the Maharaja, the illustrious Svamidasa.

ABHIRA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RUDRASIMHA III (?)
(C 348-78 A. D.)

Text[1]

१ सिद्धं [?] राज्ञो महाक्षप्र [त्र] पस्य स्वामिचष्टन

२ पुत्रपुपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्दिदम

३ पुत्रपुपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य वर्ष अत.....

४ ष्युत्तरके वसुपुत्रस्य प्रलदपुपुत्रस्य आभीरस्य

५ हरिहोवकसगोत्रस्य वसुराकस्य गुत्थज्ज दुहितुस्य

६ कात्तिकस्य शु ५ राज्ज्येश्वरस्य भर्तुर् यद्दि प्रष्टापि

७ .... भवनम् च

1. Diskalkar D. B., ' New Light on the history of the Kshatrapas of Saurashtra ', *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, 1930, Vol. I, p. 565.

Translation

This sepulchral stele (*yashti*) and.....abode have been set up by Vasuraka, the Abhira, the son of Vasu, the descendent of Prahalada and the daughter's son of Gutthajja of Harihovaka gotra for the welfare of the king Mahakshatrapa..... the descendent of the king Mahakshtrapa Bhaddidama (Bhartridamana), the descendent of the king Mahakshtrapa Chashtana in the year past three.....of the month of Kartika, on the fifth day of the brightfortnight.

NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VASUSHENA ABHIRA
Regnal Year 30

Text[1]

१ नमो भगवतो देवपरमदेवस्य पुराणपुरुषस्य
नारायणस्य राज्ञी [राज्ञो] वाषष्ठी पुत्रस्य अभीरस्य वसुषेणस्य संवत्सर ३० गंहपखे [गिम्हपखे]
सिद्धं ।

२ दिवस १ महाग्रामिकेन महातलवरेन महादंडनायकेन
कौशिकस गोत्तेण परिविदेहाणं [परिव्रहणं] शिवसेवनं संजयपुरिणा योराजिभिः [योनराजभिः]

३ अवंतिकेन शकेन रुद्रदामेन वनवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्र—
शिवलानन्द[शात]कण्णीनस्थजन [स्वजन] षिनचालितो[प] च भगरुंवर [भगवान उदुम्बर] भव
अष्टजस्वामिस [अष्टभुजस्वामिस]

४ [सेद] गिरिय स्थपितः पर्वतस्य प्राकारो विनिमितो [विनिर्मितो]

५ वपिच [अपिच] महानन्दा सेवितो तडागानि च सेदगिरियमुदराय च[खा]नितानि तलवजसि
रोपितानि देव ब्राह्मणार्थि मित्रार्थि प्राणापिन
परिक्षति गुणतश्च सर्वतीर्थेन सर्वसाधु कृतज्ञः सत्यव्रत शत्रुगणमुद्र राज्ञपदन्य सेत प्रमाणी[व]

६ यामिक सज्जनाभिनंदि रिषिदेशश्च स्वसंवत
वर्धमान १००(?) भरद्वाज सगो[त्रे]ण अमतेन तिष्य सदिनं भागव [भार्गव] भटः स्वस्ति गोदानस्य

Translation

Hail ! The god of gods, the supreme being, Narayana (and) Vasushena, the son of king Vashashthi, the Abhira, in the samvat (regnal year) 30 on the first day of the fortnight of the summer.

1. A text and photograph of this inscription was kindly supplied by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, formerly incharge of the excavations at Nagarjunakonda.

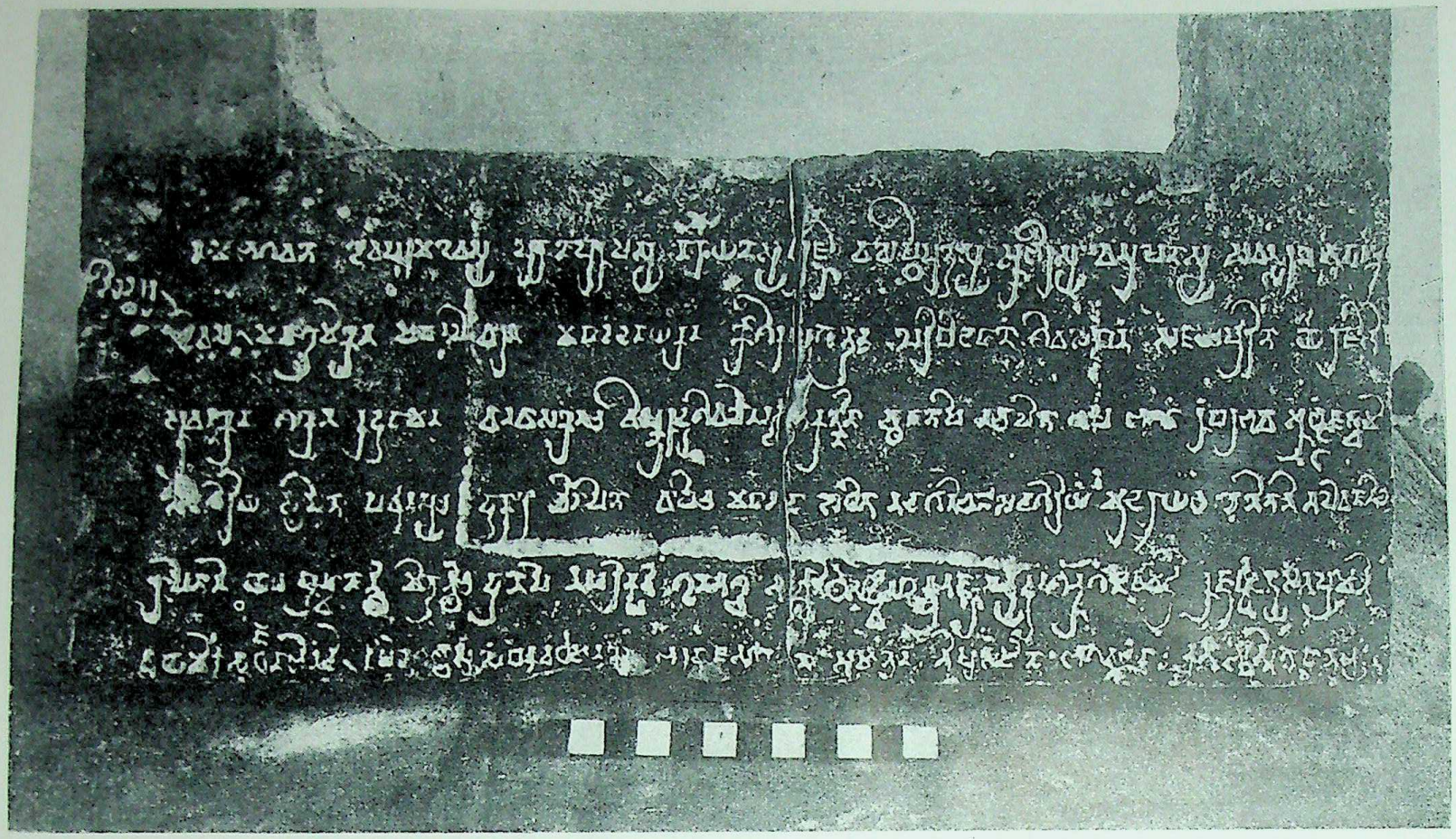

Plate I

Nagarjunikonda Inscription of Rājña Vasushena Abhira

(*By Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India*)

Success! The wooden[1] image of god *ashtajasvami* (*ashtabhujasvami*)[2] has been set up at Sedagiri[3] by *Mahāgramika, Mahatalavara Mahadandanayaka* Sivasevana of Kausikagotra, the Yonarajas of Sanjayapura, Rudradamana the Saka of Avanti and Vishnurudra Sivalananda Satakarni[4] of Vanavasi for the merit and presperity[5] of their kinsmen. They have been blessed by *Mahānandā*.[6] Ramparts have also been erected around the hill and tanks have been constructed in the centre of the Sedagiri hill. Trees have been planted on the slopes of the hill. All these are meant for the use of gods, Brahmanas and friends, they are not to be destroyed.

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1. *Rumbara*, Sanskrit *audumbara*, mean a tree named *ficus glomerta*. In Konkani language also the word *rumbarha* means the same. The wood of this tree in used to prepare the wooden images of gods for the temporary use even today, hence I have translated the word *rumbara* as 'wooden image'. I owe this information to Pandit-ratna B. L. Shanbhague, Rēsearch Officer, Oriental Institute Baroda.

2. *Ashtabhuja* is the name of Durga, hence the word *ashtabhujasvami* means Siva. Therefore the wooden image referred to in the inscription was of Siva.

3. Sedagiri restored to Sanskrit as siddhagiri, may be identified with the hillock named Siddhurduri in the vicinity of Nagarjunikonda; this inscription is reported to have been discovered exactly from the same place. This hillock constitutes the eastern fringe of Firangulamurti hill.

4. The prince Vishnurudra Sivalananda Satakarni was evidently a scion of the imperial Satavahanas. He may be indentified with the Prince Vishnukada Chutukalananda Satakarni of Malavalli inscription, who flourished shortly before the Kadamba conquest of the Kuntala country. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that Vishnukada Chutukalananda Satakarni would have been a feudatory of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman. It is not unlikely to suggest that he would have been a feudatory of the Abhira monarch Vasushena before the Pallavas.

5. I could not understand the word *paribidehanam*, possibly it may be the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *paribrimhaṇam*—which means prosperity.

6. M*ahanandā* according to the Mahabharata is the name of a tirtha and by paying visits and offerings to it, one gets bliss of heaven. The saerifiees to this tirtha are offered on the ninth day of the month of Magha in the bright fortnight.

करवीरपुरे स्नात्वा विशालायां कृतोदकः ।
देवह्रद उपस्पृश्य ब्रह्मभूतो विराजते ॥
पुनरावर्त्तनन्दाञ्च महानन्दाञ्च सेव्य वै ।
नन्दने सेव्यते द.स्तस्वप्सरोभिरहिंसकः ॥

—*Mbh;* 13, 25, 1731, Cal.

Hail to this *godana* ! This Brahmana named Bhargavabhata, who owing to his merits is sacred like the tirthas and grateful to all pious people., who is an oath of truth, who has been honoured by those kings who have stamped (of their prowess) upon their enemies, who is honest and ever self-controlled, pleasing to the people, who is like sages. (This has been executed) by the Amatya of *Bhardvaja-gotra* in our own samvat[7] (Abhira samvat) 100 on the day of the *tishya* constallation.[8]

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7. This inscription has been assigned by Dr. D. C. Sircar to the year 278-79 A.D. He opines that the year 30 recorded in the inscription may be referred to the Abhira-era, which was started by Isvarasena in 248 A.D. The panegyrist has expressed the year specifically with the phrase *Vasushenasya samvatsare*. Which wonld indicate more to the regnal year of the king Vasushena rather than the Abhira-era. In the last line of this epigraph, it runs as follows :

rishideśaścha svasambata vardhamāna

After this there is a numerical figure which I have read as 100. As the inscription belongst o the Abhira kings, the year referred to in the record, may be reckoned to the Abhira era and thus the record may be assigned to the middle of fourth century. The palaeography and language of the inscription according to D. C. Sircar suggest its ascription roughly to the second half of the third or the first half of the fourth century[1] A.D. The other internal evidences also corrborate the above conclusion. It is possible to suggest that the Abhira occupation of the region near about Nagarjunikonda, may be placed sometime before the Kadamba conquest (c. 345 A.D.). The absense of any Abhira coin in the region may indicate that the conquest was short-lived.

8. Tishya is same as *pushya nakshatra*

पुष्ये तु सिध्यतिष्यौ तिष्यो नक्षत्र भेदे स्यात ।

Amarakosa, Nirnayasagar, p. 38.

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1. Sircar D. C. ' New light on the chronology of the Ikshvakus and the Pallavas', *Indian Hist. Quar.* XXXVI, p. 24

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA YEAR 107

Abhira era ? (A.D. 356-57)

Text[1]

१ वल्खाः (ल्खात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महाराजभुलुण्डः समाज्ञापयति
२ सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकानायुक्तकाद्विज्ञातमस्तु वः समनुजानीमोस्य
३ भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारक ब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण(न)न्दि विज्ञाप्या उल्ल—
४ दन सीमायां खुद्दतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि(ट्टिं) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय—
५ मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनमन्वयभोज्यं भोगायैवमिदानी—
६ मस्यास्माभिकृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[:] कृषा—
७ ताश्च स[र्व्वे] रेवास्मत्पक्षीयै समनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम्) (।)
८ प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतकः (।) वर्षे १०० (+) ७ फल्गु ब १० [+] २ [।]
९ (*In The Margin*) मा (म) हाराजभुलुण्डस्य [।]

Translation

From Valkha—Maharaja Bhulunda, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) command to all his officers—

(Line 2)" Be it known to you that at the request of Ashadhanandin We (hereby) give Our assent to the entire Brahmadeya gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to Khuddataka, together with the surrounding kachchha (bank), on the boundary of Ulladana, to the Brahmana Kusaraka of the Bharadvaja gotra, to be enjoyed by (him and) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (Wherefore), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now that he has thus been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying Brahmadeya (land)."

The Dutaka is Pratihara Skanda.

(Line 8) In the year 100 (and) 7, in the month Phalguna (and) the dark fortnight, (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 2.

(In the margin) Of the Maharaja Bhulunda.

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1 Mirashi V. V., *op. cit.*, P. 9.

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA, YEAR 117

Abhira-era (?) (A.D. 366-67)

Text

१ [वल्खा]: परमभट्टारक पदनुद्ध्यतो महरजरुद्रदसः समा—
२ [ज्ञापय]ति सर्व्वणेवास्मदीयानयुतक[न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु—
३ [जानी] मोस्य भरद्वज सगोत्रद्रोणिलकब्राह्मणस्य कशपुरा—
४ [न्तर्गत] विकट्टाणकग्रामस्यापरसीमाया (यां) या भट्टिवैद्यप्र—
५ [त्ययं] क्षेत्रं घोटकतलत्ताम यावत्कोहल्लट्टकसी—
६ [मासन्धिं] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनपुत्रा—
७ [पौत्रान्व] यभोज्यं भोगायैवमिदानीमस्याभि[:]कृतनु—
८ [ज्ञस्यै] तक्षेत्रं भुञ्जत[:] कृषतः श्चास्मत्पक्षीयै[:]समनुम—
९ [न्व्यमि]ति [।] प्रतिहरदोद्धिरदुतकं ॥ वर्ष । १०० १० ७ वै तृयाया

Translation

(From Valkha)—Maharaja Rudradasa, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka (Great Lord), issues the (following) order to all his officers—

"Be it known to you that We (hereby) give Our assent to the Brahmadeya gift of a field, called Ghotakatala, which belonged (formerly) to Bhatti Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village Vikattanaka included in the Kasapura (sub-division ?), extending as far as the boundary of Kohalattaka, to the Brahmana Dronilaka of the Bharadvaja gotra, to be enjoyed (by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (Wherefore), all persons connected with us should consent to it while he is enjoying and cultivating that field (since) he has now been permitted by Us.

(This charter has been issued), by the Pratihara Doddhira being the Dutaka, in the year 100 (and) 10 (and) 7, (in the month of) Vaisakha, on the third (lunar day).

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1 Mirashi V. V., *op. cit.*, P. 9.

GHATIYALA INSCRIPTION OF KAKKUKA SAMVAT 918

Text[1]

१ ओं सिद्धिः [।] दिवारात्रौ च संध्यायां [कार्ये विघ्नैश्च] संकुले सिद्धिं करोतु सर्व्वत्र स्तम्भधामा
वि [ना] यकः ॥

२ रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्व्वमासीदनाश्रयः । असेव्यः साधुलोकानां आभीरजनदारुणः ॥

३ विचित्र वीथि संपूर्ण्णं हट्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च, विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च

४ श्रीमत्ककस्य पुत्रेण सत्प्रतीहारजातिना ककुकेन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोत्र महाजनः

५ महाजनस्य सद्वृद्धिः लाभः पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री ककुकस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥

६ संवत् शते ९१८ चैत्र सुदि २ [।] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृरविणाउत्कीर्ण्णं हेमकारेण [कृ]ष्णश्वरेण सूत्रधारोत्र
नि.....विष्णु

Translation

On success ! May Vinayaka, who is inscribed on a pillar, bestow success in all matters, like the actions coupled with obstacles. during the day and night.

The village Rohinskupaka, which ceased to be a shelter and abode of good people formerly, became unsafe due to the menace of the Abhiras, has again been rehabilitated by Kakkuka, the son of Srimad Kakka, of noble Pratihara lineage, by constructing streets, markets and the houses of the subjects. He went to the houses of the Vaishyas and rehabilitated them here (again) for their growth, worship, happiness and prosperity.

May the fame of Kakkuka, bright like the *Kunda* flower, endure for a long time.

(This charter) has been drafted by Matriravi and engraved by the goldsmith Krishnesvara.....by artisan (*sutradhara*) Vishnu, in the samvat 918 on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra.

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1 *Ep. Ind., IX*, p. 279.

Period of the Abhira Settlement	*Sources*	*References of the Abhira Settlements from the Sources*	
		Direction of the republics as mentioned in the sources	*Names of the tribes in order from the sources*
1	2	3	4
In the 1st century A.D.	Markandeya Purana	Dakshinapatha	Vanavasakas, Maharashtras, Mahishikas, Kalingas, Abhiras, Atvyas
	Markandeya Purana	Along the river Vena	Brigukachchhas, Konkanas & Abhiras

Identification of the neighbouring tribes of the Abhiras	*Proposed identifications of the Abhiras*	*Remarks*
5	6	7
Vanavasakas—modern Varanasi Maharashtras Mahishikas—Southern Hyderabad Kalingas—Orissa	Round about Chhattisgadh	Abhiras moved to this region from the side of Sarasvati river and are still living here. Numerous legends of strong Abhira rule are current in this region. This fact is also attested by Varahamihira's *Brihastsmhita*
Brigukachchha—Broach Konkan	Khandesh, Nasik and some parts of Konkan	Abhiras (Ahirs) are still living there. Numerous legends of Ahir rule, the existence of Ahirani dialect and the endogamous and exogamous groups of the Ahirs prove their antiquity, continuity and migration from the Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The Nasik cave inscription refers to an Abhira King Isvarasena.

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Excavations

AT

Takalghat and Khapa

(1968–69)

By

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Foreword

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, under Dr. S. B. Deo, excavated the ancient site of Paunar in 1967 which laid the foundation of a systematic plan of bringing out the archaeological potentialities of key sites in the Vidarbha region. The report of Paunar was published in 1968, within a year.

The Vidarbha region abounds in megalithic remains. The Department, therefore, undertook excavations in 1968-69 at Takalghat and Khapa, which have numerous Stone Circles and remains of the then contemporary habitations, with a view to link up the earliest habitations at Paunar with those at Takalghat and Khapa.

I am very happy to note that like the report on Paunar excavations, this report also is out within a year which shows that this Department has a plan of work and the urge to implement it.

I am sure the results of these excavations will be of use to all those interested in the study of Ancient Indian Culture and Archaeology.

V. B. Kolte
Vice-Chancellor

Nagpur :
26th January, 1970.

Acknowledgement

The excavations at Takalghat, Khapa and Gangapur were conducted in the working seasons of 1968-69.

In the execution and completion of the work, I am beholden to Dr. V. B. Kolte, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, for his keen interest in and academic patronage to this project. I am also thankful to my colleague Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar for his active participation in the work. The members of the administrative and technical sections of my department, Sarvashree R. N. Dalal, S. K. Pande, P. S. Joshi and S. K. Jagtap gave devoted co-operation. The student trainees helped to keep up the tempo of the work.

To Drs. R. H. Sahasrabuddhe and K. N. Munshi of the Department of Chemistry, Nagpur University, and Shri V. V. Rao of the Archaeological Survey of India, my thanks are due for their contributions on the study of the metals and bones respectively, from the excavations.

For the final format of this monograph, thanks are due to Shri S. L. Turile of the Nagpur University Press.

S. B. DEO

Nagpur :
26th January, 1970.

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Black Burnished Ware : T. 43-43 B : Covers; T. 44-44 D : Stepped domical Lids; T. 45 : Pot with flaring mouth; T. 46 : Pot with squat globular body; T. 47 : Pot with bulbous body; T. 48 : Lid-hold; T. 49 : Stand (?); *Black-and-Red Ware :* T. 50-50A : Hemispherical bowls; T. 51-51 D : Bowls with convex sides; T. 52-52A : Bowls with flaring sides; T. 53-53 A : Bowls with bulbous sides; T. 54 : Bowl with incipient carination

Fig. 15 Pottery : Phase IB

Black-and-Red Ware : T. 55-55H : Dishes; T. 56 : Stand; *Graffiti :* G 1-G 16

Fig. 16 Pottery : Phase IB

Micaceous Red Ware : T. 57-57B : Pots with flared mouth; T. 58 : Pot with stand base; T. 59-59 F : Basins or Kundas

Fig. 17 Pottery : Phase IB

Micaceous Red Ware : T. 60-60B : Small Kundas; T. 61 : Small Kunda-bowl; T. 62-62A : Storage Jars; *Red slipped Ware :* T. 64-64B : Pots with flared mouth; T. 65-65A : Storage Pots; T. 66 : Kunda; T. 67 : Medium, deep Kunda; T. 68 : Dish; *Matt Red Ware :* T. 69 : Basin; T. 70 : Pot with short flared mouth; T. 71 : Pot with hooded rim; T. 72-72A : Pots with flared mouth; T. 73 : Bowl; T. 74-74C : Pots with high neck; T. 75 : Cover

Fig. 18 Pottery : Phase IB

Coarse Red Ware : T. 76-76B : Shallow Kundas; T. 77 : Bowl; T. 78-78C : Kundas; T. 79 : Small Kundi; T. 80-80B : Pots with high neck; T. 81-81B : Handmade Storage Jars; T. 82-82A : Basins; T. 83 : Lid with knob hold; T. 84 : Perforated pot; *Tan Ware :* T. 85 : Dish with convex sides; T. 86-86B : Carinated Dishes

Fig. 19 Pottery : Phase IB

Tan Ware : T. 87-87E : Bowls; T. 88-88A : Pottery Stands; T. 89 : Pot with short flared mouth

Phase IC :

Micaceous Red Ware with painting in dull black : T. 90 : Pot with flaring mouth; Design 51; *Painted Black-on-Red Ware :* T. 91-91B : Pots with funnel mouth; *Matt Red Ware painted in black :* T. 92: Pot with short flared mouth; *Mica-coated Matt Black Ware*: T. 93 : Lugged basin; *Drab Grey-black blotchy Ware :* T. 94-94A : Pots with elongated body; *Tan Ware :* T. 95-95A : Carinated Dishes; *Red-slipped Ware :* T. 96 : High-necked pot; *Matt Red Ware :* T. 97 : Pot with possibly elongated body; *Mechanically brown-slipped Ware :* T. 98 : Basin; T. 99 : Pot with straight sides; T. 100 : Pot with short concave neck; *Black Burnished Ware :* T. 101 : Lid; *Decorated sherds :* A-B

Fig. 20 Pottery : Khapa

Black-and-red Ware : T. K1-K1E : Carinated Dishes; T. K2-K2A : Deep Bowls; T. K3 : Dish; T. K4 : Deep Kunda-basin; *Drab Black-Grey Ware :* T. K5 : Globular Pot; *Black Burnished Ware :* T. K6 : Deep Bowl; T. K7 : Rimless globular pot; T. K8 : Pot with banded rim; T. K9 : Pot with funnel mouth; *Coarse Red Ware :* T. K10 : K10B : Big pots with flared mouth; T. K11-K11B : Pots with high concave neck; T. K12 : Pot with flared mouth

Fig. 21 Pottery : Khapa

Coarse Red Ware : T. K13 : Pot with broad mouth; T. 14K : Cylindrical Jar; T. K15-K15A : Pots with broad mouth and high neck; T. K16 Lug; *Dark Grey Ware*: T. K17 : Pot-stand; *Micaceous Red Ware* : T. K18-K18B : Pots with funnel mouth; T. K19-K19A : Pots with high neck; T. K20 : Pot with shallow flared mouth; T. K21-K21A : Pots with hooded mouth; T. K22 : Storage Pot

Fig. 22 Pottery : Khapa and Gangapur

Khapa : *Black Burnished Ware :* T. K23 : Pottery Stand; T. K24-K24A : Covers. Gangapur : *Black-and-Red Ware :* T. G1-G1B : Dishes; T. G2 : Dish with carination; T. G3 : Rimless Bowl; *Coarse Red Ware :* T. G4 : Bowl with flaring sides; T. G5-G5A : Pottery Stands; T. G6 : Pot with funnel mouth; T. G7 : Pot with flaring mouth and concave neck; T. G8-G8B : Pots with funnel mouth and possibly high concave neck; T. G9-G9A : Pots with funnel mouth; G D1 : Decorated Sherd

Fig. 23 Beads

Khapa : Agate (1-2); Carnelian (3-9); Etched (10-14); Chalcedony (15); Crystal (16-21) Jasper (23-24); Glass (25-26); *Takalghat :* Jasper (22); Shell (27); Terracotta (28-31)

Fig. 24 Iron Objects : Spikes (1-2); Spearhead (6); Daggers (9,12); Knife (10); Arrowheads (3-5, 7-8); Rod (11); Sword (13)

Fig. 25 Iron Objects : Axes (14, 21-26); Double-edged Adzes (15-20)

Fig. 26 Iron Objects : Straight handled ladles (27-30); Chisels (37-41); Hooks (42-43); Nail-parers (33-34); Bangles (44-45); Blade with tang (31); Horse Bit (32); Miscellaneous Objects (35, 36, 46)

Fig. 27 .Iron Cauldron (47)

Fig. 28 Copper Objects : Bangles (1-8); Bell (9); Dishes with bird and bud finials (10-11); Plain Lid or Cover (12); Bell-shaped Objects (13-17); Bell-shaped Cover (17); Indeterminate Object

Fig. 29 Copper Ornament of horse (19)

Fig. 30 Terracotta and Stone Objects : Net sinkers (1-4); Pottery Discs (5-12); Crucible (13); Circular objects of stone (14-15); Muller or Pounder (16)

टाकळघाट व खापा उत्खनन

(१९६८–६९)

दक्षिण भारतातील तामिळनाडु, आन्ध्रप्रदेश, कर्नाटक इत्यादि प्रदेशांत शिळावर्तुळे फार मोठ्या प्रमाणावर अस्तित्वात असल्याचे सुमारे एक शतकापूर्वी केलेल्या संशोधनात उघडकीस आलेले आहे. यापैकी काहींचे उत्खननही करण्यात आलेले असून त्यानुसार अशा शिळावर्तुळात मानवी अवशेष पुरणारे लोक लोखंडाची विविध तऱ्हेची हत्यारे, काळी-तांबडी मडकी, उत्कृष्ट तऱ्हेचे पांढऱ्या रंगात नक्षीकाम केलेले लाल कार्नेलियनचे मणी इत्यादि वस्तू वापरीत असत असे आढळून आले.

महाराष्ट्रातील विदर्भ विभागात अशा तऱ्हेची शेकडो शिळावर्तुळे आहेत. विशेषत: भंडारा, नागपूर व चांदा जिल्ह्यात ती प्रकर्षाने केंद्रित झाल्याचे दिसून येते. यापैकी नागपूरच्या जवळ जुनापानी व माहुरझरी या ठिकाणी तीनशेहून जास्त शिळावर्तुळे आहेत. अशीच शिळावर्तुळे नागपूरच्या नैऋत्येस सुमारे वीस मैलावर असलेल्या टाकळघाट, खापा व गंगापूर या ठिकाणी आहेत.

ही शिळावर्तुळे कुणी बांधली यावद्दलचा निश्चित पुरावा अद्याप उपलब्ध झालेला नाही. यात सापडलेले मानवी अवशेषही अविछिन्न स्वरूपात न सापडल्याने त्यावरून त्यांच्या वांशिक वैशिष्ट्यांबद्दल निष्कर्ष काढणे फारसे शक्य झालेले नाही.

विदर्भात कौण्डिन्यपूर व पवनार या ठिकाणी जी उत्खनने झाली त्यात सर्वप्रथम वस्तीचे लोक काळ्या-तांबड्या रंगाची मातीची मडकी वापरीत असत असे दिसून आले. त्याचबरोबर अभ्रक मिसळलेली लाल रंगाची मडकीही ते वापरीत. याशिवाय काळ्या रंगात लाल पृष्ठभागावर नक्षी काढलेली मडकी, लाल रंगाच्या कार्नेलियन दगडाचे मणी, लोखंडाची विविध हत्यारे व उपकरणेही ते वापरीत. यावरून पवनार व कौण्डिन्यपूर येथे प्रथम वस्ती करणारे लोक एकाच आधिभौतिक संस्कृतीचे असावेत असा निष्कर्ष काढता आला.

नागपूरजवळील जुनापानी येथील शिळावर्तुळांच्या उत्खननातही पवनार व कौण्डिन्यपूर येथे सापडलेल्या खापराप्रमाणे काळी–तांबडी व अभ्रकयुक्त मातीची मडकी, कार्नेलियनचे मणी व लोखंडी आयुधे सापडली. फक्त लाल पृष्ठभागावर काळ्या रंगात रंगविलेली मडकी मात्र जुनापानीच्या शिळावर्तुळांत सापडली नाहीत. तेव्हा, ही एक बाब सोडल्यास, कौण्डिन्यपूरची पहिली वस्ती, पवनारची पहिली वस्ती व जुनापानीची शिळावर्तुळे निर्माण करणारे लोक यांच्यात सांस्कृतिक संलग्नता असली पाहिजे हे उघड झाले.

या पार्श्वभूमीवर जेव्हा टाकळघाट व खापा येथे अन्वेषण केले गेले तेव्हा असे आढळून आले की खापा व जवळच गंगापूर येथे, जुनापानी सारखी अनेक शिळावर्तुळे आहेत; व खाप्याच्या समोरच टाकळघाट येथे प्राचीन टेकाडावरच पवनार–कौण्डिन्यपूर प्रमाणेच काळी–तांबडी, अभ्रकयुक्त व रंगीत खापरे सापडतात. टाकळघाट व खापा यामधून फक्त कृष्णा नदी वाहत आहे. अन्वेषित पुराव्यानुसार टाकळघाट व खापा येथे उत्खनन केल्यास, टाकळघाट वस्तीचा खाप्याच्या शिळावर्तुळांशी असणारा संभाव्य संबंध व या दोहोंचा जुनापानी, कौण्डिन्यपूर व पवनार यांच्याशी असणारा सांस्कृतिक संबंध या दोन्ही बाबींवर प्रकाश टाकणे सहज शक्य ठरेल असे वाटले. शिवाय शिळावर्तुळाशी संबंधित असलेल्या लोकांच्या वस्तीच्या अवशेषांची टेकाडे भारतात फार थोड्या प्रमाणात उपलब्ध असल्याने, टाकळघाट–खापा उत्खनन महत्वाचे ठरणार होते.

टाकळघाट व खापा–गंगापूर येथील उत्खनन मार्च १९६८ व जानेवारी १९६९ मध्ये करण्यात आले.

टाकळघाटच्या उत्खननात असे आढळून आले की तेथील अनेक वस्त्या सांस्कृतिकदृष्ट्या एकसंध असल्यातरी त्यांचे तीन भाग पाडता येतात. '१-अ' कालातील वस्त्यांच्या घरांच्या जमिनी तपकिरी रंगाचा पक्का चिखल चोपून बनविलेल्या होत्या, तर '१-ब' कालातील जमिनी, चिखल, रेती व चुना एकत्र मिसळवून बनवलेल्या होत्या. या घरांना मातीच्या (कुडाच्या) भिंती असून त्यात लाकडी वासे पुरून त्यावर छपर उभारले जाई. हीच पध्दत '१–क' कालातही प्रचलित होती. हे लोक काळ्या–तांबड्या रंगाचे वाडगे, थाळ्या, झाकण्या, गडवे, कळश्या व माठ वापरीत. याशिवाय भरपूर प्रमाणात अभ्रक मिसळलेल्या मातीपासून बनवलेले वाडगे, साठवणीचे रांजण, घडे व काळ्या रंगात विविध नक्षी काढलेले लाल रंगाचे घडेही प्रचलित होते. निरनिराळ्या प्रकारच्या मडक्याशिवाय हे लोक कार्नेलियन, अकीक, स्फटिक व काच इत्यादींचे उत्तम मणी अलंकार म्हणून वापरीत असत. लाल कार्नेलियनच्या मण्यावर पांढऱ्या रंगाने निरनिराळ्या प्रकारचे नक्षीकामही ते करीत असत. लोखंडाचे गळ, पळ्या, कटयारी व चपट्या कुऱ्हाडी ते बनवीत असत. गाय, बैल, डुकरे व शेळ्या ते पाळीत असत तद्वतच ते घोडेही राखीत असत.

या तीन वस्त्यांपैकी दुसऱ्या वस्तीच्या म्हणजेच '१–ब' या वस्तीच्या सुरवातीचा कालखण्ड कार्बन–१४ पद्धतीनुसार इ. स. पूर्व ५५५ असा आलेला आहे. यावरून या आधीच्या म्हणजेच '१–अ'

कालीन वस्तीची प्राचीनता यापेक्षाही जास्त असली पाहिजे हे उघड आहे.

खापा आणि गंगापूर येथील शिळावर्तुळांतही टाकळघाटशी संलग्न पुरावा मिळाला. खापा येथील नऊ व गंगापूर येथील तीन शिळावर्तुळे खोदण्यांत आली. सर्वात मोठे वर्तुळ खापा येथे आढळले. त्याचा व्यास २३ मीटर होता. इतरांचा १२ ते १४ मीटर इतका सर्वसाधारणपणे असल्याचे आढळून आले.

ही शिळावर्तुळे बनविताना नदीनाल्याची व टेकाडाची सन्निधता लक्षात घेतली जाई. मुरमाड जमिनीवर मोठमोठ्या शिळावर्तुळात लावून त्याच्या मध्यभागी मडक्यात, जमिनीवर खड्डयात, अथवा तांब्याच्या थाळीत मानवी अस्थींचे तुकडे ठेवीत. नंतर त्यावर सुमारे एक मीटर जाडीचा काळ्या मातीचा थर टाकीत. यात लोखंडी हत्यारे, मडकी, तांब्याच्या बांगड्या व रंगीत दगडाचे मणीही पुरीत असत. याशिवाय घोड्याचीही हाडे पुरीत असत. नंतर सर्वात वर दगडगोटे टाकीत.

खापा व गंगापूर येथील शिळावर्तुळांत, टाकळघाटच्या वस्तीच्या टेकाडात जी खापरे सापडली तशीच सापडली. फक्त रंगीत खापरे मात्र सापडली नाहीत. याशिवाय चपटचा लोखंडी कुऱ्हाडी (आकृति २५) पळ्या (आकृति २६, क्रमांक २७–३०), नखे काढण्याची हत्यारे (आ. २६, क्र. ३३–३४), कढई (आ. २७), कटचारी, तलवारी, गज, बाण (आ. २४), त्याचप्रमाणे विविध तऱ्हेचे मणी (आ. २३), तांब्याच्या थाळ्या व त्यांची पक्षीयुक्त (प्लेट XVI) अथवा कळ्या असलेली (प्लेट XVII) झाकणे, तांब्याच्या पत्र्यावर तांब्याचे कोन पत्र्याच्या मागे लोखंडी काडीने पक्का केलेला घोड्याच्या तोंडावर बसविण्यासाठी बनविलेला दागिना (प्लेट XXI) : या इतर उल्लेखनीय वस्तू सापडल्या. वर उल्लेखिलेल्या प्रकारच्या झाकण्या व घोड्याचा दागिना या वस्तू आतापर्यन्त भारतात इतरत्र कुठेही सापडलेल्या नाहीत.

खापरांचा, लोखंडी वस्तूंचा व मण्यांचा जो सारखेपणा टाकळघाट व खापा येथे आढळून आला त्यानुसार टाकळघाटची वस्ती व खापा येथील शिळावर्तुळे बनविणारे लोक एकाच संस्कृतीचे होते हे निश्चित झाले व या शिळावर्तुळांचा कालही टाकळघाटच्या इतकाच, म्हणजेच इ. स. पूर्व सहावे–सातवे शतक इतका, प्राचीन ठरला.

खाप्याच्या शिळावर्तुळात सापडलेली खापरे, मणी व लोखंडी वस्तू, त्याचप्रमाणे त्यांची बांधणी, जुनापानी येथील वर्तुळाप्रमाणेच असल्याने, खापा, जुनापानी व टाकळघाट यांचा सांस्कृतिक संपर्क उघड झाला. टाकळघाट येथे सापडलेली खापरे, मणी व लोखंडी वस्तू, पवनार व कौण्डिन्यपूर येथे झालेल्या पहिल्या वस्तीच्या अवशेषांत सापडल्याने कौण्डिन्यपूर, पवनार, टाकळघाट, जुनापानी, खापा व गंगापूर या सर्व ठिकाणी इ. स. पूर्व ६–७ व्या शतकात एकाच संस्कृतीच्या लोकांनी वस्ती केली हे आता सिद्ध झाले आहे.

हे लोक कोण, ते कोठून आले असावेत, ते आले त्यावेळी या भागात कोण रहात होते यावद्दल काही सुसंगत निष्कर्ष काढता येतात. महाराष्ट्राच्या पश्चिम व दक्षिण भागात शिळावर्तुळे सापडलेली नाहीत. खानदेशात टेकवडा व रंजाळा येथील उत्खनन–अन्वेषणात फक्त काळी–तांबडी खापरे सापडली. ही मेगॅलिथिक अथवा वृहदश्मयुगीन संस्कृतीशी – ज्यामध्ये मृतावशेष शिळावर्तुळात पुरण्याची एक पद्धति होती – संपर्क दर्शवितात. मात्र खानदेशात जसा वृहदश्मयुगीन संस्कृतीचा ताम्रपाषाणयुगीन संस्कृतीशी संपर्क आला तसा विदर्भात आल्याचे दिसून येत नाही. विदर्भातील रंगीत खापरे महाराष्ट्रात इतरत्र सापडलेल्या ताम्रपाषाणयुगीन रंगीत खापरांपेक्षा वेगळी असल्याने, विदर्भात रंगीत खापरे वापरणारे जे लोक इ. स. पूर्व ६–७ व्या शतकात रहात असत त्यांचा वृहदश्मयुगीन संस्कृतीच्या लोकांशी संपर्क आला असे दिसून आले.

हे वृहदश्मयुगीन लोक विदर्भात कोठून आले ? खापा-गंगापूर येथील शिळावर्तुळात ज्या प्रकारचे वैशिष्टपूर्ण नक्षीचे मणी, काळी-तांबडी खापरे व लोखंडाच्या वस्तू सापडल्या, तशाच त्या तामिळनाडूतील आदिचनल्लूर व सानूर आणि आन्ध्रमधील ब्रम्हगिरी येथे वृहदश्मयुगीन सांस्कृतिक संदर्भात सापडलेल्या आहेत. हल्लूर येथील या संस्कृतीचा कालखण्ड कार्बन–१४ पद्धतीनुसार इ. स. पूर्व ९५५ असा आलेला असल्याने, हे लोक आधी दक्षिणेत रहात असावेत व इ. स. पूर्व ६–७ व्या शतकात त्यांचा रंगीत खापरे वापरणाऱ्या विदर्भ भागातील लोकांशी संपर्क आला असावा असे दिसते.

आतापर्यंत सापडलेला पुरावा या लोकांची वांशिक वैशिष्ट्ये निश्चितपणे सांगता यावा इतका नाही. खाप्याच्या काही शिळावर्तुळात जे मानवी दात सापडले त्यावरून एका वर्तुळात एकापेक्षा जास्त माणसे पुरीत असत असे म्हणता येते. तांब्याच्या बांगड्या एकाच वर्तुळात निरनिराळ्या मापाच्या सापडल्याने लहान व प्रौढ स्त्रिया एकाच वर्तुळात पुरल्या गेल्या असाव्यात असे म्हणता येते. सापडलेल्या दातांनुसार पुरलेल्या काही व्यक्ती १७ ते २५ वर्षाच्या दरम्यानच्या असाव्यात असा निष्कर्ष काढता आला.

आजही निलगिरी विभागातील काही आदिवासी जमाती गाय, बैल, कोंबडा इत्यादी आकृत्या चिकटविलेली मातीची बनविलेली झाकणे वापरतात. या उलट महाराष्ट्रातील काही भटक्या जमातीत अजूनही काही वृहदश्मयुगीन दफनपद्धती प्रचलित आहेत. प्राचीन कालांत झालेल्या सांस्कृतिक संपर्कात या जमातींच्या पूर्वजांचा वाटा मोठा असला पाहिजे असे मानावयास हरकत नसावी.

1. The Setting

It is almost a hundred years ago that megalithic monuments were reported in India. CUNNINGHAM and MEADOWS TAYLOR played a significant role in bringing to light the megalithic tombs. Interest in such monuments, however, had already gathered momentum in the West which culminated in the publication of "*Rude Stone Monuments in All Countries : Their Age and Usage*" by James FERGUSSON in 1872. However, the distinctive nature of Indian megaliths was hinted at by VANSTAVERN in 1875 in his notes on the antiquities found in the upper Godavari and Krishna Districts. A year later, JAGOR excavated the urn-burial site of Adichanallur which brought out an interesting data. Between 1889 and 1905, REA carried out further excavations. The real wealth of the excavated evidence could be assessed by the publication, in 1915, of his "*Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perambur*". In the meantime, J. BREEKS published in 1873, his "*Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*" which contained some material which could be fruitfully compared with the one excavated at Adichanallur, especially the lids or covers with bird and animal motifs.

Data regarding the megalithic association went on sporadically piling up as can be gleaned from SEWELL's "*List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*" (1882). This was further augmented, to some extent, by FOOTE's "*Catalogue of Antiquities in the Madras Museum*" published in 1901. An attempt at systematising the published reference material was done by DASGUPTA in 1934 in his "*Bibliography of Prehistoric Indian Antiquities*" appearing in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.[1]

However, the researches and the explorations pertaining to Indian megaliths remained sporadic and unplanned. Against this background, KRISHNASWAMI's "*Typology of Indian Megaliths*", published[2] in 1949, may justifiably claim to be the first scientific approach to the classification of the megalithic types in South India. This has been accepted, more or less, as the basis for subsequent research.

The study of the problem of Indian megaliths has received a dynamic momentum during the last twenty-five years, and, as a result of this, it has now been acclaimed to be an All-India problem, not solely restricted to the south or north-east. WHEELER, on the basis of his excavations at Brahmagiri[3] in 1947, proposed 3rd cent. B. C. as the possible period for the megaliths. As against this, BANERJEE[4] proposes the earlier part of the first millenium B. C. Apart from this wide ranging time-bracket, the contents of the megaliths have also proved that the megalithic folk were adept in iron-technology, though they also used copper and bronze objects. Another distinctive feature of this problem is that some form of megalithism is still in vogue among the tribal populace in some parts of India.

Thus megaliths in India assume a signal importance due to the distinctive nature of their monumental form, their date, their material equipment and their present day survival. The study of the skeletal remains of the megaliths has not made much headway because of the lack of unanimity in the interpretation of the data.[5]

To summarise, it may be stated that inspite of immense data collected in excavations and explorations over the century, the problem of megaliths still eludes us.

1. Vol. XXVII, NS, 1934 2. *Anc. Ind.*, No. 5 (1949) 3. *Ibid.*, No. 3-4 (1947), p. 300
4. *Iron Age in India* (1967), pp. 44-48
5. SEN, D. K., "Observations on the Megalithic Skeletal Remains", *Seminar Papers on the Problem of Megaliths in India*, (Varanasi, 1969), pp. 94-98

2. The Problem in Vidarbha

Against this setting, the study of the megalithic monuments in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra presents certain regional distinctions which, however, bear cultural legacies traced ultimately to extra-Vidarbha contacts.

The distribution map of megalithic remains in Maharashtra (Fig. 1) shows that they are concentrated in the eastern Vidarbha region of Maharashtra State, though sporadic researches also seem to indicate their cultural existence in Khandesh, as at Ranjala[1] and Tekwada[2], and Central Deccan as at Bhosari near Poona.[3] The latter site has, however, yielded meagre evidence as compared to that excavated in the Stone Circles in Vidarbha.

The archaeological importance of the Stone Circles in the Vidarbha region was brought to light as far back as about a century ago. Major PEARS and HISLOP excavated a few Stone Circle sites in this region. HUNTER[4] published a popular account of the finds from Mahurjhari, an extensive Stone Circle site near Nagpur. As early as 1876, PEARS had tapped a few Stone Circles at Vadgaon near Nagpur and explored about half a dozen at Junapani adjacent to Mahurjhari.

Among the more than a score sites in the Vidarbha region[5], Junapani, near Nagpur, claims the largest concentration, the next place being accorded to Mahurjhari, these having respectively nearly 300 and 150 Stone Circles. Another interesting feature of this region is that it has mostly Cairn Circles, though sporadically cromleches and dolmens have been reported from Bhandara and Chanda districts respectively. It may be noted that no distinctively megalithic monument or funerary architecture has been so far known from any other sector of the Maharashtra State.

Thus, the Cairn Circles or megalithic associations seem to have been dominant in the Vidarbha region apparently because of its open borders with the adjacent State of Andhra which has a rich evidence of megaliths.

Inspite of this regional distinction and the early recognition of its archaeological potential, systematic attempts in getting at scientifically brought out evidence from these Stone Circles are rather recent. In 1958-59, the Archaeological Survey of India[6] conducted explorations at Maharjhari and Junapani, and collected a number of finished and unfinished beads. In 1960-61, the ancient site of Kaundinyapura in Amaravati District gave, according to the excavator, evidence of the earliest habitation assignable to "The Megalithic Period", rather generously dated to the 2nd millenium B. C. and characterised by the Black-and-Red ware, a red ware tempered with micaceous grit, painted black-on-red ware, etched carnelian beads and iron artefacts.

Junapani, excavated[8] in 1961-62 by the Archaeological Survey of India, yielded valuable evidence encountered in the Stone Circles. It comprised etched beads, black-and-red pottery, the micaceous

1. *IA-R*, 1960-61, p. 32
2. *IA-R*, 1956-57, pp. 18-19
3. SANKALIA, H. D., *BDCRI*, 1939-40, pp. 178 ff
4. Antiquities from Mahurjhari, *Sharadashram Varshik*, pp. 30-35
5. DEO, S. B., "Megaliths in Maharashtra", *Seminar Papers on the Problem of Megaliths in India*, (Varanasi, 1969), pp. 27-28; See also, DIKSHIT, M. G., *Madhyapradesh ke Puratattva ki Ruparekha*, p. 6
6. *IA-R*, 1958-59; pp. 21-22
7. DIKSHIT, M. G., *Excavations at Kaundinyapura*, p. 27
8. *IA-R*, 1961-62, pp. 32-34

red ware, a host of iron objects and a painted black-on-red ware fragment of a bowl with hole-mouth spout as also bones of the equidae family. Thus, culture contact between Junapani and Kaundinyapura I could be visualised on the basis of ceramic and bead evidence.

The exacavations at Paunar[9] in District Wardha, yielded evidence of the earliest habitation characterised by painted black-on-red ware, the black-and-red ware and the micaceous red ware similar to that reported at Kaundinyapura I and Junapani.

It, therefore, was clear that painted pottery tradition and megalithism had a close culture contact in the Vidarbha region. Such a contact, though in a different painted ceramic context, was also in evidence at Tekwada near Bahal in Khandesh, where typical megalithic black-and-red ware was found in association with the well-known Chalcolithic painted black-on-red Jorwe ware.

However, it may be made clear that the Jorwe painted pottery and the one encountered at Kaundinyapura, Paunar and Junapani bore no identity either in fabric or typology. Nor has such a painted fabric been reported from Andhra Pradesh in association with megalithic culture context.

Against this background, excavations at Takalghat and Khapa, which had, on surface, given the wares referred to above and Stone Circles respectively, were planned to know more about the relationship between the painted pottery and the Stone Circles, so as to ascertain the nature of the indigenous cultural substratum of this region of Maharashtra.

9. Deo, S. B. and Dhavalikar, M. K., *Paunar Excavation*, p. 6

3. The Sites, Strata, Structures and Sequence

TAKALGHAT

To the east of the present village of Takalghat[1] and close to the right bank of the river Krishna is situated the ancient habitational mound, part of which is capped by the Grampanchayat building (Fig. 2). The entire area, partially girdled by the river, comprises a series of low mounds badly damaged by earth robbers and huge pits, now utilised for compost deposit, with the result that only a small area is left for scientific dig. The area which, in the past, probably had a huge undisturbed mound sloping gradually towards the river, is now uninhabitated and forms an erratic appendage to the present settlement lying close to its west.

Takalghat I (TKG I) was one of the most intact but small mounds, rising to a height of about 8 metres (Pl. I) and having an undisturbed top. It towered above the rest of the area and hence was selected for tapping as, besides being undisturbed, was littered with potsherds of the black-and-red ware, the micaceous red, the coarse red, and above all, the painted black-on-red (Pl. V) which was identical with that earlier reported from Paunar I and Kaundinyapura[2].

Except the painted sherds, the other wares were also found on surface on the opposite situated Stone Circle site of Khapa, which established cultural relationship with the habitational deposits at Takalghat and the Stone Circles at Khapa. In order, therefore, to further corroborate and supplement the surface evidence in a stratigraphic context, TKG I was taken up for excavation.

A trench 6 metres by 3 metres, with the longer axis running N-S, was laid.

Phase IA :

The stratigraphy exposed in the trench (Fig. 4) revealed that over a natural deposit of compact yellow silt struck at a depth of 6.60 metres, the entire trench being dug to a total depth of 7.01 mtrs., came the black sticky clay having a thickness of 1.55 mtrs. (Pl. IB). Over this the first Takalghatians settled. The remains of this first settlement were very meagre both in quantity and quality as evidenced by very few sherds of the black-and-red ware, the painted black-on-red ware, the micaceous red ware and the coarse red ware along with a few very heavily encrusted pieces of iron of indeterminate use. However, in course of time, the settlement seems to have prospered as the yield of pottery and other antiquarian remains increased in quantity in the subsequent deposits, i.e. layers 10, 9A, 9 and 8.

Layers 8 to 11 (Fig. 4) formed relatively a homogeneous deposit as indicated by its uniform light brown colour and finer texture. Apart from the nature of deposit, these layers yielded a relatively greater amount of finer black-and-red pottery and a better fired painted black-on-red ware. Besides these ceramic distinctions, the nature of habitational architecture had its own distinctions. Whereas in the subsequent Phase IB, there was a greater use of lime and dark brown clay for floorings, the habitation of Phase IA, as indicated at the top of layer 9A (Fig. 4), seemed to use a greater amount of hard and compact light brown clay for the layout of floors.

The nature of settlement of Phase IA was attested at a depth of 4.72 mtrs. (Fig. 4; Pl. IIB). Over the yellowish-brownish deposit of layer 9A was exposed one centimetre thick layout of hard

1. Long. 78° 56' 30" E; Lat. 20° 54' 40" N; twenty miles west of Nagpur.
2. DEO S. B. and DHAVALIKAR, M. K., *op. cit.*, p. 6; DIKSHIT, M. G., *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII

and compact brownish clay devoid of any degraissant. The flooring, exposed to a length of 3.32 mtrs. north-south, had an erratic width of 2.17 metres east-west due to disturbances. In it was found to have been sunk a post-hole 20 cm. wide and 70 cm. deep, containing profuse amount of disintegrated wood. From the fragmentary nature of evidence, it appears that the habitations of Phase IA of occupation, consisted of houses with rammed clay floors in which wooden posts were sunk which supported a light roof above. The inmates used painted pottery along with three other unpainted wares, iron and beads of carnelian and agate. They had also domesticated animals (Appendix I).

Phase IB :

Layers 3 to 7A (Fig. 4) were distinguished by profuse deposits of whitish ash, the use of lime along with dark brown clay for floorings (Pl. II-A), a quick succession of floors (Pl. III-B), the construction of mud walls (PL. II-A), abundant use of all the four ceramic wares of earlier phase, iron artefacts and beads of semi-precious stones, terracotta and glass.

The evidence for the earliest habitation of this phase, which was the cultural continuation of the earlier phase as attested by the identity of material equipment indicated above, came on top of layer 8, at a depth of 2.90 mtrs. attested by a patchy flooring of lime and dark brown clay rammed together (Pl. IV-A). The full extent of it could not be had as it was in a very patchy state having a thickness of 2.76 cm. Profuse quantities of wood ash and burnt wood were encountered nearby it suggesting that this habitation was damaged by fire.

Layers 7 and 6 evidenced a quick succession of lime and dark brown clay floorings (Fig. 4; Pl. III-B), at least seven of which could be distinctly located. Of these, Floors C to G (or Nos. 3 to 7) were associated with layer 7, and the topmost two, i. e. Floors A and B (or Nos. 1 and 2), were related to layer 6. The method adopted in the make up of these floors was to ram a deposit of lime and dark brown clay with kankar to an average thickness of 3.72 cm. over a bedding of black sticky clay. These floors which came at a gap of hardly 20 cm. one above the other, could not have been floors of separate houses, but they evidenced the attempts at raising up worn out floor levels and redressing them frequently. They extended north-south to a length of 2.60 metres. Close to the northward terminal of these, were found the remains of a mud wall (Fig. 4; Pl. II-A) built of compact yellowish clay, traced to its extant height of 0.80 metres and a maximum width of 0.72 metres. Very fine sand was found to have been mixed with clay which was impregnated with bamboo screen as the impressions of the latter on the burnt clods of the wall showed (Pl. IV-B). That this habitation had suffered due to fire was evidenced by the reddening of the black clay foundations of some of the floors (Pl. III-B), the burnt clods of the wall spread around, the affected surfaces of pottery and burnt bones of animals.

Immediately after the burning of the habitation associated with layer 7, the debris seems to have been dressed up and another settlement came on the heels of the earlier, for layer 6 gave the evidence of the layout of another lime and clay floor (Fig. 4) in the southern section, and the building up of a mud wall right over the debris of the earlier wall in the northern sector. The technique and the constituents that made up the wall were identical with those of the earlier wall (Pl. II-A), though the vertical layout was rather erratic, it being a little undercut by a flooring running to the north, and its being rather squat, rising to an extant height of 0.82 metres. Extensive deposits of burnt clay and ash above it indicated that this habitation was also burnt down due to fire. After this devastation, another attempt seems to have been made at a fresh layout of lime and clay floor, as indicated by the remains of such a floor capped by layer 4, at a depth of 1.10 mtrs. (Pl. III-A). The layout had a thickness of 5 cm. and it was traced over an area admeasuring 1.54 and 2.83 metres. It also evidenced the existence of shallow postholes having a diameter of 5 cm. No plan of these, however, seemed to emerge so as to indicate the nature of the settlement.

Phase IC :

Phase IC was devoid of any evidence of floorings of houses. Of the two layers which comprised this phase, layer 2 was of very loose ashy brown earth. The ceramic content of this was the same as of the earlier phases but occasionally mixed up with late pottery which, however, could easily be isolated. Extensive pits had damaged the deposits of this phase.

Summarily, therefore, the following sequence emerged :

Phase IC	Layers 1 & 2	No evidence of structures; pits; pottery mixed with later wares; Black-and-red; micaceous red; animal bones; iron; beads.
Phase IB	Layers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 & 7A	Houses with mud walls : lime and clay floorings; pottery devoid of later wares; beads (etched); iron and copper; animal bones; painted pottery.
Phase IA	Layers 8, 9, 9A, 10 & 11	Houses with brown clay floorings and posts; finer black-and-red ware; painted pottery and other wares ; animal bones; iron; etched and plain beads.
	Black Cotton Soil (12)	

The chart will bring out that the three phases proposed above are not culturally different from one another as the ceramic and other evidence attests. They are differentiated more in tune with the change in the pattern of structural architecture.

KHAPA

Khapa had a fairly large cluster of Stone Circles situated on the left bank of the river Krishna (Fig. 2) which flows between Takalghat and Khapa.[3] The situation of these Stone Circles shows that they are close to the proximity of seasonal *nalas* and perennially flowing river, as also near the spur of the Kalari Hills at the foot of which the Stone Circles continue within the limits of Gangapur.

Of the several, nine megaliths were tapped, most of them fully and a few centrally. These were numbered serially in the order in which they were taken up for excavation. Thus Megaliths 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8 were close to each other, Nos. 2 and 3 formed another group, while Nos. 5 and 9 were a little away from the main cluster. Size, location and undisturbed nature were the three principal factors which were taken into consideration in the selection of these for excavation (Fig. 2).

Megalith 1 :

Situated about 100 metres to the east of the *nala* meeting the river Krishna, was Megalith No. 1 which was the largest in diameter of all the Stone Circles at Khapa. It had the following measurements :

Diameter :	EW :	Outer :	26.50	metres
		Inner :	25.60	,,
	NS :	Outer :	25	,,
		Inner :	23.20	,,

The nature of filling within the circle was of a slightly different arrangement as compared to that exposed in others. Here the filling mainly comprised of a deposit of sticky black clay to a thickness of a metre. This was capped by a thin layout of pebbles which was the thickest in the centre (Pl. IX-A) as if to appear that there was intentionally left a depression in the centre of the clay filling to be filled with pebbles to a depth of half a metre. Whereas in the other Stone Circles, the clay filling was the thickest in the centre and that of pebbles the

3. Long 78° 57' E; Lat. 20° 55' N (Sheet 55 L/13)

thickest at the periphery, in this megalith the pebble deposit thinned out at the periphery but was the maximum at the centre. The black clay rested right on the reddish brownish murum (Fig. 5).

A shallow depression in the murum in the centre of the circle yielded a copper dish capped by a copper lid with tapering sides ending in a four bud-shaped finial prepared separately and fitted to the top of the lid (Pl. XVII; Fig. 28, No. 11), a sword and a dagger of iron (Pl. XII, No. 9; Fig. 24, No. 9). A few bones, very fragmentary in nature, were found kept inside the dish with flat base, convex thin sides and an incipient knob internally in the centre (Fig. 28, No. 11). The dish and the lid were found in a badly smashed condition.

The black clay filling yielded a variety of antiquities.

NW Quadrant : Tiny globular and etched carnelian beads; fragmentary pieces of copper and highly rusted pieces of iron blades.

NE Quadrant : Nothing except pottery.

SE Quadrant : Carnelian beads; iron sword (Pl. XII, No. 13; Fig. 24, No. 13); a profuse quantity of micaceous red ware.

SW Quadrant : Tiny globular and etched carnelian beads; ladles of iron; iron chisel.

Central Pit : Carnelian beads; copper blade fragments; seven bell-shaped copper objects with a ring-hold at the top, dome with a perforation (Pl. XVIII-A) : one of such bells (possibly with an iron or wooden tongue) having a bone piece stuck up inside (Pl. XVIII-B) — all the seven found lying over scattered animal bones (possibly of equidae family); Copper dish with lid and Copper bangles (Pl. XIX, A-B).

The ceramic associations of the black clay filling comprised three wares : the Black-and-Red, the Micaceous Red and the Coarse Red. Their break up was as follows :—

(a) Black-and-Red Ware : 756
(b) Micaceous Red Ware : 3289
(c) Coarse Red Ware : 2136

Because of their placement in the black sticky clay filling, the potsherds showed affected surfaces besides being in a badly smashed condition.

Megalith 2 :

Megalith 2 lay to the north-east (Fig. 2) of Meg. 1 and close to another *nala* flowing southwards to meet the same river. It was much smaller in dimensions as compared to Megalith No. 1.

Diameter	: EW	: Outer	: 16	metres
		Inner	: 15.5	,,
	NS	: Outer	: 16	,,
		Inner	: 15.4	,,

The measurements showed that it was a precisely planned alignment, though the boulders contributing to the make up of the circle were of smaller dimensions than those used in Megalith No. 1.

The filling comprised the top layout of pebbles capping half a metre thick deposit of blackish loose soil which in turn covered an unevenly laid layer of kankary brownish soil (Fig. 6). The peripheral stones of the south-western sector were missing.

In the centre, below the deposit of top pebbles, were exposed a few boulders lying at random (Fig. 6). Whether there was an inner circle in the centre could not be verified because of the incomplete nature of the evidence. Centrally, a pit in the murum was found to have been dug with irregular outline and having the maximum depth of 0.75 metres, though it yielded nothing except pottery.

The antiquarian contents of this megalith were very poor. Except a few fragmentary pieces of

iron blades, nothing worth note was encountered. The ceramic content was also poor.

(a) Black-and-Red Ware : 142
(b) Micaceous Red Ware : 247
(c) Coarse Red Ware : 68

Megalith 3 :

About fifty metres south-west of Megalith No. 2 was located Megalith 3 (Fig. 2). The peripheral stones in its western sector were missing (Fig. 7).

Diameter : EW : Outer : 12 metres
Inner : 11.50 ,,
NS : Outer : 12 ,,
Inner : 11.30 ,,

The nature of filling showed that there was the topmost layer of medium size pebbles which overlay a filling of blakish clay mixed with pebbles to a thickness of half a metre, which in turn capped a pure deposit of blackish soil resting on an uneven horizon of murum (Fig. 7).

No pit in the murum could be noticed. In the black clay filling above it, however, were located centrally an iron chisel, a fragmentary basin in micaceous red ware and a broken dish in black-and-red ware.

Like Megalith No. 2, the yield of pottery was on a restricted scale.

(a) Black-and Red Ware : 87
(b) Micaceous Red Ware : 248
(c) Coarse Red Ware : 128

Megalith 4 :

This lay at a distance of sixty metres due N-NW of Megalith 1 and was practically of the same dimensions as those of Megalith No. 3 above.

The entire filling was of a thickness of 1.3 metres arranged in the order of pebbles, then brownish kankary earth deposited over a flattish horizon of murum. No pit could be detected centrally, nor was the filling rewarding in respect of antiquities, save for pottery. The latter also was mostly in the form of micaceous red ware (137), coarse red (56) and the black-and-red ware (43).

Megalith 5 :

Beyond the *nala* separating Megalith Nos. 2 and 3 from the group incorporating the cluster of Megalith Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8 (Fig. 2), lay Megalith No. 5, fairly away from both the groups.

Its inner and outer diameters, EW and NS respectively, ranged between 11.40 and 12.20 metres and it thus belonged to the group of smaller circles unlike Megalith No. 1. The nature of filling was normal, comprising pebbles capping black clay laid over murum, the entire deposit contributing to a thickness of 1.2 metres.

The entire megalith was emptied and was found to have been fairly rich in contents.

NW Quadrant : Pottery; beads of carnelian and agate; very fragmentary animal bones.

NE Quadrant : Pottery; tiny globular and etched beads of carnelian, beads of crystal; cauldron of iron (Pl. XV; Fig. 27, No. 47), fragmentary blade pieces of iron.

SE Quadrant : Iron chisel fragments; blades of iron; pottery; fragmentary animal bones.

SW Quadrant : Beads of carnelian and agate, pottery.

Centre : Resting right on the murum and capped by black clay was a copper dish with flat base, sides bulging towards the mouth, capped by a lid with tapering profile having a finial of four birds in pairs facing each other (Pl. XVI;

XX-A; Fig. 28, No. 10), this lay just by the side of a basin in micaceous red ware in a smashed condition.

The ceramic content of this Stone Circle was also rich and typologically varied. However, as in other Stone Circles, the maximum amount belonged to the micaceous red ware (3421), next came the coarse red ware (2006), and the last in order of quantity was the black-and-red (938). Besides these three, a few pieces of a handmade drab grey ware were also encountered which, however, were reluctant to indicate their full shape.

The filling marks on the stones of the circle indicated the mode of construction. It appears that on a flat horizon of somewhat hard murum, the boulders were placed in a circle. In the final stage, the clay filling was so given as to submerge at least the lower half of the peripheral stones. Along with the black clay filling, various items of everyday equipment like beads, iron implements, etc., were also placed. Over this came the pebble filling which further covered some part of the peripheral stones.

Megalith 6 :

Thirty-two metres due north-east of Megalith I, this megalith was located. This was somewhat bigger in dimension than Megaliths 2, 3, 4 and 5, as its diameter would show.

Diameter	: EW	: Outer	: 17.5	metres
		Inner	: 14.2	,,
	NS	: Outer	: 17.4	,,
		Inner	: 14	,,

It will thus be apparent that this Stone Circle falls in the medium group, unlike Megalith No. 1 which is the largest, or the others which range between 12 and 14 metres at Khapa, as also at Gangapur, as will be discussed later.

The nature of deposit was essentially the same, *viz.*—a layer of pebbles capping a filling of blackish earth, both these making up a deposit of 1.1 metre.

Whereas the quadrants did not yield anything except pottery akin to that encountered in other Stone Circles, the central sector yielded remarkable objects. Placed right over the murum was a micaceous red ware pot, badly damaged, which contained a few fragmentary bones. Over this came the black clay in which were found the remains of the skeleton of a horse (Appendix I), though incomplete. Associated with these skeletal remains was a remarkable object made of thin copper sheet cut to a shape which would cover the forehead and the nose of the horse. Over this sheet were a series of tapering knobs of copper rivetted at the back with iron pins. Besides this were also found a number of medium size hollow tubes of copper with crescent shaped attachments. The whole appears to have been possibly an ornament tied over the face of a horse (Pl. XXI; Fig. 29). The projecting ends of the ornament would stand up over the ears of the horse. It is quite possible that these ends were further embellished by tassels. By the side of this ornament was also found an iron dagger.

The ceramic contents of this Stone Circle followed the same pattern as noted in the case of others. The black-and-red ware was the minimum while the micaceous red the maximum. In between the two came the coarse red so far as the quantitative break-up is concerned.

Megalith 7 :

About 50 metres to the SS-W of Megalith No. 6 was situated Megalith No. 7. On the considerations of diameter, this falls in the middle group as No. 6 does. Its diameter was as follows :

Diameter	: EW	: Outer	: 17	metres
		Inner	: 16.2	,,
	NS	: Outer	: 17.1	,,
		Inner	: 16	,,

The nature of the filling conformed to the general pattern. However, one noteworthy feature of the ceramic evidence was that the coarse red was completely absent. Only the micaceous red and

the black-and-red could be had, the former being at least four times the quantity of the latter.

However, the filling was rich in antiquities. No pit in the murum could be detected. All the antiquities came from the black clay filling.

NW Quadrant : Pottery; copper pieces; iron nail-parers with screwed body; iron ladle; double edged iron adze.

NE Quadrant : Tiny carnelian beads, pottery.

SE Quadrant : Pottery; copper bangles; copper bell with iron tongue.

SW Quadrant : Pottery; iron nail-parer with screwed body; etched and plain carnelian, agate, jasper, crystal and glass beads.

Megalith 8 :

This was situated at a distance of 16 metres due north of Megalith No. 7. In diameter (12 and 14 mtr.) it belonged to the third, i. e. the small-size group. The top pebble filling was completely washed out, and the brownish clay filling was exposed to view. This was devoid of any antiquities including pottery.

Megalith 9 :

One hundred and two metres due north-east of Megalith No. 5 (Fig. 2) was located this Circle which had a diameter ranging between 12.6 and 13.8 metres. The black clay filling capped by pebbles gave in the centre a few bones, some of which showed traces of burning, along with a pot-rest with hollow stem executed in coarse red ware, an iron nail-parer with screwed body, fragments of the bowl of an iron lamp, an iron axe with cross fasteners and tiny interlocked rings of copper.

Pottery was found mostly in the centre as follows :

(a) Black-and-Red Ware : 131

(b) Coarse Red Ware : 637

(c) Micaceous Red Ware : 1142

General Characteristics

The foregoing discussion would indicate that at Khapa three groups of Stone Circles — so far as their dimensions are concerned — were in vogue. The largest had a diameter ranging between 23 and 26 metres; the medium 17 and 14 metres, and the smallest 12 and 14 metres. The filling in all these averaged about 1 metre. The skeletal remains were exceptionally meagre. One was absolutely devoid of any remains. Lastly, so far as the ceramic evidence was concerned, all these contained dominantly the micaceous red ware.

Gangapur

About one and a half miles to the NW of Takalghat, and about a mile west of Khapa, are situated several Stone Circles right at the fringes of the southern slope of the Kalari Hills. The latter are full of huge boulders and pebbles which must have been utilised in the creation of the circles and cairn filling at Gangapur (Fig. 3).

Gangapur claims at present no human habitation. It is stated that both Khapa and Gangapur population was settled within Takalghat a few years ago, and hence now Khapa and Gangapur are deserted areas.

The Stone Circles at Khapa continue towards the west as one traverses the region on way to Gangapur. It is, therefore, logical to hold that the Stone Circles at Gangapur are nothing but the continuation of the complex at Khapa. Between the two, however, the Khapa region has a larger concentration than that at Gangapur.

Within the limits of Gangapur can be plotted at least thirty Stone Circles sandwitched between the Kalari Hills to the north and a nala to the south which ultimately joins the river Krishna meandering at Khapa. Of the thirty, quite a large number of Stone Circles at Gangapur are ploughed off, and

several others denuded of their pebble filling in the construction of a road.

Three undisturbed Stone Circles were tapped here with a view to —

(a) verify the constructional features of these in relation to those at Khapa,

(b) know the contents,

(c) note the difference, if any, in the material equipment with that encountered in the Khapa Stone Circles, and

(d) get more comparative and corroborative data in relation to Takalghat evidence.

Relatively, it was found that the Stone Circles at Gangapur had a smaller diameter than that of Khapa circles. It was, therefore, thought that these might yield possibly somewhat different data.

As stated above, three Stone Circles were tapped. All these were cairn fillings.

Megalith 1 :

This was situated close to the west of the nala-gully and was somewhat oval on plan (Pl. VII). It had 11.10 m. EW and 8.10 m. NS diameters, and was distinct as its filling was prominent because of its rise over the surrounding plane.

The stratification revealed two materials. After having arranged the boulders in a circle, the central filling was executed. The boulders rested on the natural brownish-reddish murum, and within the circle came first the filling of sticky black clay capped by pebbles. The black clay and pebbles together formed a deposit of 1.37 metres. The peripheral boulders submerged about half by the filling of black clay and pebbles. The filling was so arranged that it was thicker at the periphery of the circle, whereas clay filling was maximum in the centre.

In the centre of the circle was found to have been made a shallow irregular depression about 27 cms. in depth in which were recovered a few very fragmentary charred bones kept in a globular pot of micaceous red ware. The pot was completely reduced to pieces but seemed to have been one with globular body and funnel shaped mouth (Fig. 22, T. G 9). Nearby it, within the depression, were found pieces of a rimless bowl of Black-and-Red ware. Both these were in a bad state of preservation.

Over this came the filling of black clay. This yielded a variety of iron objects and carnelian beads as follows :

NW	Quadrant :	Iron ladles (2); fishhook; nail-parers (2) with screwed body.
NE	Quadrant :	Iron ladle; rim of a copper bowl; pointed poker (fragmentary).
SE	Quadrant :	21 tiny globular beads of carnelian; fragmentary iron rods.
SW	Quadrant :	One flat chisel of iron.

Pottery of mainly three fabrics was recovered from the filling. It resolved itself into Black-and-Red with burnished surfaces, micaceous red, and coarse red. The count of the sherds showed that 445 sherds of the first, 1143 of the second and 3491 of the third were associated with the filling of the Stone Circle. It, therefore, showed that the ceramic association was dominantly of the coarse red ware, and the black-and-red was the minimum. No painted sherd was encountered.

Megalith 2 :

About fifty metres due south-east of Megalith 1 was Megalith 2 beyond the nalagully and forming part of a cluster of six circles close to one another. Being 11.45 metres EW and 12.5 metres NS in diameter, it was larger than Megalith 1 and hence was selected for tapping.

The mode of construction of this was akin to that exposed in the case of Megalith 1. The filling comprised black clay capped by pebbles, the former to a thickness of 1.37 metres and the latter 25 cms. The black clay rested over reddish murum surface bounded into a circle by the placement of

boulders. The pebble filling was thicker at the periphery whereas the clay deposit was maximum in the centre (Pl. IX-B).

No evidence of any deliberate depression in the centre of the murum surface was available as in Megalith I. The black clay was found to have been saturated with kanker formation at lower levels. Right over the murum, in the centre, were found very fragmentary bones nearby which were recovered badly crushed sherds of micaceous and coarse red fabric along with a complete iron axe with diagonally crossed ring fasteners.

Elsewhere in the filling were recovered antiquities as follows :

NW Quadrant : Iron arrowheads (2); thin bladed iron knife.

NE Quadrant : Copper bangles (6) (Pl. XIX-B); interlocked thin copper rings (Pl. XX-B); iron ladle.

SE Quadrant : Iron nail-parer; iron spear-head, iron axe with ring fastener.

SW Quadrant : Nothing except pottery.

The yield of pottery in the filling was relatively much less than that in Megalith I. However, here also only three fabrics were evidenced. 40 sherds of the Black-and-Red, 675 of the micaceous red and 1599 of the coarse red ware were collected in the filling. All these were very fragmentary and badly crushed.

Megalith 3 :

About 50 metres due east of Megalith 2 was situated this Stone Circle located close to the east of the route from Takalghat to Wateghat, north-west of the Kalari Hills. (Fig. 3). This was also oval on plan with an EW diameter of 11.50 metres and north-south 12.75 metres.

It was not possible to excavate the entire Stone Circle, hence a trench admeasuring a square of 4 metres was laid in the central and the highest area to verify whether it contained any human skeletal remains (Fig. 8).

The stratigraphy (Fig. 8) showed that over the reddish brownish murum was laid compact brown clay to a thickness of about a metre. In the centre of this filling was cut an uneven pit with a maximum depth of 0.75 metre in which black sticky clay and a few pebbles were laid. The whole deposit was capped by pebbles to a thickness of about 50 cms. The stratigraphy points to the possibility of re-opening an earlier burial containing brown clay and pebbles, redepositing black clay and pebbles in the centre, and capping this second deposit with pebbles. It was not possible to trace the pit-line to the topmost level of the filling, as the capping pebble material hardly held out any possibility of tracing the pit-line in the section. Due to this peculiar feature, this megalith had the thickest pebble deposit in the centre rather than at the margins as in the case of the two other Stone Circles described above. The contents of the pit filled with black clay yielded several human molars and other fragmentary bones kept in a dish of the black-and-red ware found absolutely in a smashed condition (Appendix I).

The ceramic content of the pit comprised 560 sherds of the coarse red ware and 406 of the black-and-red, all very fragmentary. No sherd of the micaceous red ware was encountered. No other antiquities except a few thin iron rod fragments were found.

4. Co-relation and Dating

TAKALGHAT

As indicated earlier, the habitations at Takalghat were culturally homogeneous on the basis of typological identity of material equipment. However, on considerations of certain traits associated with the habitational architecture, the deposits could be diversified into phases A, B and C which belong to one cultural period.

The material equipment of these three phases being to a large extent alike, it may not be illogical to surmise that the phases of occupation were not far removed from one another in point of time.

The lower and upper limits of phases IA and IC can be now worked out within the framework of reasonable possibilities on the basis of C14 date of carbonised material from layer 7A which is the earliest horizon for the middle phase (IB) of occupation at Takalghat. The details of this are as follows[1] :

TF/784 : Charcoal, TKG I, Locus III-IV, Layer (7A)
Depth 3.03 metres below surface
Field Register No. TKG 216
2505 ± 100 = 555 B. C.

Taking into consideration the two metre thick deposit of Phase IA, it could be possible that the beginning of megalithic habitation at Takalghat took place by the middle of the 7th Cent. B. C. with a margin of about fifty years both ways.

The proposed dating goes well with the C14 dating of the pre-megalithic phase and megalithic overlap at Hallur in District Dharwar in Mysore State. The Hallur dates are so far the earliest known. They are as follows[2] :

(i) TF 580 : Period IA : Layer 14 : Neolithic : 1710 ± 105 B. C.
(ii) TF 575 : Sub-period IB : Layer 7 : Pre-Megalithic : 1030±105 B.C.
(iii) TF 570 : Period II (Overlap) : Layer 6 : Megalithic overlap : 1105±105 B.C.
(iv) TF 573 : Period II (Overlap) : Layer 6 : Megalithic overlap : 955 ± 100 B. C.

It is apparent from these that megalithism was of an earlier date in Mysore. If it was in vogue in Mysore in about the beginning of the first millenium B. C., it is normally not expected to take three centuries to penetrate the Vidarbha region via Andhra Paradesh — for the southern and western parts of Maharashtra are devoid of megaliths. It is, therefore, likely that the beginning of habitation at Takalghat, which was culturally akin to the builders of the Stone Circles at Khapa, could possibly be earlier than the 7th Cent. B. C.

The period of the end of habitation at Takalghat cannot be certain. If the thickness of occupational deposit of Phases IB and IC could be any criterion, then it could be said that Phase IC may possibly be put to about a century later than 555 B.C., i. e. C. 450 B. C. with a margin of 50 years both ways. If, therefore, C. 400 B. C. is proposed, this gets confirmation from another C14 date from a site from the south. For instance, at Payampalli, a megalithic-neolithic site in North Arcot district in Tamilnadu, a dominantly stone-circle area, the date for *possibly* the end-megalithic period comes to 380±105 B. C.[3]

1. Thanks are due to Shri D. P. Agrawal of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, for working out the date. See *IA-R*, 1967-68, p. 71
2. AGRAWAL D. P., and KUSUMGAR, S., "Radio-carbon Dates of Samples from Southern Neolithic Site", *Current Science*, Vol. 35, Dec. 5, 1966, pp. 585-86
3. *Ibid.*

However, it may be made clear here that the horizon of this phase is not certain. It is also well known that megaliths continued till the early centuries of the Christian era as evidenced by the association of Roman antiquities with them in the south.

Khapa

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the material equipment encountered in the Stone Circles at Khapa and that from the habitation debris at Takalghat shows a remarkable homogeneity in respect of pottery — save the painted pottery which is absent in the Stone Circles — , beads, iron tools and implements and fauna. Therefore, the habitations at Takalghat prove to be contemporaneous with the Stone Circles at Khapa. Moreover, since there is little basic change in the material culture of Phases IA, IB and IC at Takalghat, it is logical to ascribe the Stone Circles at Khapa to all these three phases rather than circumscribe their creation to only one phase of Takalghat. As such, the Khapa Stone Circles can also be placed between C. 7-8th Cent. B. C. and C. 4th Cent. B. C.

Gangapur

Similar can be the case of Gangapur Stone Circles. As will be pointed out subsequently, the Stone Circles at Gangapur are nothing but the continuation of the field of Stone Circles at Khapa. Their contents are also the same as those found at Khapa. As such, they will fall within the same time bracket as that assigned to the Stone Circles at Khapa which, in turn, are culturally akin to the Takalghat habitations.

Taking into consideration the absence of such circles in Western and Southern Maharashtra (Fig. 1), and their early date in Vidarbha as attested by C14 showing, it is apparent that Vidarbha, in very early times, came under the impact of megalithic culture, though it seemed to have enriched it by adding its own painted pottery tradition. This painted pottery, completely unlike the known Chalcolithic painted pottery of Maharashtra, has been so far reported from the earliest horizons at Kaundinyapura in Amaravati District and Paunar in Wardha District, both belonging to the Vidarbha region. At the former site, it has been found in "megalithic context" in a full-fledged iron age complex as has also been the case at Paunar, though at both these places no Stone Circles are reported so far. Whoever may be the authors, the knowledge of a well developed iron and bronze technology and the use of a distinct painted ceramic in the early centuries of the first millenium B. C. seem to have given a archaeo-technological and cultural individuality to the Vidarbha region.

5. Pottery

As stated earlier, the material equipment in the three phases of occupation at Takalghat remained basically unchanged. Pottery was no exception to this. The ceramic associations of Phases IA, IB and IC remained practically unaltered save in the last, where it got mixed up with late pottery obviously due to the pit digging activity which contributed to the large scale destruction of topmost deposits.

(A) POTTERY FROM TAKALGHAT

Phase IA.

(FIGS. 9-10)

The ceramic content of this phase of occupation comprised—

(i) painted black-on-red ware,
(ii) black burnished ware,
(iii) black-and-red ware,
(iv) tan slipped ware,
(v) matt red ware,
(vi) coarse red ware, and
(vii) micaceous red ware.

Amongst these, the micaceous red ware was numerically the most profuse, the coarse red coming next. Between the black burnished and the black-and-red, the former was more in quantity. It is quite possible that it is akin to the latter as it was found in fragments. The painted ware formed 0.5% of the entire collection.

The rest were represented in a negligible quantity.

Painted Black-on-red Ware

(Fig. 9; Pl. V)

This comprised four main fabrics as follows :

(a) Thick fabric with only the external surface having a matt red slip; gritty core; internal surface rough and either dull red or drab blackish-brown;

(b) Similar to above but much thinner and with the external surface having a relatively bright red slip burnished; the internal surface dull brown; core uniformly brown fired;

(c) Thick as (a) above but with both the surfaces scarlet red slipped and burnished, core as in (b); and

(d) Medium thick with both the surfaces having a matt brown slip slightly burnished; core slightly porous and uniformly dull brown.

Of these four, the first was represented by the maximum number of sherds, while Fabric (b) was the least. In almost all the four fabrics, mica particles are present in the slip but not in the core. It may be noted that the percentage of mica is higher in sherds of thicker fabric.

All these fabrics are wheel-turned, though, as stated above, the surface treatment differs. Save Fabric (c), all the rest have a drab red appearance. The firing of Fabric (a) is uniformly bad as the sherds are brittle and the core wears out if brushed with fingers.

These fabrics in no way show any technical or typological affinity with the Chalcolithic wares of Jorwe and Malwa. These are also totally different from the early historical painted wares.

The painted ware from Takalghat, of all the three phases of occupation, is completely identical with the one reported from Paunar I. Similar painted ware is also reported from Kaundinyapura I, designated as belonging to "megalithic culture".

Though no painted pottery has come to light from Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur opposite Takalghat, Junapani near Nagpur has reported a painted bowl with a hole-mouth spout from one of the Stone Circles.[1] Since, however, no detailed report on Junapani is yet available, it is not possible to compare Paunar, Kaundinyapura and Takalghat painted ware with that from Junapani.

Type 1 : *Globular Pot*

Fig. 9, T 1 : Fragment of a small globular pot with uniformly medium thick sides, externally painted with Design No. 1; Fabric (a)
13, TKG, (9)

Designs associated with Type 1 :

Fig. 9, D 1 : Two parallel lines externally; Fabric (a)
13, TKG, (9)

D 2 : A group of three lines on the neck portion externally; Fabric (a)
18, TKG, (9)

D 3 : Similar to D2 above but lines more precise; Fabric (a)
20, TKG, (10)

D 4 : A series of parallel lines around the neck and upper belly externally; Fabric (c)
7, TKG, (11)

D 5 : A series of parallel lines capped by a slanting ladder design; Fabric (b)
6, TKG, (11)

D 6 : Medium thick sherd, design of two thin parallel lines capping a ladder motif; Fabric (a)
11, TKG, (9)

D 7 : Latticed diamonds in a series horizontally over a pair of parallel lines[2]; Fabric (a)
9, TKG, (9)

D 8 : Groups of three parallel strokes horizontally, externally on the neck; Fabric (a)
19, TKG, (9)

D 9 : Triple parallel bands capped by a design of a group of short horizontal strokes cut by a vertical line; Fabric (a)
8, TKG, (9)

D 10 : A group of horizontal lines on the sloping belly, with a dot; Fabric (a)
56, TKG, (8)

D 11 : Grid pattern drawn haltingly; Fabric (c)
60, TKG, (8)

D 12 : A group of eight vertical strokes on the upper belly externally; Fabric (a)
55, TKG, (8)

Type 2 : *Shallow Bowls or Funnel Mouths* (*?*)

Fig. 9, T 2 : Fragment of a shallow bowl or funnel mouth with externally thickened rim, bearing internally a group of four short vertical strokes and externally a group of vertical strokes and horizontal parallel lines; Fabric (a)
12, TKG, (8)

2 A : Similar to above but with somewhat elongated bulbous rim externally; Fabric (c)
51, TKG, (8)

2 B : Similar to above but with short and externally bulbous rim, painted design as on T. 2 A; Fabric (c)
52, TKG, (8)

Type 3 : *Basins with bulbous sides*

Fig. 9, T 3 : Fragment of a basin with medium thick bulbous sides, Design No. 13 externally; Fabric (c)
68, TKG, (9)

1. *IA-R*, 1961-62, p. 34 2. cf. Paunar, Fig. 4, D 7

D 13 : Groups of wavy horizontal lines.

T 3 A : Fragment, similar to above but with sides relatively straight; Design externally as on T. 2 above; Fabric (c)
53, TKG, (8)

Design on a fragmentary sherd :

Fig. 9, D 14 : Flag design externally on the carination; Fabric (c)
63, TKG, (8)

Black Burnished Ware

(Fig.9, T 4-6B; Fig. 10, T. 7-8A)

This occurs right from Layer (11) the earliest occupational horizon. It may be stated that this outnumbers the apparent Black-and-Red There are two fabrics in this :

(a) thin, with better burnished surfaces and a dull black core,

(b) thicker, less burnished and with gritty core.

The percentage of the latter is more than the former. However, there is basically no typological divergence between the two. It is also possible that the black-burnished could belong to the black-and-red, though no sherds of the former have preserved their base portions which are red in the latter. As such, wherever a specimen is clearly black-and-red, it is grouped under that head as such. It may be noted that both these occur in the filling of the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur.

Type 4 : *Rimless Bowls with convex sides*

Fig. 9, T 4 : Fragment of a rimless bowl with black burnished surfaces and with a groove externally below the edge; Fabric (a)
14, TKG, (9)

4 A : Fragment, similar to above but with thicker sides; Fabric (b)
41, TKG (9)

4 B : Similar to above but with bulbous sides; Fabric (a)
40, TKG, (10)

4 C : Rimless bowl fragment with rounded edge and sides slightly flaring; Fabric (a)
30, TKG, (11)

4 D : Fragment similar to above but with sides relatively more bulbous; Fabric (a)
44, TKG, (9)

4 E : Bowl fragment, rimless, thin flaring sides, carination near base; Fabric (a)
33, TKG, (10)

4 F : Fragment, rimless bowl, small size, deep, sides tapering, carination near base; Fabric (b)
73, TKG, (8)

4 G : Rimless bowl fragment with thick sides, carination near base, bigger and broader than T. 4 F; Fabric (b)
70, TKG, (8)

4 H : Rimless bowl, thick sides, externally banded edge; Fabric (b)
68, TKG, (8)

4 I : Bowl, rimless, thin sides, edge bevelled in, slightly flaring; Fabric (a)
71, TKG, (8)

4 J : Rimless bowl, flaring sides, externally closely grooved middle portion; Fabric (a)
71 A, TKG, (8)

4 K : Fragment similar to above but edge internally bulbous, externally grooved closely; Fabric (a)
45, TKG (10)

Type 5 : *Dishes*

Fig. 9, T 5 : Fragment of a dish, in-tilted sides, carination near base; Fabric (b)
28, TKG, (8)

5 A : Similar to above, straight short sides of uniform thickness; Fabric (b)
38, TKG, (10)

5 B : Fragment, dish, similar to above but with short convex sides; Fabric (b) 41, TKG, (9)

5 C : Fragment of a dish with double carination, at edge and base, sides of uniform thickness; Fabric (b) 69, TKG, (8)

5 D : Fragmentary dish, similar to above but with relatively high sides and with a ledge externally; Fabric (b) 75, TKG, (8)

Type 6 : *Basins*

All these are essentially in Fabric (b)

Fig. 9, T 6 : Fragmentary basin with undercut edge and slightly convex sides with uniform thickness. 34, TKG, (9)

6 A : Fragment, similar to above but with somewhat straight sides, externally banded edge. 79, TKG, (8)

6 B : Fragment of a basin, possibly deep, straight sides, bulbous edge, porous surfaces. 38, TKG, (9)

Type 7 : *Globular Pot*

Fig. 10, T 7 : Fragment of a pot with short concave neck, rounded rim, possibly globular body, both surfaces burnished; Fabric (b) 31, TKG, (9)

Type 8 : *Covers*

Fig. 10, T 8 : Fragment of a cover with tapering sides ending in a domical top, internally rounded rim[3]; Fabric (b) 31a, TKG, (9)

8 A : Fragment, cover with low sloping sides, surfaces black burnished, banded rim externally[4]; Fabric (b) 78, TKG, (8)

Black-and-Red Ware

(Fig. 10, T 9-10)

This occurs from the earliest occupational horizon. However, the sherds of the black-and-red ware were exceptionally fragmentary and with affected surfaces as only patches of burnished areas could be noticed.

As stated earlier, there is a typological similarity between this ware and the black burnished described above. This might indicate the identity between both these. However, some of the shapes, *viz.*- T. 6, 7 and 8 were found to be absent in the black-and-red.

If, however, a distinction is to be made on the basis of the numerical strength of the sherds, it may be stated that the black-burnished was three times the number of the black-and-red. Fabric (a) of the black burnished was found to have been lesser in quantity than the black-and-red.

Type 9 : *Rimless Bowl*

Fig. 10, T 9 : Fragment of a rimless bowl with convex sides tapering to a point; thicker fabric. 32, TKG, (9)

Type 10 : *Dish*

Fig. 10, T 10 : Fragmentary dish with carination near base, somewhat short straight sides, bevelled-in edge. (Cf. T. 5A) 32a, TKG, (9)

Tan Slipped Ware

(Fig. 10, T. 11-12)

This is represented only in the upper horizons of Phase IA. The ware is medium thick with brown red core devoid of grit. The surfaces are treated

3. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 13, T. P. 3; Maski, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 13, Fig. 23, T. 24
4. Brahmagiri, T. P. 2

with a thin tan slip. Compared to the matt red ware described below, the tan slipped stands apart with slightly burnished surfaces and distinct shapes.

Type 11 : *Short funnel mouth with banded rim*

Fig. 10, T 11 : Fragment of a pot with short funnel shaped flared mouth banded externally (Cf. T. 2 B)
39, TKG, (9)

Type 12 : *Pot with globular body, short concave neck and flaring mouth*

Fig. 10, T 12 : Fragment of a pot with short concave neck, globular body, flaring rim with a ledge externally, rounded out edge of rim.
11, TKG (9)

Matt Red Ware

(Fig. 10, Types 13-16)

This ware is characterised by dull brown surfaces treated with a mechanical slip. It is wheel turned, shows a variety in typology and occurs from the earliest occupational horizon. The core is brown flanked by black on either side, and the clay is full of degraissant in the form of fine sand and straw pieces. The ware becomes numerically abundant in the upper horizons of Phase IA.

Type 13 : *Rimless Bowl*

Fig. 10, T 13 : Fragment, rimless bowl with thick sides, bevelled in edge.
37, TKG, (9)

Type 14 : *Pots with hooded mouth*

This shape[5] is reminiscent of similar types in painted pottery at Paunar I.

Fig. 10, T 14 : Fragment of a pot with a short narrow neck, possibly globular body and somewhat flaring hooded mouth with rounded-in rim.
108, TKG, (8)

14 A : Fragmentary pot similar to above but with broad neck and short hooded mouth.
118, TKG, (8)

Type 15 : *Pot with short concave neck*

Fig. 10, T 15 : Fragment of a pot with short concave neck, possibly elongated body and out-turned bulbous rim.
108, TKG, (8)

Type 16 : *Basin*

Fig. 10, T 16 : Fragmentary basin with carination at the shoulder, concave sides and plano-convex rim, sides getting thicker towards the base.[6]
121, TKG, (8)

Coarse Red Ware

(Fig. 10, T. 17-18)

This ware is represented mostly by fragments of storage jars, and is handmade with the surfaces untreated. The core is uniformly gritty and ill-fired. The ware runs through all the three phases of occupation as also in the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur.

Type 17 : *Basins*

Fig. 10, T 17 : Fragment of a basin, handmade, thick flaring sides getting thicker towards the base.
50, TKG, (9)

17 A : Fragmentary basin, rather shallow, uniformly thick sides, shallow groove over the edge, handmade.
76, TKG, (8)

Type 18 : *Storage Jar*

Fig. 10, T 18 : Fragment of the flat base of a storage jar, handmade.
102, TKG, (8)

5. Deo, S. B. and Dhavalikar, M. K., *op. cit.*, p. 20 : Fig. 4, T. 3 D
6. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 14, P 10; Fig. 15, P 19, P 19a

Micaceous Red Ware

(Fig. 10, T. 19-23)

This ware is represented profusely in all the phases of occupation at Takalghat and in all the excavated Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur. It may be noted that this ware is identical with that reported[7] from Paunar I and in the so-called "Megalithic Period" of Kaundinyapura[8]. It was also encountered in the Stone Circles at Junapani[9]. Thus, this ware, along with the other unpainted wares common both to the habitation and the Stone Circles at Takalghat and Khapa-Gangapur respectively, links up the habitation and the burials on the one hand and Paunar I, Kaundinyapura I and Junapani with Takalghat and Khapa on the other.

This ware contains mica flakes in clay in profusion which makes it brittle. The core is blackish and the surfaces rather rough and coarse because of mica. Pot with funnel mouth, globular body and constricted or short concave neck is the oft-represented shape in this, which occurs in the habitational deposits and the Stone Circle filling. It may also be noted that this ware has so far not been reported from Western Maharashtra, but comes from a number of sites in Andhra Pradesh.

There is also a remarkable feature of this ware. Whereas most of this is unpainted, a few sherds painted in black mostly on the flared mouth have been reported both from Paunar and Takalghat. Painted sherds even of this ware were found to be absent in the Stone Circles.

Type 19 : *Pots with funnel mouth*

Fig. 10, T 19 : Fragment, pot with constricted neck, short flared mouth, sides with uniform thickness.[10]
23, TKG, (10)

19 A : Similar to above, smaller in size, slightly elongated flared mouth.
15, TKG, (9)

19 B : Fragment, similar to above but with relatively longer flared mouth.
16, TKG, (11)

19 C : Fragment, pot with globular body, short funnel mouth.[11]
97, TKG, (8)

19 D : Fragment, big size pot with flared mouth, squared edge.
98, TKG, (8)

Type 20 : *Kunda*

Fig. 10, T 20 : Fragment of a Kunda with flaring and medium thick sides.
104, TKG, (8)

20 A : Similar to above but broader and shallow.
24, TKG, (10)

Type 21 : *Storage Jars*

Fig. 10, T 21 : Fragment of the base of a storage jar, flat under-surface, handmade.
29, TKG, (10)

21 A : Similar to above but relatively thinner and broader.
29a, TKG, (10)

Type 22 : *Bowl*

Fig. 10, T 22 : A complete bowl with convex sides, disc base.
29b, TKG, (10)

Type 23 : *Rimless Pot*

Fig. 10, T 23 : Fragment of a rimless pot, possibly with elongated body, tapering sides, open mouth.
107, TKG, (8)

Phase IB

(Figs. 11-19)

The habitational deposits of this phase of occupation at Takalghat were characterised by an

7. Deo and Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 31
8. Dikshit M. G., *op. cit.*, p. 33
9. *IA-R*, 1961-62, p. 33 : "Ware tempered with micaceous grit"
10. Kaundinyapura, T. 58 A
11. Kaundinyapura, T. 62 B

abundant out-turn of ceramic evidence. Numerically, all the wares available in Phase IA were encountered here in larger quantities. This could be explained on the basis of the evidence of a series of floor-levels traced in the remains of this phase which bespoke of a relatively better populated habitation than that in Phase IA.

The wares continue to be the same and there is typological continuity. For instance, the painted black-on-red, the black burnised, the black-and-red, the micaceous red, the matt red, the coarse red ware and the tan slipped—, all these continue. Added to this appears a small quantity of the red slipped and the drab grey wares.

Painted Black-on-Red Ware

(Fig. 11; Fig. 12, T. 24-33)

The painted pottery with all its four fabrics continues in this phase as well. However, there are certain features which may be noted in relation to the occurrence of this ware in association with this phase of occupation.

In this phase, there appears a greater variety of painted designs than that in the earlier one. Loops and dots (D 21 and D 34) are introduced for the first time and the lattice pattern (D 17) dominates. Secondly, so far as the fabrics are concerned, there appear relatively a larger number of sherds which are thinner in fabric and both the surfaces of which are red-slipped and burnished (Fabric 'd'). Thirdly, some new shapes like dishes (T. 26), small globular pots (T. 24 A) and potstands with hollow stems appear; and designs of Phase IA continue in this phase also.

Painted Designs (Fig. 11)

Fig. 11, D 15 : Groups of horizontal bands drawn haltingly (cf. Paunar, Fig. 4, D 2); Fabric (d),
515, TKG, (5)

D 16 : Similar to above but with the group of horizontal bands overlain by a vertical one; Fabric (a)
348, TKG, (5)

D 17 : Close rectangular lattice; Fabric (d)
368a, TKG, (5)

D 17 A : Similar to above but more neatly drawn with less thick lines; Fabric (b)
338, TKG, (4)

D 17 B : Broad diagonally drawn lattice; Fabric (d)
358, TKG, (4)

D 17 C : Lattice design drawn with brisk strokes between slanting lines; Fabric (d)
338a, TKG, (6)

D 17 D : Close lattice pattern with thin slanting lines overlain by thick ones, capped by a band; Fabric (a)
344, TKG, (4)

D 17 E : Similar to above but with thick overlying bands, design flanked by marginal lines; Fabric (a)
200, TKG, (7)

D 17 F : Lattice pattern of slanting lines overlain by pairs of lines at irregular distance; Fabric (a)
343, TKG, (4)

D 17 G : Lattice formed by vertical lines enclosing loops; Fabric (b)
1625, TKG, (3)

D 17 H : Lattice formed by connected loops capping one another between bands; Fabric (d)
1636, TKG, (3)

D 18 : Design of connected short horizontal lines drawn haltingly; Fabric (b)
347, TKG, (4)

D 19 : Vertical line with short horizontal strokes : "Comb" pattern; Fabric (b)
210, TKG, (7)

D 19 A : Bands capped by slanting comb-pattern; Fabric (a)
227, TKG, (7)

D 19 B : Similar to above but capped by a pair of horizontal parallel lines, neatly drawn; Fabric (c)
227a, TKG, (7)

D 19 C : Similar to above but less thick and flanked by horizontal lines; Fabric (a)
227 b, TKG, (7)

D 19 D : Similar to above but with "teeth" thick and closely drawn; Fabric (a)
214, TKG, (7)

D 20 : Groups of short horizontal lines; Fabric (a)
95, TKG, (7a)

D 20 A : Groups of slanting short lines with the uppermost of each group connected to form a shallow chevron[12]; Fabric (a)
95a, TKG, (7a)

D 20 B : Groups of short horizontal lines drawn at random; Fabric (b)
353, TKG, (4)

D 21 : Vertical pile of dots thickening at upper horizons below a pair of horizontal lines; Fabric (b)
88, TKG, (7a)

D 21 A : Similar to above but with dots of equal dimensions; Fabric (b)
88a, TKG, (7a)

D 22 : Pattern of vertical piles of short horizontal strokes; Fabric (d)
1664, TKG, (3)

D 22 A : Vertical rows of short diminishing crescents; Fabric (a)
1796, TKG, (4)

D 22 B : Possibly vertical piles of alternately opening crescents and horizontal bands; Fabric (b)
382, TKG, (5)

D 23 : Design comprising horizontal lines encompassing dots, a short vertical line and three slanting horizontal lines; Fabric (b)
84, TKG, (7a)

D 24 : Lattice capping a group of three horizontal lines below which are possibly short thick crescents; Fabric (b)
84a, TKG, (7a)

D 25 : Groups of parallel horizontal bands with a pair of slanting lines below; Fabric (c)
349, TKG, (4)

D 25 A : Similar to above but with numerous horizontal bands closely drawn; Fabric (a)
348, TKG, (4)

D 26 : Similar to D 25 above but neatly drawn with thin lines; Fabric (b)
1596, TKG, (3)

D 27 : Groups of vertical parallel lines above horizontal band; Fabric (a)
207, TKG, (7)

D 28 : Groups of slanting lines capped by a horizontal line; Fabric (d)
221, TKG, (7)

D 29 : A pair of horizontal lines with irregular thickness, the lower one capping three vertical lines; Fabric (d)
366, TKG, (5)

D 30 : Groups of parallel horizontal bands capped by possibly a "comb" design; Fabric (d)
240, TKG, (7)

D 31 : Groups of horizontal lines capped by an indeterminate design; Fabric (b)
374, TKG, (5)

D 32 : Pair of horizontal lines with slanting parallel lines overlain by lines slanting in opposite directions; Fabric (d)
2154, TKG, (4)

12. Cf. Paunar, Fig. 4, D 2

D 33 : Fragmentary design, possibly vertically opening double-line-chevron capped by a pair of horizontal parallel lines; Fabric (b)
1340a, TKG, (5)

D 34 : Horizontal pair of lines, the upper one capped by loops; Fabric (b)
2320, TKG, (5)

D 35 : Short, thick, parallel, horizontal pair of strokes above with a horizontal line capping double loop below; Fabric (d)
2062, TKG, (4)

D 36 : Groups of horizontal lines capped by groups of slanting parallel lines; Fabric (b)
2176, TKG, (4)

D 37 : Groups of slanting lines, pair of horizontal lines with a vertical line overlying the latter; Fabric (b)
2155, TKG, (4)

D 38 : Pair of horizontal lines capping a pattern of vertically piled up multiple loops; Fabric (a)
1351, TKG, (4)

D 39 : A leaf pattern; Fabric (b)
1351a, TKG, (3)

D 40 : Slanting lines; Fabric (a)
2029, TKG, (3)

D 41 : Lattice and slanting wavy line; Fabric (b)
1350, TKG, (3)

D 42 : Possibly broad chevron of thick bands; Fabric (a)
219, TKG, (7)

D 43 : Pair of horizontal lines overlain by chevron like motif; Fabric (b)
2037, TKG, (4)

Type 24 : *Squat Globular Pots*

Fig. 12, T 24 : Fragment of a pot with squat globular body, short concave neck, possibly flaring mouth, external surface bearing connected series of vertically piled loops, Fabric (d)
348, TKG, (4)

24 A : Fragmentary pot with more globular body, externally bearing Design No. 44, Fabric (d)
206, TKG, (4)

Painted Designs

Fig. 12, D 44 : Horizontal latticed band capping latticed horizontal connected row of diamonds; Fabric (b)
206, TKG, (4)

D 45 : Serpent hood motif; Fabric (b)
216, TKG, (7)

D 46 : Groups of random strokes; Fabric (b)
384, TKG, (5)

Type 25 : *Pot with possibly cylindrical body*

Fig. 12, T 25 : Fragment of a pot with possibly cylindrical body, somewhat high neck externally bearing Design No. 47; Fabric (b)
204, TKG, (7)

D 47 : Latticed horizontal band capping slanting "comb" pattern.
204, TKG, (7)

Type 26 : *Dishes*

Fig. 12, T 26 : Fragment of a dish with convex sides, internally bearing parallel lines and externally short strokes at the edge; Fabric (d)
1608, TKG, (3)

D 48 : Series of parallel vertical lines,
1608, TKG, (3)

26 A : Dish, similar to T. 26 above, but smaller and with less convex sides; Fabric (d)
337, TKG, (4)

Type 27: *Basins*

Fig. 12, T 27 : Basin with deep plano-convex edge, slightly convex sides, Design No. 49 externally; Fabric (d)
246, TKG, (7)

D 49 : Pattern of slanting thick vertical lines with pegs to right; Fabric (d)
247, TKG, (7)

T 27 A : Basin, small size, convex sides, bulbous rim, Design No. 50 externally; Fabric (d)
246, TKG, (7)

D 50 : Groups of vertically drawn parallel lines, strokes and dots.
246, TKG, (7)

Type 28 : *Shallow Bowls*

Fig. 12. T 28 : Small bowl with externally bulbous edge, internally bearing short strokes, externally very short strokes, loops and horizontal line; Fabric (b)
336, TKG, (4)

28 A : Similar to above but deeper, bulbous edge, both the surfaces bearing short strokes on the edge; Fabric (b)
1398, TKG, (3)

28 B : Fragment similar to above but deeper, the edge bearing strokes and solid triangles; Fabric (b)
199, TKG, (5)

Type 29 : *Shallow Plate*

Fig. 12, T 29 : Fragment of possibly a small plate with bulbous rim, externally and internally bearing painted strokes on the rim; Fabric (d)
229, TKG, (7)

Type 30 : *Pots with flared mouth*

Fig. 12, T 30 : Fragment of a big size pot with possibly globular body, funnel shaped mouth bulbous rim, the internal and external regions of the rim bearing slanting lines and short strokes respectively; Fabric (d)
1400, TKG, (3)

30 A : Fragment, similar to T. 30 above but thick, concave neck, bulbous rim, painted strokes internally; Fabric (d)
199, TKG, (7)

30 B : Fragment, similar to above, medium thick, internally bulbous rim, strokes on rim internally and externally; Fabric (a)
198, TKG, (7)

30 C : Fragment, possibly high neck, flared mouth, plano-convex rim, four short vertical lines on internal surface of rim; Fabric (d)
236, TKG, (7)

30 D : Fragment, broad flaring mouth, thick bulbous rim, the rim bearing horizontal parallel lines externally; Fabric (a)
220, TKG, (7)

30 E : Fragment, similar to T. 30A, rim plano-convex, random strokes externally on the rim; Fabric (a)
1442, TKG, (3)

30 F : Small size specimen, short concave neck, internally bulbous rim, short strokes on both surfaces of rim; Fabric (b)
1518, TKG, (3)

30 G : Fragment, thin, small size, flared mouth externally bearing a ledge, random strokes on both surfaces; Fabric (b)
228, TKG, (7)

30 H : Fragment, short flared mouth, concave neck, incipient rim, strokes on both surfaces of rim; Fabric (b)
2296, TKG, (5)

Type 31 : *Pottery Stands*

Fig. 12, T 31 : Fragment of a small size pottery-stand with flaring sides, hollow

stem, externally painted with "comb" design and groups of vertical lines; Fabric (d)
1657, TKG, (3)

31 A : Fragment, similar to above but rather shallow and with a groove on the external surface; painted on both surfaces; Fabric (d)
1658, TKG, (7)

31 B : Similar to above but small size, external surface bearing a decoration of slanting rows of dots between pairs of lines drawn horizontally[13]; Fabric (d)
1659, TKG, (7)

31 C : Similar to above but smaller and with both surfaces having painted patterns; Fabric (d)
1660, TKG, (7)

Type 32 : *Storage Jars*

Fig. 12, T 32 : Fragment of a thick-sided storage jar, possibly with cylindrical neck, handmade, gritty core, external surface bearing horizontal parallel lines and groups of strokes; Fabric (a)
232, TKG, (7)

32 A : Fragment of a storage jar possibly with sloping sides, externally bearing a design similar to that on T. 32 above; Fabric (a)
233, TKG, (7)

Type 33 : *Pot with flared mouth and constricted neck*

Fig. 12, T 33 : Fragment, pot with flared mouth, constricted neck, vertical strokes on both surfaces of the rim; Fabric (b)
233a, TKG, (7)

Black Burnished Ware

(Fig. 13, T. 34-42; Fig. 14, T. 43-49)

The technical details of this ware in this phase show absolutely no deviation from those noted in Phase IA. However, the thicker fabric appears to be relatively much more than the thinner. Bowls and dishes continue to be the shapes most represented. Deep bowl (T. 37) and bowl with flared sides (T. 38) appear to have been introduced in this phase.

Type 34 : *Bowls with sagger base and bulbous sides*

Fig. 13, T 34 : Fragment of a bowl with rather wide mouth, slightly beaked edge; Fabric (b)
449, TKG, (3)

34 A : Bowl fragment, flaring sides, beaked edge; Fabric (b)
1135, TKG, (7a)

Type 35 : *Rimless Bowls with convex sides*

Fig. 13, T 35 : Fragmentary bowl with convex sides; Fabric (b)
439, TKG, (3)

35 A : Similar to above but smaller in size, bevelled in edge; Fabric (b)
448, TKG, (3)

35 B : Similar to T. 35 above but with less bulbous sides; Fabric (b)
1444, TKG, (7a)

35 C : Medium size bowl with convex sides; Fabric (a)
456, TKG, (3)

35 D : Small size rimless bowl with rounded base; Fabric (a)
567, TKG, (5)

35 E : Rimless bowl with convex sides, bluntly beaked edge as in T. 34; Fabric (a)
162, TKG, (7)

Type 36 : *Hemispherical Bowls*

Fig. 13, T 36 : Fragment of a rimless bowl, hemispherical in outline, uniformly thick sides; Fabric (b)
436, TKG, (3)

13. This shape also occurs in the Stone Circles at Khapa but in an unpainted coarse red ware; cf. Pl. XXII, B; also Fig. 21, T. K17; Fig. 22, T. K23; G5 and G5A.

36 A : Bowl, small size, bulbous sides less flaring than those of T. 36 above, and getting thinner towards the base; Fabric (a)
438, TKG, (3)

36 B : Similar to above but bigger in size, thicker sides, bevelled in edge; Fabric (b)
1270, TKG, (6)

36 C : Similar to above but with less bulbous sides, bevelled in edge; Fabric (b)
1263, TKG, (6)

Type 37 : *Deep, straight-sided Bowls*

Fig. 13, T 37 : Fragment of a deep bowl with thick straight sides with ridges externally; Fabric (b)
437, TKG, (3)

37 A : Fragment, similar to above but with plain exterior and pointed edge; Fabric (b)
443, TKG, (3)

37 B : Bowl, smaller, deep, sides getting bulbous towards base; Fabric (b)
458, TKG, (3)

Type 38 : *Bowl with flared mouth*

Fig. 13, T 38 : Fragment of a small size bowl with thin sides, flared rim; Fabric (a)
457, TKG, (3)

Type 39 : *Deep Dishes with tapering base*

Fig. 13 T 39 : Fragment of a dish with straight plano-convex short sides[14]; Fabric (b)
1174, TKG, (7)

39 A : Fragment similar to above but bigger in size, deep, banded exterior, intilted edge; Fabric (b)
445, TKG, (3)

39 B : Dish, similar to above, tapering base, straight sides, rounded edge[15]; Fabric (b)
1178, TKG, (7)

Type 40 : *Shallow Dishes*

Fig. 13, T 40 : Dish fragment, bulbous edge, less deep, grooved exterior[16]; Fabric (b)
444, TKG, (3)

40 A : Similar to above but less deep, grooved exterior; Fabric (b)
446, TKG, (3)

40 B : Dish fragment, big size, convex sides, flattish base, broadly grooved exterior; Fabric (b)
1262, TKG, (6)

40 C : Similar to T. 39 C above but with convex sides, rounded edge and grooved exterior; Fabric (b)
1127, TKG, (7a)

Type 41 : *Kundas*

Fig. 13, T 41 : Fragment of possibly a deep kunda with convex flaring sides, rounded in-going edge; Fabric (b)
1137, TKG, (7a)

41 A : Similar to above but sides less convex, ridged exterior, bevelled edge; Fabric (b)
1131, TKG, (7a)

41 B : Similar to above but with grooved exterior and bevelled edge; Fabric (b)
1138, TKG, (7a)

Type 42 : *Plain Dish with convex sides*

Fig. 13, T 42 : Small size dish with flat base, convex sides, bevelled edge, plain surfaces; Fabric (b)
452, TKG, (3)

14. Kaundinyapura, T. 83
15. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, p. 218, Fig. 14, p. 13
16. *Ibid.*, Fig. 17, No. 1

Type 43 : *Covers*

Fig. 14, T 43 : Cover, low, squat domical, bulbous rim; Fabric (b)
1122, TKG, (7a)

43 A : Similar to above but low and more flat, edge internally grooved; Fabric (b)
1134, TKG, (7a)

43 B : A cover, possibly elongated high top; Fabric (b)
1138, TKG, (7a)

Type 44 : *Stepped domical Lids*

Fig. 14, T 44 : A lid or cover, stepped exterior, thin sides; Fabric (a)
1232, TKG, (7)

44 A : Small lid, squat domical grooved exterior; Fabric (b)
1236, TKG, (7)

44 B : Similar to above but less squat; Fabric (b)
1180, TKG, (7)

44 C : Lid with low domical outline, grooved exterior; Fabric (a)
1634, TKG, (6)

44 D : Similar to T. 44B above but bigger in size; Fabric (b)
1280, TKG, (7a)

Type 45 : *Pot with flaring mouth*

Fig. 14, T 45 : Pot with flaring mouth, constricted neck, bulbous rim undercut[17]; Fabric (b)
1666, TKG, (7)

Type 46 *Pot with squat globular body*

Fig. 14, T 46 : Fragment of a pot with squat globular body, slightly out-turned rim, grooved on the belly externally; Fabric (a)
1290, TKG, (5)

Type 47 : *Pot with bulbous body*

Fig. 14, T 47 : Pot with bulbous body, constricted neck, short flared rim; Fabric (b)
1173, TKG, (7)

Type 48 : *Lid-hold*

Fig. 14, T 48 : Fragment of a lid-hold, flared base, short projection on the upper end; Fabric (b)
1264, TKG, (6)

Type 49 : *Pottery Stand*

Fig. 14, T 49 : Fragment of possibly a pottery-stand double-funnel shaped, graffiti on the internal surface consisting of three groups of five radiating lines; Fabric (b)
1265, TKG, (6)

Black-and-Red Ware

(Fig. 14, T. 50-54; Fig. 15, T. 55-56)

As in the earlier ware, the thin fabric of the black-and-red in this phase lessens and the thicker abounds in quantity. Almost all the types of Phase IA continue. As in the former, in this phase also rimless bowls and dishes dominate. Another noteworthy feature is that several of the sherds of this ware bear graffiti, parallels for which can be had from Kaundinyapura[18] I and the black-and-red ware reported from the megaliths at Sanur.[19]

Type 50 : *Hemispherical rimless Bowls*

Fig. 14, T 50 : Hemispherical bowl, rimless, bevelled in edge; Fabric (b)
786, TKG, (6)

50 A : Similar to above, small size, grooved near base, bevelled edge; Fabric (a)
786, TKG, (6)

17. Kaundinyapura, T. 139

18. Figs. 27 and 29

19. *Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, Pl. XX, No. C, 3-5

Type 51 : *Rimless Bowls, less deep, covex sides*

Fig. 14, T 51 : Rimless bowl, bevelled in edge, convex sides, convex base; Fabric (a)
1274, TKG, (6)

51 A : Similar to above but sides unevenly thick, pointed edge; Fabric (b)
1275, TKG, (6)

51 B : Similar to T. 51 but beaked up edge; Fabric (b)
441, TKG, (3)

51 C : Rimless bowl with convex sides, bevelled-in edge, sides getting thicker towards base; Fabric (a)
1126, TKG, (7a)

51 D : Similar to above but deeper, thin sides, bevelled-in edge; Fabric (a)
1164, TKG, (7)

Type 52 : *Bowls with flaring sides*

Fig. 14, T 52 : Rimless bowl, deep, flared sides, pointed edge; Fabric (b)
1130, TKG, (7a)

52 A : Similar to above but bigger, sides unevenly thick; Fabric (b)
1128, TKG, (7a)

Type 53 : *Bowls with bulbous sides*

Fig. 14, T 53 : A complete bowl, saggering base, bulbous shoulder, grooved externally, beaked edge, sides thinning towards the base; Fabric (b)
1233, TKG, (6)

53 A : Fragment similar to above but smaller, sides tapering to base; Fabric (b)
1163, TKG, (7)

Type 54 : *Bowl with incipient carination*

Fig. 14, T 54 : Rimless bowl with somewhat flaring sides; incipient carination near base; Fabric (b)
1167, TKG, (7)

Type 55 : *Dishes*

Fig. 15, T 55 : Dish with saggering base, somewhat straight plano-convex sides; Fabric (b)
1167, TKG, (7)

55 A : Dish with convex sides, tapering base; Fabric (b)
454, TKG, (3)

55 B : Similar to T. 55 above but bigger, intilted sides; Fabric (b)
1260, TKG, (6)

55 C : Similar to T. 55A but bigger, sides getting thinner towards base, slightly beaked-in edge; Fabric (b)
1285, TKG, (5)

55 D : Similar to T. 55 but with high sides, in-going edge[20]; Fabric (b)
1292, TKG, (5)

55 E : Dish, less deep, flattish base, convex sides, bevelled edge; Fabric (b)
1570, TKG, (7)

55 F : Deep dish (?), flared sides, grooved exterior, inturned edge; Fabric (b)
1271, TKG, (6)

55 G : Dish, similar to T. 55E but thick, plano-convex sides, grooved exterior; Fabric (b)
1179, TKG, (6)

55 H : Small size dish with convex sides; Fabric (b)
1195, TKG, (6)

Type 56 : *Pottery-stand*

Fig. 15, T 56 : Fragmentary stand, double concave in outline, grooved neck; Fabric (b)
(Cf. T. 49)
1224, TKG, (7)

20. Kaundinyapura, T. 124

Graffiti

(Fig. 15, T. G1-G16)

This occurs mostly on the Black-and-red ware, though the black burnished is no exception. It is found both on the internal as well as the external surface on sherds mostly of Fabric (b). These are all linear patterns[21] with parallels from Kaundinyapura, Paunar, Brahmagiri, Maski and Sanur.

Fig. 15, G 1 : Fragment, black burnished sherd of a pot with sloping shoulders; a group of four somewhat parallel vertical lines.[22]
1267, TKG, (7a)

G 2 : Fragment, base of a dish (?),"arrow-head" like graffiti on the internal surface; black-and-red ware.[23]
1145, TKG, (7a)

G 3 : Globular pot fragment, externally over the neck surface a group of somewhat radiating vertical lines; micaceous red ware.
1183, TKG, (7)

G 4 : Similar to above but on a bigger pot of black matt ware.
1182, TKG, (7)

G 5 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, externally a mesh pattern.[24]
1190, TKG, (7)

G 6 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, externally a pattern formed by two lines at right angles and a few overlying them.[25]
1145a, TKG, (7)

G 7 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, thin fabric, internally a group of three parallel lines and two radiating ones close to it.
1145b, TKG, (7)

G 8 : Black-and-red ware, thin fabric sherd, groups of lines somewhat parallel.
1145c, TKG, (7)

G 9 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, internally groups of lines.
1293, TKG, (6)

G 10 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, internally a pair of slanting parallel lines.
1185, TKG, (7)

G 11 : Fragment, black-and-red ware, internally a series of pairs of closely incised lines.
1185a, TKG, (7)

G 12 : Black-and-red ware sherd, base portion, internally "damaru" like linear motif.[26]
1187, TKG, (7)

G 13 : Sherd, black-and-red ware, on the inner face a group of four parallel lines.
1188, TKG, (7)

G 14 : Red ware sherd, slipped externally, over the latter a group of five vertical lines over the neck portion.
1459, TKG, (6)

G 15 : Thick red ware sherd, neck portion of possibly a globular pot, externally "arrow-head" motif.
1160, TKG, (7a)

G 16 : Black slipped ware, sherd of globular pot, externally over the shoulder inverted trident motif.
860, TKG, (3)[27]

21. For a detailed study, see Lal, B. B., *Anc. Ind.*, No. 16
22. Cf. Sanur, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, p. 32, Fig. 8, No. 9
23. *Ibid.*, Fig. 8, No. 1; Kaundinyapura : Dikshit, M. G., *op. cit.*, Fig. 27, No. 27
24. *Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, Fig. 8, No. 10 (Sanur)
25. *Ibid.*, Fig. 8, No. 19
26. Cf. Kaundinyapura : Dikshit, M. G., *op. cit.*, Fig. 29, No. 19
27. Cf. Sanur, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, p. 32, Fig. 8, Nos. 17, 12; Kaundinyapura, Fig. 27, No. 15; Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 31, No. 16

Micaceous Red Ware

(Fig. 16, T. 57-59F; Fig. 17, T. 60-63)

This ware occurs in profusion in this phase as in the last. Actually it appears to be the representative local ware at a number of sites in Vidarbha besides Paunar, Kaundinyapura and Junapani.

It is ill fired and contains large mica flakes in the clay. It is represented both by handmade and wheel-turned specimens, the former outnumbering the latter. The shapes are of a large size range of pots entirely utilitarian which are found also in the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur.

Type 57 : *Pots with flared mouth*

Fig. 16, T 57 : Big size pot with high flaring mouth thickening at shoulder, luted to possibly a globular body.
432, TKG, (6)

57 A : Similar to above but smaller in size, rather thick.
322, TKG, (4)

57 B : Small size pot with less thick sides, short flared mouth.
212, TKG, (3)

Type 58 : *Pot with stand base*

Fig. 16, T 58 : Fragment of a pot, possibly with globular body with short hollow stand base, bowl with stand base ?
321, TKG, (4)

Type 59 : *Basins or Kundas*

Fig. 16, T 59 : Fragmentary basin, big size, convex sides of uniform thickness, rounded edge, groove on exterior.
362, TKG, (3)

59 A : Basin, similar to above but possibly deeper, in-going edge, ridge on the exterior.[28]
363, TKG, (3)

59 B : Basin fragment, similar to T. 59 above, pointed edge, incipient ridge externally.
280, TKG, (3)

59 C : Deep Kunda-basin, thick sides, rounded edge, mono-stepped exterior.
332, TKG, (4)

59 D : Big size Kunda-basin, convex sides getting thinner towards base, bulbous edge.
360, TKG, (3)

59 E : Shallow Kunda, flaring thick sides, broadly channelled exterior.
330, TKG, (4)

59 F : Fragment, similar to T. 59A above, thin sides, bulbous edge, ridge externally.
394, TKG, (5)

Type 60 : *Small Kundas*

Fig. 17, T 60 : Small size Kunda with medium thin sides, rounded edge, ridged exterior.[29]
299, TKG, (5)

60 A : Kunda, less deep, thicker sides, rest as of T. 60

60 B : Kunda similar to T. 60A but sides getting thinner towards base.
279, TKG, (6)

Type 61 : *Small size deep Kunda-Bowl*

Fig. 17, T 61 : Fragment of a Kunda-bowl, rather deep, sides getting thinner towards base, ridged exterior, thick rounded edge.
257, TKG, (6)

Type 62 : *Storage Jars*

Fig. 17, T 62 : Fragment of a storage jar, flat based, medium thick sides.
364, TKG, (3)

62 A : Similar to above but bigger in size.
365, TKG, (3)

28. Cf. Kaundinyapura, Fig. 20, T. 128A

29. Cf. Kaundinyapura, T. 128

Type 63 : *Storage Pot*

Fig. 17, T 63 : Similar to T. 62 above but smaller, flat based and less thick.
284, TKG, (6)

Red-slipped Ware

(Fig. 17, T. 64-68)

This ware was found to have been much more abundant in this phase. It is a well fired ceramic with mostly the outer surface treated with a slip ranging between red and dull orange. The core shows a uniform brown firing and pure clay. This ware is characterised by quite a range of medium size vessels which were met with both in the habitational and Stone Circle deposits.

Type 64 : *Pots with flared mouth*

Fig. 17, T 64 : A big size pot with flaring mouth, medium thick sides, edge internally thickened, slip externally only but worn out.
407, TKG, (3)

64 A : Small size vessel with hooded rim, less flared than T. 64, red slipped externally only upto the mid-belly.
306, TKG, (5)

64 B : Fragment similar to above but less flared, somewhat high concave neck.
424, TKG, (3)

Type 65 : *Storage Pots with high concave neck*

Fig. 17, T 65 : Big size pot with high concave neck externally grooved, bulbous rim.
405, TKG, (3)

65 A : Pot, less big, plain concave neck, bulbous rim, externally scarlet red slip.
698, TKG, (6)

Type 66 : *Kunda-Bowl*

Fig. 17, T 66 : Small size bowl or Kunda with flaring sides, thick and internally bevelled rim, both surfaces red slipped.
309, TKG, (5)

Type 67 : *Medium size deep Kunda*

Fig. 17, T 67 : Fragment of a medium size Kunda with grooved exterior, slightly clubbed rim, red slipped all over.
406, TKG, (3)

Type 68 : *Dish*

Fig. 17, T 68 : Dish fragment with convex and medium thick sides, slipped and burnished all over.
416, TKG, (3)

Matt Red Ware

(Fig. 17, T. 69-75)

As the nomenclature suggests, this ware has surfaces which are dull red in appearance. The surfaces are devoid of any slip but they are smooth possibly because of a thin mechanical slip, and hence appear to have a better dressing than the surfaces of the coarse red ware discussed below.

The core is black flanked marginally on either side by red, and the clay is somewhat gritty. The shapes, though displaying a variety, are utilitarian. Some of these appear to have been handmade. The ware is common to the habitation and the Stone Circles.

Type 69 : *Basin*

Fig. 17, T 69 : A large size basin with thick sides, bulbous edge with groove externally.
1148, TKG, (7a)

Type 70 : *Pot with short flared mouth*

Fig. 17, T 70 : Fragment of a pot with thin matt red sides, flared mouth.
132, TKG, (4)

Type 71 : *Pot with hooded rim*

Fig. 17, T 71 : Fragment of a pot with hooded mouth similar to T. 64A above, but with thicker sides.
234, TKG, (4)

Type 72 : *Pots with flared mouth*

Fig. 17, T 72 : Pot with thin sides, somewhat flared mouth getting thicker at the edge which is externally bevelled.
305, TKG, (5)

72 A : Similar to above but thinner and with concave neck.
1248, TKG, (7)

Type 73 : *Bowl*

Fig. 17,T 73 : Fragmentary bowl with flaring sides, bulbous edge.
413, TKG, (3)

Type 74 : *Pots with high neck*

Fig. 17, T 74 : Fragmentary rim of a pot with high neck, rim out-going and thickened at the edge. (Cf. T. 65A)
430, TKG, (3)

74 A : Similar to above but somewhat thicker and with banded rim.
426, TKG, (3)

74 B : Fragmentary piece of the flared mouth of a pot, thick rounded edge.
1151, TKG, (7)

74 C : Fragment somewhat similar to T. 72 above but with rounded edge.
425, TKG, (3)

Type 75 : *Cover*

Fig. 17, T 75 : Fragmentary lid or cover, domical, sides uniform, edge internally thickened.
1234, TKG, (7)

Coarse Red Ware

(Fig. 18, T 76-84)

The distinction of this ware in relation to the matt red ware has already been stated earlier. The core of this ware is gritty and full of hey shreds. Storage jars, basins and kundas are the oft-repeated shapes in this ware. It is mostly handmade and occurs in the habitational as well as in the Stone Circle deposits.

Type 76 : *Shallow Kundas*

Fig. 18, T 76 : Fragmentary Kunda-cum-bowl, thick sides, grooved externally, thickened edge.
1242, TKG, (7)

76 A : Similar to above but shallow, flared sides, thickened-in edge.
254, TKG, (4)

76 B : Similar to above but with bevelled-in edge.
327, TKG, (4)

Type 77 : *Bowl*

Fig. 18, T 77 : Fragment of a rimless bowl with slightly flaring sides.
372, TKG, (5)

Type 78 : *Kunda-Bowls*

Flg. 18, T 78 : A small size Kunda-bowl with thick sides, bulbous edge, channelled exterior.
1218, TKG, (7)

78 A : Similar to above but thin-sided and with plain exterior.
433, TKG, (4)

78 B : Similar to above but shallow, bevelled in edge.
1256, TKG, (6)

78 C : Fragment, bowl with flaring sides getting thinner towards base, groove on exterior, slightly thick edge.
326, TKG, (4)

Type 79 : *Small Kundi* (*?*)

Fig. 18,T 79 : Fragment of a small Kundi, rather deep, groove on the exterior, thick edge.
337, TKG, (5)

Type 80 : *Pots with high neck*

Fig. 18, T 80 : Fragment of a pot with high straight neck, bulbous rim, grooved exterior.
427, TKG, (5)

80 A : Big size pot with thick beaked rim.
310, TKG, (5)

80 B : Fragment, similar to above but bigger and with thinner sides, bulbous rim.
1243, TKG, (7)

Type 81 : *Handmade Storage Jars*

Fig. 18, T 81 : Fragmentary rim of a handmade storage jar, thick and slightly out-turned.
431, TKG, (3)

81 A : Fragment similar to above but thicker and having a concave neck.
432, TKG, (3)

81 B : Piece of the rim of a storage jar, relatively thin sides, bulbous edge.
435, TKG, (3)

Type 82 : *Basins*

Fig. 18, T 82 : Big size basin with somewhat flaring sides, banded and channelled exterior.
1149, TKG, (7A)

82 A : Fragment of a big size basin with thick rounded edge.
331, TKG, (4)

Type 83 : *Lid with knob-hold*

Fig. 18, T 83 : Almost complete piece of a lid with flat base and straight vertical knob-hold.
71, TKG, (3)

Type 84 : *Perforated Pot*

Fig. 18, T 84 : Fragment of a perforated pot with globular body, perforated possibly with reed stalk.
712, TKG, (5)

Tan Ware

(Fig. 18, T. 85-86B; Fig. 19, T. 87-89)

The out-turn of this ware is much more in this phase than in the earlier one. There is also a tendency towards refinement of fabric. The core is light yellow-brown and the surfaces are blotchy but burnished. Bowls and dishes dominate. The most remarkable shape is that of pot-rest (T. 88) which occurs in the black burnished (T. 49) and the black-and-red (T. 56) in the habitational deposits, as also in coarse red in the Stone Circles at Khapa (Fig. 21, T. K. 17; Fig. 22, T. K. 23) and Gangapur (Fig. 22, T. G5 and 5A).

Type 85 : *Dish with convex sides*

Fig. 18, T 85 : A dish with thin and convex sides, tan slipped blotchy surfaces.
1266, TKG, (6)

Type 86 : *Carinated Dishes*

Fig. 18, T 86 : Fragment of a dish with carination near base.
1269, TKG, (6)

86 A : Dish with less convex sides, carination near base, grooved externally.
415, TKG, (3)

86 B : Dish fragment, thicker sides, grooved exterior, carination near base.
410, TKG, (3)

Type 87 : *Rimless Bowls*

Fig. 19, T 87 : Fragment, rimless bowl with uniformly thin sides.
418, TKG, (3)

87 A : Bowl as above but deep and with slightly flaring sides, grooves externally, surfaces burnished.
409, TKG, (3)

87 B : Bowl, sides less flaring but not uniformly thick, slightly bevelled edge.
55, TKG, (6)

87 C : Bowl, rather big size, deep, thick sides, groove externally as on T. 87A above.
314, TKG, (5)

87 D : Rimless bowl similar to T. 87 but with grooved exterior.
115, TKG, (3)

87 E : Rimless bowl having combined features of Types 87B and 87D.
117, TKG, (3)

Type 88 : *Pottery Stands*

Fig. 19, T 88 : Fragment of probably a pottery-stand, hollow stem, shallow flared upper bowl externally grooved, burnished surfaces.
397, TKG, (5)

88 A : Fragment, similar to above but smaller and with short straight sides.
397, TKG, (5)

Type 89 : *Pot with short flared mouth*

Fig. 19, T 89 : Fragment of a pot with short flared mouth, thin sides, surfaces tan burnished.
161, TKG, (3)

Phase IC

(*Figure* 19)

Whereas the amount of ceramic data associated with Phase IB was the most prolific, that belonging to Phase IC was much less. Moreover, the uppermost horizon of this deposit was disturbed, and as such, there was found to have been a mix up with late medieval and recent pottery fabrics. The latter were isolated with the result that whatever remained was sufficient enough to indicate that even in Phase IC, the culture content was essentially identical with that of the preceding phases of occupation.

All the earlier fabrics and wares continue, but so far as the surface treatment is concerned it shows deterioration as most of the sherds show worn out surfaces.

Except the drab black ware, there is nothing new in this phase. This also has mica-coated surfaces. In the painted ware, the black-on-red retains all its characteristics. However, black-on-micaceous red ware appears as a sub-variety of the micaceous red ware which runs through dominantly in all the phases of occupation in an unpainted variety.

Micaceous Red Ware with painting in dull black

(Figure 19, T. 90)

Type 90 : *Pot with flaring mouth*

Fig. 19, T 90 : Fragment of a big size pot with funnel shaped mouth hooded at the edge, both the surfaces bearing groups of vertical parallel lines in dull black.
133, TKG, (2)

D 51 : Groups of horizontally drawn parallel strokes over slanting lines.
120, TKG, (2)

Painted Black-on-Red Ware

(Figure 19, T. 91-91B)

Type 91 : *Pots with funnel mouth*

Fig. 19, T 91 : Fragment of the funnel shaped mouth of a pot, bulbous rim, groups of short vertical lines and strokes on internal and external surfaces respectively.
173a, TKG, (2)

91 A : Fragment, funnel mouth similar to above but with plain rim.
55, TKG, (2)

91 B : Similar to above but extra thin fabric, short flared mouth, bulbous edge, painting on both surfaces.
55a, TKG, (2)

Matt Red Ware Painted in black

(Figure 19, T. 92)

This has a very inferior fabric and only the exterior has painted bands in dull black.

Type 92 : *Pot with short flared mouth*

Fig. 19, T 92 : Fragment of a pot with short flared mouth, concave neck, thin sides, drab black band on the edges of the rim.
92, TKG, (2)

Mica-coated Matt Black Ware
(Figure 19, T. 93)

Type 93 : *Basins*

Fig. 19, T 93 : Fragment of a semi-circular side lug attached to the banded rim of possibly a small basin, core dull black and gritty, surfaces mica-coated.
170, TKG, (1)

93 A : Fragment, basin, broad, deep, without lug.
178, TKG, (1)

Drab Grey-Black blotchy Ware
(Figure 19, T. 94-94A)

Type 94 : *Pots with elongated body*

Fig. 19, T 94 Fragment of a pot with elongated body, sides getting thinner towards belly, drab black surfaces, banded rim.
57, TKG, (2)

94 A : Similar to above but with a band in relief bearing finger-tip decoration near the rim externally.
56, TKG, (2)

Tan Ware
(Figure 19, T. 95-95A)

Type 95 : *Dishes*

Fig. 19, T 95 : Fragment, dish with straight sides, grooved externally, carination near base.
52, TKG, (2)

95 A : Small dish, similar to above but thin sided.
54, TKG, (2)

Red-slipped Ware
(Figure 19, T 96)

Type 96 : *High-necked Pot*

Fig. 19, T 96 : Fragment of the high tapering neck of a pot with out-turned rim, externally red slipped.
61, TKG, (2)

Matt Red Ware
(Figure 19, T. 97)

Type 97 : *Pot with possibly elongated body* :

Fig. 19, T 97 : Fragment of a pot with possibly elongated body, medium thick sides, clubbed out rim.
26, TKG, (1)

Ware with mechanical brown slip
(Figure 19, T. 98-100)

Type 98 : *Basin*

Fig. 19, T 98 : Fragment of the rim portion of a basin, deep, medium thick sides, grooved and banded externally and bearing incised zig-zag and cut diamond decoration.
29, TKG, (1)

Type 99 : *Pot with straight sides*

Fig. 19, T 99 : Fragment of a vessel, deep, straight sides, mouth stepped and indented, externally finger-tip decoration.
73, TKG, (1)

Type 100 : *Pot with short concave neck*

Fig. 19, T 100 : Fragment of a pot with short concave neck, banded rim.
47, TKG, (2)

Black Burnished Ware
(Figure 19, T. 101)

Type 101 : *Lid with tapering knob-hold*

Fig. 19, T 101 : Fragment of a tapering knob of a lid, black burnished surfaces.
151, TKG, (2)

Decorated Sherds
(Figure 19)

Fig. 19, 'DA' : Drab grey-black ware sherd externally bearing a stamped rosette design. (Historic ?)
58, TKG, (2)

'DB' : Thick red ware sherd of possibly a storage jar bearing externally large applique roundels (Historic ?)
28, TKG, (1).

(B) POTTERY FROM KHAPA STONE CIRCLES

(Figures 20-22)

As noted earlier, the bulk of ceramic evidence from the different Stone Circles at Khapa was much less as compared to that from the habitational deposits at Takalghat. However, it has already been pointed out that there was complete typological and technological identity between the ceramic evidence from the Stone Circles and the habitation save for the noteworthy difference that the painted pottery was completely absent in the Stone Circles both at Khapa and Gangapur.

Among the entire lot of unpainted wares at Khapa, the micaceous red dominated numerically, whereas the black-and-red, though well represented, was the third in quantity. In between came the coarse red. All the rest, *viz.*- the black burnished, drab grey etc., were also encountered in the Stone Circles. The black burnished and the black-and-red had graffiti which was akin in pattern to that encountered in Phase 1B at Takalghat.

As there was complete technological identity between the wares at Takalghat and Khapa, no elaboration of this is needed.

Black-and-Red Ware

(Figure 20, T. K1-K3)

Type 1 : *Carinated Dishes*

Fig. 20, T K 1 : Dish fragment, convex sides, carination near base, rounded edge, squat body. Fabric (b)
11, KP, Meg. 1

K 1 A : Dish with short but prominently convex sides, rounded edge, incipient carination near base; Fabric (b)
38, KP, Meg. 5

K 1 B : Dish, less convex sides, grooved exterior, slightly intilted edge, carination near base; Fabric (b)
23, KP, Meg. 3

K 1 C : Fragment of a dish with sides getting thinner towards base which is saggering[30], intilted edge; Fabric (b)
15, KP, Meg. 2

K 1 D : Small size dish, similar to K 1C above but with somewhat high sides; Fabric (b)
28, KP, Meg. 1

K 1 E : Dish with short thick sides, externally convex; Fabric (b)
27, KP, Meg. 1

Type 2 : *Deep Bowls with convex sides*

Fig. 20, T K 2 : Fragment of a rimless bowl, thin convex sides, bevelled edge, sides getting thinner towards the base; Fabric (a)
39, KP, Meg. 5

K 2 A : Squattish bowl with convex sides getting thicker towards edge; Fabric (b)
43, KP, Meg. 1

Type 3 : *Plain Dish*

Fig. 20, T K 3 : Fragment of a medium size dish without carination, convex sides; Fabric (b)
14, KP, Meg. 1

Type 4 : *Deep Kunda-Basin* (*?*)

Fig. 20, T K 4 : Fragment of a deep convex-sided Kunda, thick sides, grooved externally; Fabric (b)
13, KP, Meg. 1

Besides the above, Types 9 and 10 of Phase IA and Types 51, 53, 55 of Phase IB of Takalghat also occur.

30. Kaundinyapura, T. 124

Drab Black-Grey Ware

(Figure 20, T. K 5)

This is represented by a meagre quantity from Megaliths 1, 5 and 6. There is no treatment of the surfaces and the core is dull smoky.

Type 5 : *Globular Pot* (*?*)

Fig. 20, T K 5 : Fragment of a pot with probably convex sides getting thinner towards the base, a pair of linear grooves externally, handmade.
24, KP, Meg. 1

Black Burnished Ware

(Figure 20, T. K 6-K 9)

Type 6 : *Deep Bowl*

Fig. 20, T K 6 : Fragment of a deep bowl, bulbous at the bottom, thickened at the edge; Fabric (b).
8, KP, Meg. 2

Type 7 : *Rimless Globular Pot*

Fig. 20, T K 7 : A small size pot with bulbous body, featureless edge, thick, highly burnished surfaces; Fabric (a).
7, KP, Meg. 1

Type 8 : *Pot with banded rim*

Fig. 20, T K 8 : Fragment of a pot with sloping shoulders, possibly banded rim, narrow mouth, externally burnished; Fabric (a).
9, KP, Meg. 1

Type 9 : *Pot with funnel mouth*

Fig. 20, T K 9 : Rim fragment of small pot with funnel mouth, constricted neck; Fabric (b).
40, KP, Meg. 5

Besides those described above, Types 4K, 5C, 6 and 8 of Phase IA and Types 35, 39, 40, 43 and 49 of Phase IB of Takalghat also occur.

Coarse Red Ware

(Figure 20, T. K 10-K12; Figure 21, T. K-13-K-16)

Type 10 : *Big Pots with flared mouth*

Fig. 20, T K 10 : Fragment of the flared mouth of a pot with plano-convex rim, matt surfaces.
18, KP, Meg. 2

K 10 A : Similar to above but with bulbous rim.
19, KP, Meg. 2

K 10 B : Fragment of a pot with banded rim.
20, KP, Meg. 2

Type 11 : *Pots with high concave neck*

Fig. 20, T K 11 : Fragment of a pot with high convave neck, plano-convex rim, sides relatively thin.
2, KP, Meg. 1

K 11 A : Similar to above but bigger in size, thicker and with banded rim.
17, KP, Meg. 2

K 11 B : Small size pot with short concave neck, internally stepped rim.
41, KP, Meg. 5

Type 12 : *Pot with flared mouth*

Fig. 20, T K 12 : Medium size pot with flared mouth, similar to T. K 9 but with short concave neck.
44, KP, Meg. 5

Type 13 : *Pot with broad mouth and incipient rim*

Fig. 21, T K 13 : Fragmentary piece of the mouth of a pot with concave profile, thick bevelled edge.
16, KP, Meg. 2

Type 14 : *Cylindrical Jar* (*?*)

Fig. 21, T K 14 : Fragment of a jar with possibly cylindrical body, hooded rim.[31]
42, KP, Meg. 5

31. Kaundinyapura, T. 137

Type 15 : *Pots with broad mouth and high neck*

Fig. 21, T K 15 : Fragment of a huge pot with thick bulbous rim, stepped neck.[32]
29, KP, Meg. 2

K 15 A : Similar to above but with the rim having beaked edge, sides less thin.
6, KP, Meg. 3

Type 16 : *Lug*

Fig. 21, T K 16 : Fragment of lug, tapering but having round section, handmade.
24, KP, Meg. 1

Type 17 of Phase IA and 77, 78 and 83 of Phase IB also occur.

Dark Grey Ware

(Figure 21, T. K 17)

This ware was represented in the Stone Circles by about 80 sherds. They present a deep grey but drab appearance and have a dull grey core. It is medium thick and not much evidenced in the habitational deposits at Takalghat.

Type 17 : *Pot-stand*

Fig. 21, T K 17 : An almost complete pottery stand with hollow cylindrical stem, shape like that of a goblet, somewhat hour-glass-like profile (cf. T. 31, 49 and 56 of TKG).
24, KP, Meg. 9

Micaceous Red Ware

(Figure 21, T. K 18-K 24)

Type 18 : *Pots with funnel mouth and constricted neck*

Fig. 21, T K 18 : Fragment of the flared mouth of a pot with constricted neck.
1, KP, Meg. 1

K 18 A : Similar to above but with more flared mouth.
4, KP, Meg. 3

K 18 B : Similar to above but with short flared mouth.
12, KP, Meg. 5

Type 19 : *Pots with high neck*

Fig. 21, T K 19 : Fragment of a big size pot with bulbous rim, concave neck.[33]
5, KP, Meg. 2

K 19 A : Somewhat similar to above but with neck more high, sides less thick, thickened rim.
36, KP, Meg. 5

Type 20 : *Pot with shallow flared mouth*

Fig. 21, T K 20 : Fragment of a pot with thin sides in contrast to the bulbous rim with beaked edge.
26, KP, Meg. 2

Type 21 : *Pots with hooded mouth*

Fig. 21, T K 21 : A big size pot with thick sides, carination internally at shoulder, hooded mouth.
37, KP, Meg. 1

K 21 A : Similar to above but small size and with high mouth.
10, KP, Meg. 1

Type 22 : *Storage Pot* (*?*)

Fig. 21, T K 22 : Fragment of the flat base of a pot possibly used for storage purpose.
11, KP, Meg. 1

Type 23 : *Pottery Stand*

Fig. 21, T K 23 : Almost a complete pottery stand, hollow stem, flaring towards base, upper portion in the form of a shallow, short, straight-sided bowl.
17, KP, Meg. 1

Type 24 : *Covers*

Fig. 21, T K 24 : Fragmentary cover or lid with flared base, hollow, knobbed finial.
36, KP, Meg. 1

32. Kaundinyapura, T. 140

33. Kaundinyapura, T. 143

K 24 A : Similar to above but small, plain, and with a squat triangular finial.
36a, KP, Meg. 1

Types 19 and 21 of Phase IA and 57, 59 and 61 of Phase IB also occur.

Decorated Sherd

Fig. 21, KD1 : Sherd, coarse red ware, externally bearing applique band with finger-tip decoration.
19, KP, Meg. 2

Sherd with Graffiti

Fig. 21, KG 1 : Sherd, coarse red ware, externally bearing a motif of a pair of triangles placed horizontally on apex.
21, KP, Meg. 2

(C) POTTERY FROM GANGAPUR STONE CIRCLES

(Figure 22)

The fabric and typology of the ceramic content of the Gangapur Stone Circles was identical with that from the Stone Circles at Khapa. As such, a few representative forms are illustrated. Since only three circles were tapped at Gangapur, the amount of pottery was much less than that from Khapa.

Black-and-Red Ware

(Figure 22, T. G1-G3)

Type 1 : *Dishes*

Fig. 22, T G 1 : Fragment of a dish with convex and thick sides.
2, GP, Meg. 3

G 1 A : Dish, less thick and deep.
7, GP, Meg. 2

G 1 B : Dish, bigger in size, a ridge on the exterior, convex sides. (cf. Type K 1B from Khapa).
8, GP, Meg. 2

Type 2 : *Carinated Dish*

Fig. 22, T. G 2 : Fragmentary dish with convex sides, carination near base (cf. Khapa T. K1C).
10, GP, Meg. 3

Type 3 : *Rimless Bowl*

Fig. 22, T. G 3 : Fragment of a rimless bowl, thick sides, pointed edge.
3, GP, Meg. 3

Coarse Red Ware

(Figure 22, T. G 4-G8B)

Type 4 : *Bowl with flaring sides*

Fig. 22, T. G 4 : A small bowl with flaring sides, bevelled edge.
4 GP, Meg. 2

Type 5 : *Pottery Stand*

Fig. 22, T G 5 : Fragment of the hollow cylindrical stem of a stand (cf. Khapa, T. K17).
5, GP, Meg. 2

G 5 A : Fragment similar to above but smaller in size.[34]
18, GP, Meg. 2

Type 6 : *Pot with funnel mouth*

Fig. 22, T G 6 : Fragment of the funnel mouth of a pot with thin sides, undercut rim.
5, GP, Meg. 3

Type 7 : *Pot with flaring mouth and concave neck*

Fig. 22, T G 7 : Fragment of a pot with funnel shaped mouth, short concave neck[35] (cf. Khapa, T. K12).
15, GP, Meg. 2

34. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 14, P. 12

35. Kaundinyapura, T. 141

Type 8 : *Pots with flared mouth and possibly high concave neck*

Fig. 22, T G 8 : Fragment of the rim of a pot with possibly high concave neck, banded rim internally channelled (cf. Khapa, T. K 11 A).
4, GP, Meg. 2

G 8 A : Fragment of a pot with broad flared mouth, bulbous rim somewhat beaked (cf. Khapa, T. K15A).

G 8 B : Similar to above but smaller, thinner and with bulbous rim (cf. Khapa, T. 10A).
66, GP, Meg. 2

Type 9 : *Pots with plain and thick funnel mouth*

Fig. 22, T G 9 : Fragment of a pot with short funnel mouth, constricted neck (cf. Khapa, T. K 9).
9, GP, Meg. 3

G 9 A : Similar to above but with high flared rim, bigger in size (cf. Khapa, T. K 18A).

Decorated Sherd

Fig. 22, G D 1 : Sherd, coarse red ware, externally having an applique band bearing finger-tip decoration (cf. Khapa KD1).
10, GP, Meg. 2

6. Beads

The yield of beads (Fig. 23; Pls. X, XI) both from Takalghat and the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur was fairly large. Relatively, however, the Stone Circles were more rewarding in the outturn of beads which comprised mostly of carnelian. Of the one hundred and seventy-eight beads, as many as one-twenty-three came from the Stone Circles and the rest from Takalghat. Etched carnelian beads were identical in shape and decorative pattern at both these sites.

The materials represented comprised agate, carnelian, chalcedony, crystal, glass, jasper, shell and terracotta. It may be stated that whereas the first six materials were found to have been in vogue both at Takalghat and Khapa, the last two were solely restricted to Takalghat. Carnelian contributed sixty-one plain and ten etched specimens, whereas crystal formed the material of as many as forty beads. The material next in frequency was agate. Shell and chalcedony were represented by one and two specimens respectively.

None of the beads either at Takalghat or Khapa was found to have been in an unfinished stage. This suggests no local basis for the bead industry though nodules of chalcedony, agate and carnelian are available on the slopes of the nearby Kalari Hills (Fig. 3) at Gangapur.

A noteworthy feature of the bead collection from Khapa Stone Circles was the occurrence of glass beads in Megaliths 5 and 7. Of the three, two are of blue glass and one of opaque soiled white glass. Amongst the former, the annular specimen is clearly seen to have been made by the wire wound process. Considering the antiquity of the Khapa Stone Circles on the basis of their cultural identity with Takalghat whose earliest levels of Phase IB can be dated to 555 B. C., the occurrence of glass is remarkable as it appears in the form of a well prepared specimen.

Yet another feature which has to be noted pertains to the identity of certain shapes and decorative patterns on the etched beads with those reported from other sites in megalithic context. The decorative patterns on etched carnelian beads are typically megalithic. For instance, the tablet bead with marginal strokes (Fig. 23, No. 10; Pl. XI, No. 10) conforms to the megalithic type as illustrated by DIKSHIT (*Etched Beads in India*, Pl. III, No. 10; XVII, No. 3); the globular one with a wavy line in the centre (Fig. 23, No. 11; Pl. XI, No. 11) has its parallel in DIKSHIT's Pl. IX, No. 8; the truncated barrel with a wavy line flanked by straight line on either side (Fig. 23, No. 13; Pl. XI, No. 13) is also reported from Kaundinyapura and illustrated in DIKSHIT's southern type (*EBI*, Pl. III, No 15; Kaundinyapura *Report*, Pl. XXIX, No. 22); another one of the same shape but having three parallel lines (Fig. 23, No. 12; Pl. XI, No. 12) has its counterpart in the megalithic context as reported by DIKSHIT in his *Etched Beads* (Pl. XI, No. 19) and at Kaundinyapura(Pl. XXIX, Nos. 1-8); and lastly the small tubular specimen with double wavy lines and straight lines (Fig. 23, No. 14; Pl. XI, No. 14) has its parallel from the south (DIKSHIT, *EBI*, Pl. XVI, No. 7). It will thus be apparent that the etched beads from the Stone Circles at Khapa[1] and the habitational deposits at Takalghat have an exact identity with the beads reported from megaliths in the south.

The identity is further reflected even in the case of the terracotta annular beads from Takalghat. Exact counterparts of these can be had in the

1. For similarity with Junapani beads, See *IA-R*, 1961-62, p. 33

megaliths at Sanur, Dist. Chinglepet, Tamilnadu (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, Pl. XX, No. C, 3-5)[2]. Thus the Takalghat habitations show dominantly megalithic characteristics as attested not only by their identity with the material culture as reflected in the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur, but also by the data reported from megaliths from the south.

Beads from Khapa

Agate, carnelian, chalcedony, crystal, glass and jasper contribute towards the make up of the bead collection at Khapa. Of these, carnelian and crystal contribute one hundred and one beads and the rest of the materials provide twenty-two (Pl. X, A-B). All these came from the cairn filling.

Agate :

The fourteen specimens resolve themselves into shapes like spherical, truncated barrels, tiny globular and medium globular. All these are highly polished and the material selected is dull black without any bands.

Fig. 23 No. 1 Spherical, well polished. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 166, Meg. 7

No. 2 Truncated barrel. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 8, Meg. 5

Carnelian :

Of the seventy-one beads, ten were etched. The former comprised globular, medium globular, tiny globular, short cylindrical, truncated barrel, tiny and medium tubular and short square truncated barrel shaped beads. The etched were represented by tablet, medium globular, truncated barrel and small tubular specimens. The material selected for both these categories was uniformly blood red and reasonably polished.

Fig. 23 No. 3 Globular, blood red colour. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 159, Meg. 7

No. 4 Short cylinder, highly polished. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 155, Meg. 7

No. 5 Truncated barrel, double perforated. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 79, Meg. 5

No. 6 Medium size tubular bead. (Pl.XI)
KP, No. 171, Meg. 7

No. 7 Tiny tubular with central band. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 97, Meg. 5

No. 8 Similar to above but plain. (Pl.XI)
KP, No. 98, Meg. 5

No. 9 Short, square, truncated barrel.[3] (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 172, Meg. 7

Etched :

Fig. 23 No. 10 Tablet with slanting strokes in white marginally along the periphery[4]. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 186, Meg. 4

No. 11 Medium globular with zigzag pattern along the girth in white. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 207, Meg. 7

No. 12 Medium long truncated barrel with three parallel lines around the girth centrally in white.[5] (Pl.XI)
KP, No. 73, Meg. 5

No. 13 Truncated barrel, smaller, the etched pattern comprising a zigzag line flanked on either side by a plain one.[6] (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 1, Meg. 3

2. Also Maski, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 13, Pl. XXVIII, A
3. Dikshit, M. G., *Kaundinyapura*, Fig. 32, No. 10
4. *Ibid.*, Fig. 31, No. 1
5. *Ibid.*, Fig. 31, No. 6
6. *Ibid.*, No. 7

No. 14 Small, tubular, deep brown red carnelian, pattern consisting of zigzag line alternated by straight line. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 39, Meg. 1

Chalcedony :

Two irregular cylinders represented this material.

Fig. 23 No. 15 Medium long, irregular, smoky chalcedony. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 139, Meg. 7

Crystal :

Globular, spherical, truncated barrel, short square truncated barrel and similar in small size were found to have been executed in crystal.

Fig. 23 No. 16 Globular bead. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 176, Meg. 7

No. 17 Spherical, highly polished.(Pl.XI)
KP, No. 151, Meg. 7

No. 18 Truncated barrel, highly polished. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 75, Meg. 5

No. 19 A short, square, truncated barrel. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 169, Meg. 7

No. 20 Similar to above, small size. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 132, Meg. 7

No. 21 Small size tablet with convex sides. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 9, Meg. 1

Jasper :

Green and yellow jasper was employed in the make up of this category of beads. One was spherical and the other a truncated barrel.

Fig. 23 No. 23 Small size, short, truncated barrel. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 198, Meg. 4

No. 24 Spherical, green jasper. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 161, Meg. 7

Glass :

Small annular and globular were the only two shapes executed in this material.

Fig. 23 No. 25 Small annular bead, deep blue glass, wire wound. (Pl. XI)

No. 26 Tiny globular, soiled white opaque glass. (Pl. XI)
KP, No. 184, Meg. 7

Beads from Takalghat

All the materials, save glass, were represented in the habitational deposits of Takalghat. Besides these, shell and terracotta, which were unrepresented at Khapa and Gangapur, were also recovered. So far as agate, carnelian, crystal and jasper are concerned, there was identity of typology between Takalghat and Khapa. Amongst the etched carnelian specimens those illustrated in Fig. 23, Nos. 10 and 12 were also found at Takalghat.

Besides these, a few others, unrepresented in the Stone Circles, were recovered at Takalghat. These were of red jasper, shell and terracotta. Of these, the *ghata*-shaped pendent in red jasper is remarkable for workmanship, whereas the terracotta beads, as stated above, have their parallels in Sanur megaliths.

Jasper :

Fig. 23 No. 22 *Ghata*-pendent of red jasper. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 207, Layer (8), Phase IA

Shell :

Fig. 23 No. 27 Small cylindrical bead. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 214, Layer (8), Phase IA

Terracotta :

Fig. 23 No. 28 A squat annular bead, well baked. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 222, Layer (8), Phase IA

No. 29 Similar to above but with broader sides. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 227, Layer (8), Phase IA

No. 30 Fragmentary, annular with biconical profile. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 205, Layer (7), Phase IB

No. 31 Similar to No. 28 above, but broader. (Pl. XI)
TKG, No. 152, Layer (2), Phase IC

Beads from Gangapur

The yield of beads from the Stone Circles at Gangapur was exceptionally meagre. In all, twelve beads were recorded from three Stone Circles. They all came from the cairn filling and were of carnelian. None was etched, and the shapes represented were globular, biconical and truncated barrel. None is illustrated.

7. Iron Objects

The habitational deposits at Takalghat and the filling in the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur were quite rich in the yield of iron objects which were fairly varied in typology.

The features which may be brought out in regard to this collection are that the entire collection resolves itself into six main categories, to wit, (i) objects of domestic use like nails and lamps; (ii) objects of offence like daggers, swords, arrowheads, spearheads, knives and spikes; (iii) objects of kitchen use like cauldron; (iv) ornamental and toilet articles like bangles and nail-parers; (v) objects of specialized use like fish-hooks, axe with crossed ring bands for hafting, double-edged adzes and chisels; and finally (vi) miscellaneous group comprising bars, rods and objects of indeterminate use. Secondly, some types like ladles with straight vertical handle, the spikes, the bangles, the arrowheads, the axe with ring band fasteners, the tanged blades and the fish-hooks are common both to Takalghat habitations and the Khapa-Gangapur Stone Circles. Thirdly, the iron objects recovered in the Stone Circles were found to have been more intact than those recovered in the habitational deposits. Fourthly, the number of tools and weapons was found to be more than that of domestic utilities in the Stone Circles. Fifthly, all the objects betrayed a mastery over iron technology, and lastly the typology showed similarity with artefacts reported from Kaundinyapura I, Maski, Brahmagiri, Sanur, Junapani and Adichanallur megaliths, whereas no such artefacts are so far reported from any site in western Maharashtra.

1. Cf. Junapani, *IA-R*, 1961-62, p. 34; Pl. LV, A

(i) Ladles

(Figure 26, Nos. 27-30; Pl. XIV)

Of the seventeen specimens, two came from Takalghat Phase IB, eight from Khapa and seven from Gangapur. These are equipped[1] with a circular shallow bowl with a straight vertical handle whose end is sometimes turned for hold. It may be stated that none of the bowls has any channel and pinched border for the wick. This tends to designate them more as ladles than lamps. Such ladles are even now in use for taking out oil or ghee.

Fig. 26 No. 27 A complete specimen of a ladle with a small circular shallow bowl, a straight vertical rod-hold with rectangular section, end of rod curved out. (Pl. XIV)
53, KP, Meg. 6

28 A reconstructed specimen, bowl rather large, short vertical rod-hold with rectangular section, rod out-turned and with knobbed end.
69, KP, Meg. 5

29 Similar to No. 27 above but with short rod-hold tapering to a point.
87, TKG, (7a); Phase IB

30 Ladle with relatively a large bowl, rod-hold broken.
45, GP, Meg. 2

(ii) Nails

Of the eight specimens, four came from Takalghat and two each from Khapa and Gangapur. Most of these are broken and heavily encrusted. All these, however, have a convex circular head. None is illustrated.

(iii) Dagger Blades

(Fig. 24, Nos. 9, 12; Pl. XII)

Three dagger blades were encountered in the Stone Circles at Khapa and one at Takalghat. They all showed one type, i. e. having a short tang, a medium long blade biconvex in section, and a pointed tip[2]. Megalith Nos. 1, 3 and 6 gave one each, whereas the horizons of Phase IB at Takalghat yielded one.

Fig. 24 No. 9 A complete dagger with short pointed tang circular in section, medium long blade with pointed tip and biconvex section, ringed base for the blade. (Pl. XII)
145, KP, Meg. 1

No. 12 Similar to above but without a ring at the base of the blade, a solid cylindrical tang.
26, TKG, (6); Phase IB

(iv) Spearhead

(Fig. 24, No. 6; Pl. XII)

The spearhead was represented by one specimen, almost intact, recovered from Megalith No. 2 at Gangapur. As compared to the dagger blades, this specimen has a longer and thinner blade and a longer tang[3].

Fig. 24 No. 6 Almost a complete specimen with the edges rusted and hence irregular, blade quite thin and biconvex, tang long and circular in section.
57, GP, Meg. 2

(v) Sword

(Fig. 24, No. 13; Pl. XII)

A single specimen of what possibly could be used as a sword, was recovered from Megalith No. 1 at Khapa. Its length made it distinctive as also the sections of its long tang and blade. The tang was possibly accommodated in a wooden cover. The blade showed one edge sharp[4].

Fig. 24 No. 13 A fragmentary specimen of possibly a sword with a long tapering tang and a heavily encrusted blade.
25a, KP, Meg. 1

(vi) Arrowheads

(Fig. 24, Nos. 3-5, 7-8; Pl. XII)

Eight arrowheads, three from Takalghat, one from Gangapur and four from Khapa, were recovered. These resolved themselves in two groups : (a) tanged arrowheads with thin, biconvex, short, pointed blades; and (b) arrowheads with barbed blades. Whereas the first category was common to Takalghat and the Stone Circles, the latter were restricted only to Takalghat.

Fig. 24, No. 3 Fragmentary arrowhead with short tapering blade with biconvex section; Group (a) (Pl. XII)
28, GP, Meg. 2

2. Rea, *Catalogue*, Pl. IV, No. 5; Junapani, *IA-R*, 1961-62, Pl. LV, A
3. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 36, No. 3
4. Rea, *Catalogue*, Pl. V, No. 7

4 Almost a complete arrowhead with tapering blade having biconvex section and a cylindrical tang; Group (a)
4, TKG, (4); Phase IB

5 Fragment similar to No. 3 above but with a short and pointed tang; Group (a)
59, KP, Meg. 2

7 Fragment of probably an arrowhead with possibly barbed ends, biconvex section; Group (b)
74, TKG, (4); Phase IB

8 Fragment similar to above but with one barbed end intact[5]; Group (b)
17, TKG, (3); Phase IB

(vii) Knife

(Fig. 24, No. 10; Pl. XII)

These were evidenced by two specimens, one from Megalith No. 1 from Khapa and the other from the horizons of Phase IB at Takalghat. Both are alike but fragmentary.

Fig. 24, No. 10 Fragment of possibly a knife with the thin blade slightly curved, and a short tang circular in section.
145, KP, Meg. 1

(viii) Chisels

(Fig. 26, Nos. 37-41; Pl. XIV)

These are distinguished by rectangular bar body, one end pointed and the other bevelled on both faces so as to achieve a thin but broad end, with incipient shoulders below the pointed end. It appears that one end was used as a chisel and the other — pointed one — for carving. All the ten specimens came from the Stone Circles, six from Gangapur and four from Khapa. None was found at Takalghat.

Fig. 26, No. 37 Fragment of a chisel with rectangular body and one end pointed. (Pl. XIV)
51, KP, Meg. 6

38 Chisel, rectangular body, one end broad, thin and bevelled, the other pointed and having incipient shoulders.
31, GP, Meg. 2

39 Similar to above but smaller and thicker.
216, KP, Meg. 6

40 Similar to above but shorter, thinner and with pronounced shoulders.
217, KP, Meg. 5

41 Chisel with one end bevelled to a sharp broad end, body slightly tapering, pronounced shoulders.
47, GP, Meg. 3

(ix) Spikes (?)

(Fig. 24, Nos. 1-2; Pl. XII)

Two implements[6] with long tang having knobbed end and a long tapering blade were recovered, one each from Khapa and Gangapur Stone Circles. Their precise utility and use could not be ascertained.

Fig. 24, No. 1 A specimen of possibly a spike with a long rectangular tang having a knob at the end, a long thin blade tapering to a rounded end.
50, GP, Meg. 1

2 Similar to above but having a disproportionately long tang with rectangular section and knobbed end, a short tapering blade.
211, KP, Meg. 2

5. Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 38, No. 27; Kaundinyapura, Fig. 35, No. 4

6. Rea, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, No. 5; Junapani, *IA-R*, 1961-62, Pl. LVI, A; Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 35, No. 1

(x) Axes with Crossed Fasteners

(Fig. 25, Nos. 14; 21-26; Pl. XIII)

These were evidenced by as many as eight specimens of which seven came from the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur, and one from Takalghat.

These can be grouped into two categories:[7]

(a) those with elongated body with thin rectangular section, convex butt end and straight and broad working end;

and (b) axes with thick broad body, convex but flat butt end, working end bevelled to a sharp convex outline and with diagonally crossing ring band fasteners.

Fig. 25, No. 14 Axe with elongated body, convex butt end, rectangular body, working end thin and convex; Type (a) 213, TKG, (7a); Phase IB

21 Similar to above but more elongated and with ring-fasteners; Type (a) 29, GP, Meg. 2

22 A complete specimen of an axe, broad and flat body, rectangular section, butt end convex, working edge bevelled sharp and convex, single ring extant; Type (b) 240, KP, Meg. 2

23 Similar to above but with broader body, one ring extant; Type (b) 64, KP, Meg. 2

24 Similar to above but less elongated, diagonally crossed strap fastener extant; Type (b) 32, GP, Meg. 2

25 Similar to No. 23 above but more elongated, ends intact, single ring band extant; Type (b) 58, KP, Meg. 1

26 Largest specimen, thick, butt end and working edge pronouncedly convex, ring not extant; Type (b) 54, KP, Meg. 1

(xi) Double-edged Adzes (?)

(Fig. 25, Nos. 15-20; Pl. XIII)

These were represented by the maximum number in the entire collection of iron objects. Of the twenty-six specimens, fifteen came from Khapa, nine from Gangapur and two from Takalghat. The last came from the deposits of Phase IB

These are made of relatively thin sheets of iron having double concave outline and generally convex working ends. They resolve themselves into two groups.

(a) those with double concave outline, convex working ends and plano-convex section of the body;

and (b) those with thin bodies with rectangular section, compressed middle portion and with both working ends convex of which one is less broad.

Keeping in view the thinness of these artefacts, it is not clear to what purpose they could have been put. The convex ends were possibly used for cutting leather, the middle portion facilitating grip because of its concavity. It is also probable that the thinnest portion was hafted into a wooden handle and the implement used at both its ends. That the cutting ends could be put to preliminary and secondary or refined uses is clear from the varying broadness of the ends.

Fig. 25, No. 15 A fragmentary specimen, broken in the middle which is concave, one end convex; Type (a) 115, TKG, (7a); Phase IB

7. These have been reported from Junapani, *IA-R*, 1961-62, Pl. LV, A; also p. 34; Sanur, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 15, p. 36, Fig. 10, Nos. 11-12; Adichanallur, Rea, *Catalogue*, Pl. IV, No. 20; and Brahmagiri, *Anc. Ind.*, No. 3-4, Fig. 36, No. 10

16 Almost complete piece, double concave outline, varying thickness of body, ends convex; Type (a)
118, TKG, (7); Phase IB

17 Complete specimen with the working ends slightly broken, thin body; Type (b)
128, KP, Meg. 7

18 Similar to above but with body hour-glass-like; Type (b)
25, GP, Meg. 2

19 Similar to above but with the middle portion extremely thin; Type (b)
27, KP, Meg. 2

20 Complete specimen similar to No. 17 above, thicker; one face bearing an impression of a comb over encrustation; Type (a)
18, KP, Meg. 1

(xii) Blade with Tang
(Fig. 26, No. 31; Pl. XIV)

A couple of blade fragments with tangs were found. The latter had an oval section whereas the fragmentary portion of the blade showed biconvex section. One each was found at Takalghat and Gangapur.

Fig. 26, No. 31 Fragment of a blade with tang having an oval section.
318, TKG, (7); Phase IB

(xiii) Tang Pieces

Tang pieces, mostly with round section, were recovered both at Takalghat, Khapa and Gangapur. Khapa gave seven, Gangapur eight and Takalghat three. The last came from the horizons of Phase IB. None is illustrated.

(xiv) Bar or Rod
(Fig. 24, No. 11; Pl. XII)

This was represented by two pieces. The exact purpose or use of these could not be ascertained. One each came from Takalghat and Khapa.

Fig. 24, No. 11 A long piece with biconvex and thick section.
25, KP, Meg. 1

(xv) Fish Hooks
(Fig. 26, Nos. 42, 43; Pl. XIV)

Two fish hooks were recovered from Khapa and Takalghat. Both were alike in asmuch as they were made of thin rods of iron with curved up pointed ends.

Fig. 26, No. 42 A complete fish hook with rectangular section, end pointed and curved up.
82, KP, Meg. 9

43 Similar to above but smaller and with the body having circular section.
60, KP, Meg. 6

(xvi) Horse Bit
(Fig. 26, No. 32; Pl. XIV)

This was represented by a single specimen recovered from Megalith No. 7 at Khapa.

Fig. 26, No. 32 Fragment of a horse bit comprising two interlocked rods with circular section.
74, KP, Meg. 7

(xvii) Bangles
(Fig. 26, Nos. 44, 45; Pl. XIV)

Three circular bangles of iron were found, two from Megalith 1 and one from No. 6. They resolve themselves into two groups :

(a) those with circular cross section;
and (b) that with a thin rectangular one.

Fig. 26, No. 44 A complete bangle of iron, circular on plan and in section.
3 KP, Meg. 1

45 Complete bangle with a thin rectangular section.
4, KP, Meg. 1

(xviii) Nail-Parer-cum-Ear-Pick

(Fig. 26, Nos. 33-34; Pl. XIV)

Fifteen specimens of this group were found, all of which came from the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur, the latter yielding eight.

These are long thin bars of iron with circular section, one end bevelled to a sharp, thin and broad edge, the other tapering to a point, and with the body cabled or screwed for facilitating grip. The pointed end was possibly used for cleaning the ear and the broader one for nail trimming. Some specimens have a plain body.

Fig. 26, No. 33 Complete specimen, body plain and with round section, one end broad, thin, sharp and convex.
48, KP, Meg. 2

34 Similar to above but with cabled body.
60, GP, Meg. 2

(xix) Cauldron

(Fig. 27, No. 47; Pl. XV)

An iron cauldron was recovered in the black clay filling of Megalith No. 5 at Khapa along with other antiquities like carnelian beads and nail-parers.

The specimen is circular on plan with flat base, rather flaring sides, thick edges and straight circular side rings rivetted with a strip at the bottom. The base is thinner than the sides.

(xx) Miscellaneous Objects

(Fig. 26, Nos. 35, 36, 46; Pl. XIV)

These are mostly fragmentary and their use cannot be ascertained.

Fig. 26 No. 35 A thin leaf-shaped object with tapering body and convex notched end.
40, KP, Meg. 2

36 Similar to above but less broad, more thin and with the convex end broken.
180, KP, Meg. 7

46 A hollow cylindrical piece with somewhat tapering sides.
238, TKG, (a); Phase IA

8. Copper Objects

Compared to the out-turn of objects of iron, the number of copper objects was much less. These were found mostly in the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur, though certain identical specimens were also recovered in the habitational deposits at Takalghat.

The objects of copper comprised bangles, bells, dishes with distinctive lids, bell-shaped objects, covers and possibly the face-ornament of a horse. All these are exquisitely executed indicating mastery over copper, bronze and copper alloy technology. (Appendix II).

(i) Bangles

(Fig. 28, Nos. 1-8; Pl. XIX, A-B)

Of the twenty-two specimens, two were found in the horizons of Phase IB at Takalghat and the rest came from the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur. Khapa gave sixteen and the latter four.

These resolve themselves into three categories: (i) with open ends, (ii) with ends meeting, and (iii) with overlapping ends. All these are solid and have a circular section. Their sizes show that they were used by adults as well as youngsters.

Fig. 28, No. 1 A complete bangle with open or gaping ends.
75, KP, Meg. 9

2 Complete bangle, thick, ends meeting.
40, GP, Meg. 2

3 Smaller bangle, thick, slightly ovalish section, ends overlapping.
19, KP, Meg. 2

4 Similar to No. 2 above but thicker.
164, TKG, (7); Phase IB

5 Similar to No. 1 above but thicker.
68, KP, Meg. 2

6 Small size bangle similar to No. 3 but the ends not overlapping.
63, GP, Meg. 2

7 Circular thick bangle with ends appearing possibly fused.
56, KP, Meg. 2

8 Largest specimen of a bangle, thick circular section, ends meeting.
9, KP, Meg. 1

(ii) Bell

(Fig. 28, No. 9; Pl. XXII, A)

A single specimen of a bell was found in the filling of Megalith No. 8 at Khapa. It has a copper body and an iron tongue.[1]

Fig. 28 No. 9 Almost a complete specimen of a copper bell, cylindrical high body, ringed top, iron tongue rivetted internally.
9a, KP, Meg. 1

(iii) Dishes with Decorated Lids

(Fig. 28, Nos. 10-11; Pl. XVI, XVII; XXA)

A couple of dishes with elaborately decorated lids or covers were found in Megalith Nos. 1 and 5 at Khapa. Though found in a bad state of preservation, they were associated with a few crushed bones which possibly suggest that such containers

1. Cf. Rea *Catalogue*, Pl. II, No. 29; Junapani, *IA-R*, 1961-62, Pl. LVI, B.

were used to deposit bones at least in some of the Stone Circles.

The dishes have very thin convex sides, flat base and slightly rounded rim. They thicken at the centre of the base. The dishes were found to have been associated with round based lids with tapering profile (Pl. XX, A) and capped by a finial with bud or bird motif.

Lids with bird and animal motifs have been reported from Adichanallur[2] whereas BREEKS has illustrated[3] their use among the tribal people of the Nilgiris which might further corroborate the southern inspiration behind these. No tribe, either from Vidarbha or Madhya Pradesh, is reported to use such lids in any material.

Fig. 28, No. 10 A complete dish of copper with convex thin sides, flat base; the lid has a circular base, tapering sides crowned by a finial depicting four birds perching and facing each other.
64, KP, Meg. 5

11 Similar to above but bigger in size; thicker convex sides, flat base; the lid having a motif of four buds.
65, KP, Meg. 1

(iv) BELL-SHAPED OBJECTS

(Fig. 28, Nos. 13-16; Pl. XVIII)

A group of six such objects was recovered in the black earth filling of Megalith No. 1 at Khapa in association with bones identified as those of an animal of the equidae family. These are domical in profile, hollow, with ringed top and have a perforation at the centre of the dome. Some of these were found to contain bone pieces. It is quite possible that these served as bells around the neck of a horse whose bones were found in this Stone Circle.

Fig. 28, No. 13 A hollow domical object of copper sheet, ringed top, perforation at the centre of the dome.
19, KP, Meg. 1

14 Similar to above but smaller and containing a bone piece.
18, KP, Meg. 1

15 Similar to above but thicker, bone fragment inside.
15, KP, Meg. 1

16 Similar to No. 14 above but with sides getting thicker towards the top.
17, KP, Meg. 1

(v) BELL-SHAPED LID OR COVER

Fig. 28, No. 17 A small size, squattish, hollow cover with ring hold, no perforation.
3, KP, Meg. 3

(vi) KNOBBED LID OR COVER

Fig. 28, No. 12 An inverted funnel shaped lid with a solid round knob at the apex.
14, KP, Meg. 1

(vii) FACE ORNAMENT OF A HORSE (?)

(Fig. 29, No. 19; Pl. XXI)

This is a unique piece found over the mouth portion of the badly disturbed skeleton of a horse exposed in Megalith No. 6 at Khapa.

2. Rea, *Catalogue*, Pl. II, Nos. 16-17, 21-29

3. BREEKS, J. W., *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, (London, 1873), Pls. XXXVI–XXXIX

The object is made of a very thin sheet of copper. On plan it has a crescentic head and a somewhat circular lower portion, the whole looking like the Brahmi alphabet '*ma*'. It is so made that the object would fit neatly over the face of a horse.

Over the copper sheet face were found to have been placed conical copper knobs rivetted at the back with iron pins. The central knob is the maximum in relief, and is vertically elongated. Associated with this were found several hollow tubes of copper with crescentic sheets rivetted at its two ends. How these were fitted over the ornament was not possible to ascertain. Being thin and having remained in black clay over the centuries, the entire piece was badly damaged.

(viii) Unidentified Object

Fig. 28, No. 18 A thin piece of copper sheet with rectangular section, one end broad and crescentic, the other bar-like and broken.
144, KP, Meg. 1

10. Retrospect

The foregoing pages have detailed out the nature of the data encountered in the habitational deposits at Takalghat and that recovered in some of the Stone Circles at Khapa and Gangapur.

This data brings out a few noteworthy features pertaining to the cultural identity between Takalghat habitations and the material culture associated with the funerary monuments of Khapa and Gangapur.

The cultural identity covers the data in respect of pottery, beads, iron objects and the fauna.

The ceramic evidence shows that except the painted pottery, there is a remarkable identity between the rest of the wares associated with the habitation and the burials. Whereas the painted pottery is profusely associated in all the phases of occupation at Takalghat as also in the "megalithic phase" of occupation at Kaundinyapura and the earliest one at Paunar, the megalithic folk never seem to have placed it in the burials.

However, the rest of the wares, *viz*.- the black-and-red, the coarse red, the micaceous red and others are identical both in fabric and typology at Takalghat and Khapa as is clear from the occurrence of similar evidence in both these.

The same basic identity can be traced in respect of beads. Agate, carnelian and crystal are the favoured materials for bead-making both at Takalghat and Khapa. Especially the carnelian beads with etched pattern are identical, which further emphasises the cultural identity between the habitations and the Stone Circle burials.

The same is true regarding the iron objects. Even if the identity of very normal types of tools is not taken into consideration, the find of similar arrowheads, the axe with crossed ring-band fasteners, and the double-edged adzes both at Takalghat, Khapa and Gangapur underlines the cultural and technological identity.

There is yet another element common to both. The study of the fauna recovered at Takalghat and Khapa (*Appendix I*) shows that whereas bones of domesticated animals like sheep, goat, bull, pig, etc., are common in the habitational deposits at Takalghat, they are absent in the Stone Circles. The only faunal factor common to both is the bones of the horse or of animals of the equidae family. It appears, therefore, that animals of agricultural or farm use were not buried in the Stone Circles.

These factors are sufficient to bring out the cultural identity between the habitational deposits and the Stone Circles.

II

The folks who lived at Takalghat and buried their dead at Khapa and Gangapur on the opposite bank, show certain cultural distinctions which may be emphasised here.

The people of the megalithic tradition at Takalghat seemed to have lived in small size houses with clay walls and lime and clay floorings in which wooden posts were sunk which supported probably a light roof above. It appears that they raised the floor levels frequently. Such houses, however, seem to have been affected by fire very often.

They domesticated animals and reared pigs, cows and bulls, and sheep and goat. The horse was also known to them.

In ceramic industries, they were adept as indicated by the finer and medium thick fabrics. Besides a range of unpainted wares, they also used in every day life painted pottery with entirely geometrical

designs. On the black-and-red pottery, they made some marks in graffito. Whereas bowls, dishes, basins and storage pots represent the normal range, distinctive shapes like the pot-stands display their capacity to turn out off-the-beat forms as well.

As in pottery, so in the field of iron and copper and bronze technology also they were skilled artisans. They used ladles, cauldrons, chisels, adzes, swords, daggers, arrowheads, spikes and nail-parers commensurate with their requirements. In copper, they prepared dishes with covers having delightful motifs, as also ornaments for animals. The rivetting of copper knobs over a copper sheet with iron pins bespeaks their mastery over metal technology (*Appendix II*).

They were extremely artistic in their ornamentation. This is attested by beautifully executed beads of agate, carnelian and crystal and copper bangles. On carnelian they etched precise linear patterns in white. That they knew glass is also evidenced by the occurrence of glass beads in the Stone Circles. Nail-parers point to their aesthetic sense whereas comb impression on one of the objects of iron proves that they used combs for combing the hair.

They indulged in an elaborate funerary ritual as evidenced by the layout of the Stone Circles. The constructional pattern appears to have involved the placement of reasonably big boulders in a circular plan and then the filling of it by clay capped by pebbles to such a thickness as to cover up half the height of the peripheral stones. In the centre, they sometimes made a depression in which very fragmentary bones were deposited. These were sometimes also placed in a copper dish or a vessel of the micaceous red ware. That in one Stone Circle the remains of more than one person were deposited was indicated by the find of premolars more in numbers than those of a single person. (*Appendix I*).

A study of the human remains shows that the buried persons ranged between 17 and 25 years in age.

Along with human remains, they also deposited the remains of horse, but no other animal, which emphasises the importance of the horse in the life of the people. It is quite possible that some Stone Circles were animal burials as no human relics were encountered in these.

About the food habits of the megalithic folk, no details could be had for want of sufficient evidence. However, the find of fish hooks and net sinkers of terracotta indicate that they partook of fish. The occurrence of occasional pestles of stone might suggest their use in pounding grain. In addition, the evidence of charred bones of birds, zebu and fowl, the cut marks on the bones of goat and the occurrence of *Lamellidens marginalis* are suggestive of their food habits.

III

That the people with such a set up of material culture occupied a fairly large area of eastern Vidarbha is clear from the provenance of the megalithic monuments as discussed earlier. That the people who habitated Takalghat, Khapa, Gangapur, Kaundinyapura I, Paunar I and Junapani were culturally identical is underlined by the identity of material equipment recovered at these places. For instance, the ceramic data shows a remarkable similarity not only in fabric but also in typology as indicated, wherever necessary, in earlier pages. Apart from pottery, some of the iron artefacts are common at Takalghat, Khapa, Junapani and Kaundinyapura. Similar is the case with etched carnelian beads as reported from Junapani, Khapa and Kaundinyapura. Some of the objects like the copper bell with iron tongue are common to the above mentioned sites. Similar is the case with copper bangles and daggers of iron. All these considerations would lead one to the deduction that the region under study had a homogeneous cultural substratum prior to the early historical period, the distinctive features of which can be visualised in a very individualised painted pottery tradition bearing no affinity with the chalcolithic painted pottery tradition of the Jorwe Culture, the mastery

over iron as well as copper technology and a burial mode involving very fractional burial of human remains along with the bones of the animals of the equidae family in a circular alignment of stones with clay and pebble filling.

IV

The period when such a culture flourished in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra can no longer be a guess work. Unfortunately no C14 dates for Junapani are available. The period proposed for "the megalithic phase" at Kaundinyapura appears to be rather over-liberal[1] and as such cannot be accepted merely on stratigraphic considerations based solely on the horizon of the NBP.

As stated earlier, the C14 date for the lowermost level of Phase IB at Takalghat comes to 555 B. C., which implies that the first habitation should be earlier — how much earlier could be reasonably deducted taking into consideration the thickness of the habitational deposit of Phase IA. If, therefore, the period proposed for this, in the section on Chronology (*ante*, p. 13), is accepted as possible, then it may lead to the assumption that the N-E region of Maharashtra had come under the sway of megalithic-cum-painted pottery-cum-iron using-culture when in the central and northern Deccan the Chalcolithic culture was on the wane. It would have been very rewarding if we had C14 date for Tekwada.

V

The culture that flourished in the Vidarbha region in the early part of the first millenium B. C., shows remarkable features bespeaking some contact or inspiration from Andhra-Tamilnadu. These pertain to some ceramic shapes, iron tools and etched beads reported from Brahmagiri, Maski, Sanur and Adichanallur. These have been referred to in the respective sections earlier. Certain ceramic shapes, the patterns on etched carnelian beads, graffiti marks on the black-and-red ware and some items in the iron artefacts bear close resemblance between Takalghat-Khapa and the southern sites referred to above. However, no C14 dates are available for these sites which could be compared to the one available at Takalghat. However, if the C14 dates for the Neolithic-Megalithic overlap at Hallur, referred to earlier (*ante*, p. 13) are undisputed, then they open up interesting possibilities pertaining to the migration of certain cultural traits in South India and the Deccan.

VI

Who were the people who settled over the Vidarbha region early in the first millenium B. C.? Though no precise answer is possible, certain traits assume a personality.

The skeletal evidence from the Stone Circles at Khapa being very meagre, it is not possible to surmise about their ethnic traits. It may only be stated that the remains of the buried persons point to their age group being between 17 and 25 and suggest that some of the persons so buried, had teeth trouble. (*Appendix I*).

Even otherwise, there does not appear to have been any finality in this matter. The skeletal evidence from the South Indian megaliths has been fairly good. And yet after noting the statistical constants revealed in the study of megalithic skeletal remains from Brahmagiri, Adittanalur, Nagarjunakonda, Yeleswaram, Piklihal and Maski, SEN points out the "larger variability in almost all the traits" and pleads for the fulfilment of two conditions : "the first is to get adequate number of skeletons from a given region, and secondly, we must get hold of fairly good undistorted skulls".[2] In the light of this observation, it is futile to expect any generalisation regarding the megalithic people in the present state of the data.

1. DIKSHIT puts it to c. 2000 B. C., See *op. cit.*, p. 29
2. SEN, D. K., "Observations on the Megalithic Skeletal Remains", *Seminar Papers on the Problem of Megaliths in India* (Varanasi, 1969), p. 97

However, certain significant items may be brought out. For instance, the copper dishes with covers having bird or bud finials deserve notice. BREEKS[3] has long back (1873) published a detailed account of the "*Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*", in which the Khapa bird-lid has a parallel in terracotta. This is culturally significant as such lids are distinctive and have not, so far, been reported in any other context except in the megalithic as at Khapa and Adichanallur. The concentration of megalithic remains in the South as also in the adjacent region of Andhra Pradesh which has open borders with the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, assumes, therefore, significance which has relevance in culture dynamics.

The observations of SANKALIA in respect of the dolmens near Poona are also significant. He refers to the practice of using the dolmens as the shrine of a local deity called Chedoba by the local people in Bhosari near Poona. He adds[4] that "Even today Kurumbhars, a shepherd caste, bury their dead in a dolmen-like tomb, inside which are placed round stones painted with sindura". It appears, therefore, that megalithism and megalithic material equipment and ritual have been a legacy with some of the tribal people in the Deccan and the South.

Even now, one can distinctly detect cultural influence from the Andhra region in the districts of Bhandara, Chanda and Nagpur. It may not be illogical to trace it back to at least the early centuries of the first millenium B. C. — as the present excavation suggests, — when iron using people of megalithic tradition made their cultural impact on the indigenous folks in Vidarbha having a painted pottery tradition distinctly different from the Chalcolithic painted pottery in vogue in the rest of Maharashtra.

3. *op. cit;* Pls. XXXVI-XXXIX
4. *BDCRI*, 1939-40, p. 184

APPENDIX I

SKELETAL REMAINS FROM TAKALGHAT AND KHAPA EXCAVATIONS

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This report deals with the skeletal remains from Takalghat and Khapa excavated during two field seasons.

Takalghat and Khapa are two places on either side of the Krishna. These places are situated about eighteen miles away from Nagpur or about three miles away from Butibori village which is on Nagpur-Wardha route. The former place, i. e. Takalghat, is an extant village active even at present with human habitation, while the latter is now deserted.

A date of 555[1] B. C. has been assigned to the habitations of Takalghat based on radio-carbon dating from the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

Synopsis :

The excavations of the mound at Takalghat yielded the representatives of 11 species. They are :

1. *Lamellidens marginalis* (Lamarck)
   (The Fresh Water Mussel)
2. *Viviparus bengalensis* (Lamarck)
   (The Banded Pond Snail)
3. Rattus rattus (Linn).
   (The Common Indian Rat)
4. Bos indicus Linn.
   (The Zebu or domestic humped cattle of India)
5. Bubalus bubalis Linn.
   (The Indian Buffalo)
6. Capra hircus aegagrus Erxl.
   (The Goat)
7. Ovis vignei Blyth. race. domesticus
   (The Sheep)
8. Equus caballus Linn.
   (The Horse)
9. Cervus unicolor kerr.
   (The Sambhar Deer)
10. Sus scrofa cristatus wagner
    (The Pig)
11. Gallus sp.
    (The domestic Fowl).

The Megalithic Stone Circles at Khapa yielded the representatives of two species. They are :

1. Homo sapiens Linn.
   (The thinking Man)
2. Equus caballus Linn.
   (The Horse)

1. *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1967-68, p. 71

In brief, Takalghat remains represent mollusc shells, birds, domestic animals, rat and sambhar deer, while Khapa megaliths yielded horse and human remains.

All the remains at both the places are fragmentary and some are encrusted with hard earth. As the bones are fragmentary in nature, they are unsuitable for measurements.

As at Maski[2] and Paunar[3], Takalghat remains consist of a number of bones which belong to young individuals. Khapa megalithic bone remains represent mostly teeth which belong to Homosapiens Linn. (The Man) and the horse. It has been reported that Junapani[4] megaliths also yielded human and Equus remains.

Acknowledgements :

I am indeed very grateful to Dr. S. B. Deo for the help in undertaking the study of the excavated data, and the keen interest shown in the preparation of this report. I also wish to record my gratitude to the Director General, Director of Explorations, and Superintendent who have very kindly deputed my services for some period to this work. Lastly I am thankful to the Veterinary Science College authorities for allowing me to look into their collection of some animal skeletons and also the library in connection with my study.

Statistical Deductions :

Altogether 288 skeletal remains, apart of mollusc shells, from Takalghat have been examined. Out of these, the Zebu alone contributed 63.88%, Rattus 0.69%, the domestic Fowl 2.77%, Buffalo 7.32%, Goat 15.27%, Sheep 3.12%, the Horse 0.35%, the Sambhar deer 0.35% and the Pig 6.25%. Thus the Zebu appears to be the most favoured among the live-stock animals.

(A) TAKALGHAT

Description of Remains :

(a) Invertebrata

Phylum : Mollusca
Class : Pelecypoda
Order : Eulamellibranchia
Family : Uniondae

Lamellidens marginalis (Lamarck)

(A fresh Water Mussel)

No. 199, TKG, 1, (8), Fragment of Shell : Phase IA

In the excavations at Takalghat only a shell fragment of *Lamellidens marginalis* (Lamarck), i. e. the fresh water mussel is represented. It occurs in the quiet and flowing fresh water, in the vicinity of fresh water and in small marshy places. It is widely distributed in India in time and space. It resembles the modern specimen

2. *Ancient India*, No. 13, 1957, pp. 121-129
3. 'Animal remains from Paunar'; *Paunar Excavations* (1967), pp. 117-127
4. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, p. 33

[illegible] Chandoli and Tekkalakota. Apart from the use of its inner contents as food [illegible] and for [illegible] and also in the making of beads from [illegible] purpose.

Class : Gastropoda
Order : Rectimbranchia
Family : Viviparidae

Viviparus bengalensis (Lamarck)
(The Banded — Pond Shell)
No. 361, TKG, 1 (7); Shell fragment : Phase IB

The solitary shell fragment *Viviparus bengalensis* (Lamarck), that is, the banded pond-shell, is also represented in the collection. This shell resembles the modern specimen and also the one from Maski. This organism is fairly distributed in India and occurs in ponds, lakes and rivers.

Class : Aves, Carinate
Order : Gallinae

Gallus Sp.
(The Domestic Fowl)

1.	75	TKG-1	(4)	Long bone of a bird
2.	223	,,	(7)	Limb bone
3.	225	,,	(7)	Fragmentary femur
4.	226	,,	,,	Fragment of Tarsometatarsus
5.	227	,,	,,	Fragment of Humerus
6.	249	,,	(3)	Fragmentary tarsometatarsus
7.	253	,,	,,	Femur fragment without distal end
8.	266	,,	,,	Humerus fragment with signs of charring

All these belong to Phase IB.

Eight long bone remains from Takalghat excavations represent domestic fowl. These remains resemble modern specimen of domestic fowl. One of the bones indicates signs of charring thereby leading to the inference that roasting of birds had taken place for eating purpose.

A well preserved intact specimen of femur (Pl. XXVI, 3) is reproduced.

Vertebrata

Order : Rodentia
Family : Muridae
Sub-Family : Murinae

5. Deo & Ansari, *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, pp. 188-193.
6. Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra, *The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalakota*, pp. 87-89.
7. *Ancient India*, No. 13, 1957, pp. 121-129.

Rattus rattus (Linn.)

(The common Indian Rat)

1.	228,	TKG-1	(7)	Femur without proximal end
2.	142,	,,	(7A)	Incisor tooth fragments

Only two fragmentary remains represent Indian rat. They are from Phase IB occupational levels. A well preserved specimen of femur (Pl. XXVI, 4) is illustrated.

Order : Artiodactyla

Family : Bovidae

Sub-Family : Bovinae

Bos indicus Linn.

(The zebu or the humped cattle of India)

S. No.	*Bone No.*	*Site*	*Layer*	*Identification*
1.	1	TKG-1 : IA :	(8)	3rd and 4th metatarsal Bone without distal epiphysis.
2.	7	TKG-1 : IB :	(7A)	Fragment of Astragalus.
3.	8	,, ,,	,,	Proximal end of Radio-ulna with slight indication of charring on Radius.
4.	12	,, ,,	,,	Third phalanx.
5.	13	,, ,,	,,	Left Astragalus.
6.	14	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of left mandible with premolar and molars.
7.	15	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of distal part of left humerus with lateral and medial condyles.
8.	16	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
9.	17	,, IB :	(7A)	Incomplete atlas Vertebra of young one.
10.	19	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of left Tibia.
11.	21	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of Astragalus.
12.	27	,, : IA :	(11)	Calcaneum.
13.	28	,, : IB :	(7A)	2nd phalanx.
14.	29	,, : IA :	(11)	Upper Molar.
15.	30	,, ,,	(8)	Proximal fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal slightly charred.
16.	31	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
17.	33	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar tooth.
18.	35	,, ,,	,,	Distal Epiphysis of cannon bone.
19.	36	,, ,,	,,	Upper premolar.
20.	37	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar.

and also the shell remains at Chandoli[5] and Tekkalakota[6]. Apart from the use of its inner contents as food, its shells are used as spoons, scrapers and for peeling green mangoes and also in the making of beads from thicker shells that are for ornamental purpose.

Class : Gastropoda
Order : Pectinibranchia
Family Viviparidae

Viviparus bengalensis (Lamarck)
(The Banded — Pond Shell)
No, 361, TKG, 1 (7); Shell fragment : Phase IB

The solitary shell fragment *Viviparus bengalensis* (Lamarck), that is, the banded pond-shell, is also represented in the collection. This shell resembles the modern specimen and also the one from Maski[7]. This organism is fairly distributed in India and occurs in ponds, lakes and rivers.

Class : Aves, Carinate
Order : Gallinae

Gallus Sp.
(The Domestic Fowl)

1.	75	TKG-1	(4)	Long bone of a bird
2.	223	,,	(7)	Limb bone
3.	225	,,	(7)	Fragmentary femur
4.	226	,,	,,	Fragment of Tarsometatarsus
5.	227	,,	,,	Fragment of Humerus
6.	249	,,	(3)	Fragmentary tarsometatarsus
7.	253	,,	,,	Femur fragment without distal end
8.	266	,,	,,	Humerus fragment with signs of charring.

All these belong to Phase IB.

Eight long bone remains from Takalghat excavations represent domestic fowl. These remains resemble modern specimen of domestic fowl. One of the bones indicates signs of charring thereby leading to the inference that roasting of birds had taken place for eating purpose.

A well preserved intact specimen of femur (Pl. XXVI, 3) is reproduced.

Vertebrata

Order : Rodentia
Family : Muridae
Sub-Family : Murinae

5. Deo & Ansari, *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, pp. 188-193
6. Nagaraj Rao and Malhotra, *The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalakota*, pp. 87-89
7. *Ancient India*, No. 13, 1957, pp.121-129

Rattus rattus (Linn.)

(The common Indian Rat)

1.	228,	TKG-1	(7)	Femur without proximal end
2.	142,	,,	(7A)	Incisor tooth fragments

Only two fragmentary remains represent Indian rat. They are from Phase IB occupational levels. A well preserved specimen of femur (Pl. XXVI, 4) is illustrated.

Order : Artiodactyla

Family : Bovidae

Sub-Family : Bovinae

Bos indicus Linn.

(The zebu or the humped cattle of India)

S. No.	*Bone No.*	*Site*	*Layer*	*Identification*
1.	1	TKG-1 : IA :	(8)	3rd and 4th metatarsal Bone without distal epiphysis.
2.	7	TKG-1 : IB :	(7A)	Fragment of Astragalus.
3.	8	,, ,,	,,	Proximal end of Radio-ulna with slight indication of charring on Radius.
4.	12	,, ,,	,,	Third phalanx.
5.	13	,, ,,	,,	Left Astragalus.
6.	14	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of left mandible with premolar and molars.
7.	15	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of distal part of left humerus with lateral and medial condyles.
8.	16	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
9.	17	,, IB :	(7A)	Incomplete atlas Vertebra of young one.
10.	19	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of left Tibia.
11.	21	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of Astragalus.
12.	27	,, : IA :	(11)	Calcaneum.
13.	28	,, : IB :	(7A)	2nd phalanx.
14.	29	,, : IA :	(11)	Upper Molar.
15.	30	,, ,,	(8)	Proximal fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal slightly charred.
16.	31	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
17.	33	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar tooth.
18.	35	,, ,,	,,	Distal Epiphysis of cannon bone.
19.	36	,, ,,	,,	Upper premolar.
20.	37	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar.

S. No.	Bone No.	Site	Layer	Identification
21.	38	TKG-1 : IB :	(5)	Upper jaw fragment with 1st and 2nd premolars and 1st, 2nd and 3rd molars, cusps worn out, some parts with tartar deposit.
22.	39	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
23.	40	,, ,,	,,	Distal end fragment of humerus with part of condyles.
24.	41	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete tooth.
25.	45	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
26.	47	,, ,,	,,	3rd phalanx.
27.	48	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of 3rd and 4th metacarpal.
28.	49	,, ,,	(5)	Tooth of Young one.
29.	51	,, ,,	,,	Rib fragment.
30.	52	,, ,,	(3)	Distal end fragment of Tibia.
31.	56	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar of young one.
32.	57	,, ,,	,,	Proximal part of cannon bone.
33.	67	,, ,,	(4)	Second phalanx. Young one charred at proximal end.
34.	68	,, ,,	,,	3rd phalanx fragment charred with a perforated hole.
35.	70	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of humerus partly charred.
36.	72	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of upper jaw with the cheek teeth.
37.	73	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of lower jaw with 1st and 2nd premolars. Young one.
38.	78	,, ,,	,,	Rib fragment.
39.	79	,, ,,	,,	Pre-maxilla fragment.
40.	71	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with two cheek teeth.
41.	81	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with two cheek teeth and one unerupted tooth. Young one.
42.	82	,, ,,	(6)	Lower jaw fragment with 3rd molar. Very fragile. Young one.
43.	83	,, ,,	(6)	Incomplete Vertebra.
44.	84	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
45.	85	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete 2nd phalanx.
46.	87	,, ,,	,,	Fragments of ribs.
47.	88	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of acetabulum cavity of pelvis.
48.	89	,, ,,	,,	Proximal half of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
49.	90	,, ,,	,,	Distal half of 3rd and 4th metacarpal of young one.
50.	91	,, ,,	,,	One cheek tooth.
51.	93	,, ,,	(7)	Fragment of Astragalus with chopping mark.
52.	94	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus complete, with slight charring indications.
53.	95	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of humerus with concussion marks and cut marks.
54.	96	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus. Young one.
55.	97	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with cheek tooth. Young one.
56.	98	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with cheek tooth of young one.
57.	100	,, ,,	,,	Shaft of cannon bone with cut marks.
58.	101	,, ,,	(6)	Shaft fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.

S. No.	Bone No.	Site	Layer	Identification
59.	102	TKG-1 : IB :	(6)	Upper jaw fragment with 1st and 2nd premolars and 1st molar; Young one.
60.	103	,, ,,	,,	Calcaneum.
61.	104	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
62.	106	,, ,,	,,	Femur fragment with capitulum and fovea.
63.	107	,, ,,	,,	Tooth of a young one.
64.	109	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of humerus with chopping mark and cut mark. Young one.
65.	110	,, ,,	(7)	Incomplete calcaneum.
66.	113	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with cheek tooth.
67.	114	,, ,,	,,	Patella with light cut mark impression.
68.	115	,, ,,	,,	Carpus-Tarsus Bone, partly charred.
69.	116	,, ,,	,,	Upper cheek tooth without root.
70.	118	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with grinding teeth. Cusps not worn out. Young one.
71.	120	,, ,,	,,	Naviculo-culoid. Young one.
72.	121	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus, Young one. Slightly charred, chopping mark.
73.	122	,, ,,	,,	Mandible fragment.
74.	123	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of femur with Capitulum.
75.	125	,, ,,	,,	First phalanx.
76.	126	,, ,,	,,	Rib fragment.
77.	127	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with cheek teeth. Young one.
78.	128	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with second molar and yet to erupt 3rd molar. Young one.
79.	130	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete tooth.
80.	131	,, ,,	,,	Mandible fragment with three cheek teeth. Young one.
81.	132	,, ,,	,,	Upper cheek tooth worn out.
82.	133	,, ,,	,,	Mandible fragment with 2nd and 3rd molar.
83.	135	,, ,,	,,	Upper cheek tooth.
84.	136	,, ,,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with two cheek teeth. Cusps worn out.
85.	137	,, ,,	,,	One upper cheek tooth.
86.	138	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
87.	139	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
88.	144	,, ,,	(5)	Fragment of calcaneum.
89.	145	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of upper jaw with three cheek teeth.
90.	149	,, ,,	,,	Cheek tooth. Young one.
91.	150	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus of young one with chopping mark.
92.	152	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of Radius.
93.	157	,, : IC :	(1)	Femur fragment with capitulum.
94.	158	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete 3rd and 4th metacarpal.
95.	159	,, ,,	,,	Cheek tooth.
96.	161	,, ,,	(2)	Astragalus. Young one.
97.	162	,, ,,	,,	Upper cheek tooth worn out.
98.	186	,, : IA :	(8)	Pelvis fragment.
99.	187	,, ,,	,,	Shaft of humerus.

S. No.	Bone No.	Site	Layer	Identification
100.	189	TKG-1 : IA :	(8)	Condyle of humerus with chopping mark.
101.	190	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of Metatarsal bone. Young one.
102.	191	,, ,,	,,	Proximal part of ulna.
103.	192	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of humerus with chopping mark and cut marks by sharp and blunt instrument.
104.	193	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with two cheek teeth.
105.	198	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of humerus.
106.	200	,, : IB :	(7)	Astragalus. Young one.
107.	201	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of femur with capitulum.
108.	204	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of Radio-ulna.
109.	205	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus. Young one with marks of cut by sharp instrument.
110.	207	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of mandible.
111.	208	,, ,,	,,	Proximal fragment of 3rd and 4th metacarpal.
112.	209	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of Tibia.
113.	210	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus.
114.	211	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus. Young one.
115.	212	,, ,,	,,	A tooth with signs of charring.
116.	213	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
117.	214	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of cannon bone.
118.	217	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
119.	218	,, ,,	,,	3rd phalanx.
120.	219	,, ,,	,,	Two cheek teeth.
121.	228	,, ,,	(6)	Phalanx.
122.	229	,, : IA :	(8)	Upper 3rd molar with signs of charring and deposit of tartar.
123.	230	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
124.	232	,, ,,	,,	Lower 3rd molar of young one.
125.	232	,, : IC :	(2)	Fragment of rib.
126.	233	,, ,,	,,	Naviculo-cuboid.
127.	236	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with two cheek teeth. Young one.
128.	237	,, ,,	,,	Two cheek teeth.
129.	240	,, ,,	,,	Cheek tooth, charred.
130.	241	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar tooth.
131.	242	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of humerus.
132.	243	,, : IB :	(3)	Shaft fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal. Young one.
133.	244	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
134.	246	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of cannon bone.
135.	247	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete astragalus.
136.	254	,, ,,	,,	Lateral incisor.
137.	255	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with cheek teeth. Young one.
138.	278	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar tooth.
139.	279	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete Astragalus.
140.	280	,, ,,	,,	Fragmentary 3rd phalanx.
141.	282	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
142.	283	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.

S. No.	Bone No.	Site	Layer	Identification
143.	285	TKG-1 : IB :	(3)	Astragalus with chopping mark.
144.	286	,, ,,	(4)	Upper tooth without root.
145.	287	,, ,,	,,	Upper jaw fragment with third molar.
146.	292	,, ,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
147.	343	,, ,,	(7)	Left astragalus. Clear indications of charring. Sturdy bone.
148.	345	,, ,,	,,	Part of calcaneum. Young one; charred and with marks of cut.
149.	346	,, ,,	,,	Distal end fragment and radius. Young one.
150.	347	,, ,,	,,	3rd phalanx.
151.	348	,, ,,	,,	Distal fragment of Tibia.
152.	349	,, ,,	,,	Charred tooth.
153.	352	,, ,,	,,	Charred tooth.
154.	353	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with incomplete two teeth and one in a state of eruption. Young one.
155.	354	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of 3rd and 4th metacarpal, charred.
156.	356	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of radius with distinct marks of cut.
157.	357	,, ,,	(7A)	Lower jaw fragment with cheek teeth. Teeth blackish in colour. Young one.
158.	359	,, ,,	,,	3rd phalanx.
159.	360	,, ,,	,,	Proximal part of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
160.	362	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx, charred.
161.	363	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx, charred.
162.	365	,, ,,	(6)	Distal part of Radio-ulna. Young one.
163.	366	,, ,,	,,	Tooth.
164.	367	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of cannon bone.
165.	371	,, : IA :	(8)	Astragalus.
166.	372	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of Tibia.
167.	374	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
168.	375	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of femur. Young one.
169.	376	,, ,,	,,	Distal part of cannon bone.
170.	377	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
171.	378	,, ,,	,,	Proximal part of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
172.	379	,, ,,	,,	3rd and 4th metacarpal fragment.
173.	380	,, ,,	,,	Upper 3rd molar.
174.	381	,, ,,	,,	Proximal end-part of Tibia.
175.	383	,, ,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with 3 cheek teeth.
176.	384	,, ,,	,,	Upper molar tooth.
177.	387	,, ,,	,,	Upper two cheek teeth.
178.	388	,, ,,	,,	Proximal part of Tibia.
179.	389	,, ,,	,,	Astragalus fragment.
180.	181	,, ,,	,,	3rd and 4th metacarpal with signs of charring.
181.	182	,, ,,	,,	Fragmentary calcaneum.
182.	183	,, ,,	,,	Fragment of cannon bone without epiphysis of an young one.
183.	184	,, ,,	,,	1st phalanx.
184.	294	,, ,,	,,	Incomplete astragalus.

In all, 184 fragments of zebu are examined as above, including humerii, radii, cannon bones, mandibles, maxillae, teeth, femurs and tibiae. The few teeth available do not show any special peculiarities and resemble those reported from Paunar[8], Kaundinyapura[9], Hastinapura[10] and Maski[11], and are similar to the teeth of present day cattle. Conspicuously there are no horn cores in the lot. It has also been observed that some bones indicate definite charring and marks of cut by sharp instruments. It has also been observed that among teeth, a few are with a deposit of tartar, some with attrition and a few with signs of charring. Some of the 3rd molars were in a state of eruption of its fragmentary mandibles. Some of the bones represent young ones.

Some of the well-represented specimens such as the fragment of lower jaw with three cheek teeth (Pl. XXV, 7), Astragalus (Pl. XXV, 1), Naviculo-cuboid (Pl. XXV, 3), Astragalus (Pl. XXVI, 2) and 3rd phalanx (Pl. XXVI, 5) are illustrated.

Bubalus bubalis Linn.

(The Indian Buffalo)

1.	9	TKG-1	: IB :	7A	Ist phalanx.
2.	20	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
3.	32	,,	: IA :	8	Proximal part of cannon bone.
4.	34	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
5.	69	,,	: IB :	4	2nd phalanx.
6.	105	,,	,,	7	1st phalanx.
7.	108	,,	,,	,,	Shaft of femur.
8.	111	,,	,,	7	Incomplete 1st phalanx.
9.	117	,,	,,	,,	Incomplete 1st phalanx.
10.	132	,,	,,	,,	Distal fragment of Tibia.
11.	143	,,	,,	5	Upper tooth with cusps worn out.
12.	151	,,	,,	4	Cannon bone fragment.
13.	216	,,	,,	7	2nd phalanx.
14.	234	,,	: IC :	2	Astragalus
15.	238	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
16.	239	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
17.	289	,,	: IB :	4	Fragment of jaw with second and third molars.
18.	344	,,	,,	7	Distal fragment of radio-ulna, sturdy.
19.	364	,,	,,	6	Upper jaw fragment with 3 cheek teeth.
20.	382	,,	: IA :	8	Distal part of Tibia.
21.	384	,,	,,	,,	Distal part of humerus.

8. 'Animal Remains from Paunar', V. V. Rao, *in Paunar Excavations* (1967), pp.117-127
9. M. G. Dikshit, *Kaundinyapura*, p. 157
10. *Ancient India*, No. 10 & 11, pp. 107-120
11. *Ibid.*, No. 13, pp. 121-129

The total of 21 fragments of Buffalo has been examined. These fragments represent cannon bones, phalanx bones, jaw fragments, a few teeth and bones of tarsus. These fragments closely resemble those of recent buffaloes. The Takalghat remains are also similar to the ones from Maski[12] and Hastinapura[13].

Sub-Family : Caprinae

Capra hircus aegagrus Erxl.

(The Goat)

1.	2	TKG-1	: IB :	7-A	Fragment of maxilla with two upper molar teeth.
2.	3	,,	,,	,,	Fragmentary 3rd and 4th metacarpal without proximal end.
3.	5	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of mandible with 2nd premolar and three molars; not much attrition and the inference is that it is of a young one.
4.	6	,,	,,	7-A	1st phalanx.
5.	11	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal without proximal end.
6.	10	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of mandible with 2nd and 3rd molar.
7.	18	,,	,,	,,	Distal fragment of 3rd and 4th metatarsal.
8.	22	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of maxilla with worn out molar.
9.	23	,,	,,	,,	Scapula fragment with glenoid cavity and spine.
10.	24	,,	,,	,,	1st phalanx.
11.	25	,,	,,	,,	Proximal fragment of cannon bone.
12.	26	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx, charred.
13.	50	,,	,,	5	Tooth fragment.
14.	53	,,	,,	3	Part of Astragalus with indications of cut marks. Young one.
15.	54	,,	,,	3	Part of tooth.
16.	55	,,	,,	3	Upper 3rd molar.
17.	71	,,	,,	4	Fragmentary third phalanx.
18.	74	,,	,,	4	Incomplete calcaneum charred.
19.	76	,,	,,	4	Proximal fragment of femur.
20.	77	,,	,,	4	Astragalus of young one.
21.	146	,,	,,	5	Distal part of radius.
22.	148	,,	,,	5	Cheek tooth. Young one.
23.	153	,,	,,	4	3rd phalanx.
24.	154	,,	,,	,,	Proximal fragment of ulna.
25.	155	,,	,,	,,	Scapula fragment with glenoid cavity.
26.	156	,,	,,	,,	Lower jaw fragment with three cheek teeth of which the last molar is in unerupted state. Young one.
27.	163	,,	: IC :	2	1st phalanx.
28.	194	,,	: IA :	8	Horn core fragment.
29.	195	,,	,,	,,	3rd phalanx.
30.	196	,,	,,	,,	Scapula fragment with glenoid cavity.
31.	197	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of scapula with glenoid cavity.

12. *Ancient India*, No. 13, pp. 121-129

13. *Ibid.*, No. 10 & 11, pp. 107-120

32.	202	TKG-1	: IB :	7	Calcaneum.
33.	203	,,	,,	,,	Fragment of pelvis with acetabulum and part of obturator foramen.
34.	206	,,	,,	,,	Proximal fragment of ulna with notch and olecranon.
35.	215	,,	,,	,,	Distal fragment of cannon bone.
36.	219	,,	,,	7	Distal fragment of cannon bone.
37.	222	,,	,,	,,	Cervical vertebra.
38.	277	,,	,,	3	Distal fragment of femur with trochlear surface.
39.	288	,,	,,	4	Calcaneum, young one.
40.	351	,,	,,	7	A charred tooth.
41.	355	,,	,,	,,	Distal fragment of Tibia.
42.	358	,,	,,	7-A	1st phalanx.
43.	373	,,	: IA :	8	Distal part of Tibia.
44.	185	,,	,,	,,	3rd and 4th metatarsal without ends.

Forty-four fragments of Capra hircus aegagrus Erxl. are examined. The fragments comprise maxillae, mandibulae, cannon bones, teeth with slight attrition and some teeth very much worn out. The available teeth do not show any specialised peculiarities and generally resemble those of recent domestic goat. Bones like 2nd phalanx, calcaneum, indicate signs of charring. A few of the remains bear marks of cut. A few remains represent young ones. These remains resemble those of Paunar and Kaundinyapura.

Ovis Vignei Blyth. race. domesticus

(The Sheep)

1.	92	TKG-1	: IB :	7	Fragmentary calcaneum.
2.	112	,,	,,	,,	Proximal part of Tibia.
3.	245	,,	,,	3	Distal fragment of right humerus.
4.	250	,,	,,	,,	Right astragalus.
5.	291	,,	,,	4	Calcaneum.
6.	368	,,	,,	6	Distal part of humerus.
7.	369	,,	,,	7-A	Cannon bone fragment.
8.	385	,,	: IA :	8	Fragment of cannon bone.
9.	294	,,	: IB :	4	One fragmentary tooth without root.

Takalghat bone collection includes nine fragments of domestic sheep. All the remains are fragmentary. The available teeth do not show any special peculiarities and resemble those of recent sheep.

These fragments resemble those from Maski, Paunar and Hastinapura.

A well preserved specimen of fragmentary cannon bone (Pl. XXV, 6) is illustrated.

Order : Perissodactyla

Family : Equidae

Equus Caballus Linn

(The Horse)

No. 370, TKG-I, Layer 7A : IB : 2nd phalanx.

The solitary remain of second phalanx referred to above resembles the modern specimen of Equus Caballus linn.

The remains of Equus are also recorded in the megaliths of Junapani and Khapa.

Family : Suidae

Sus Scrofa Cristatus Wagner

(The Indian Domestic Pig)

1.	4	TKG-1	: IB :	7-A	One molar tooth of young one.
2.	42	,,	,,	5	Jaw fragment with premolar and molar of a young one.
3.	43	,,	,,	7-A	Jaw fragment with a premolar, young one.
4.	44	,,	,,	,,	Fragmentary jaw with a premolar.
5.	46	,,	,,	5	Jaw fragment with 1st and 2nd premolar. Young one.
6.	99	,,	,,	7	Upper jaw fragment with three cheek teeth.
7.	119	,,	,,	,,	Mandible fragment with two premolars and with unerupted third molar; young one.
8.	124	,,	,,	,,	Mandible fragment with three teeth of which the last one in unerupted state.
9.	147	,,	,,	5	Lower jaw fragment with 2nd and 3rd molar; unerupted 3rd molar; Young one.
10.	235	,,	: IC :	2	Lower cheek tooth, Young one.
11.	248	,,	: IB :	3	Upper third molar of a young one.
12.	251	,,	,,	3	Lower jaw fragment, teeth, young one.
13.	252	,,	,,	,,	Upper tooth.
14.	284	,,	,,	,,	2nd phalanx.
15.	290	,,	,,	4	Massive lower jaw fragment with first and second premolars and second and third molars; cusps worn out.
16.	350	,,	,,	7	Lower jaw fragment with tooth.
17.	390	,,	: IA :	8	Upper tooth.
18.	295	,,	: IB :	4	Lower jaw fragment with three teeth; young one.

Altogether eighteen fragmentary remains have been examined. They represent sus scrofa cristatus wagner. Some of the teeth and bone remains were of young ones. The bone remains do not indicate any signs of charring or marks of cut on the remains. The teeth resemble closely the teeth of modern domestic pig. The remains also resemble those from Paunar.

Some of the better preserved specimens such as upper jaw fragment with three cheek teeth (Pl. XXV, 5) and a tooth (Pl. XXV, 2) are illustrated.

Family : Cervidae

Cervus unicolor, Kerr

(The Sambhar)

Deer

1. 160 TKG-1 : 1 : IC : Antler fragment with burr.

A solitary fragment of antler of the Sambhar deer has been recorded. It consists of parts of burr. Fragmentary specimen of antler (Pl. XXVI, 1) is reproduced.

(B) KHAPA STONE CIRCLES

S. No.	*Bone No.*	*Locus*	*Site*	*Identification*
1.	311	Meg. 1	Khapa	Human upper canine tooth with wear and tear on lingual side.
2.	310	,,	,,	Human upper incisor with enamel, root with wear and tear indications at lingual side.
3.	312	,,	,,	Human upper canine with worn out appearance. It had slight cavity near the pointed edge indicating dental caries. It had slight tartar deposit.
4.	313	,,	,,	Human upper second right molar with cusps and crown worn out. At lingual side it had two cavities indicating dental caries.
5.	314	,,	,,	Upper second left molar and the rest of features similar to No. 4.
6.	315	,,	,,	Lower second molar. Cusps worn out and with attrition.
7.	316	,,	,,	Upper third molar, i. e. wisdom tooth indicating the age of the person above 17 years.
8.	317	,,	,,	Upper third molar, i. e. wisdom tooth, indicating the age of the person above 17 years.
9.	318	,,	,,	Lower third molar with attrition.
10.	319	,,	,,	Lower 1st molar with part of two roots.
11.	320	,,	,,	Lower third molar with attrition and enamel slightly worn out.
12.	321	,,	,,	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

S. No.	Bone No.	Locus	Site	Identification
13.	322, 323, 324, 325	Meg. 1	Khapa	Upper four premolars of which two are with dental caries.
14.	326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331	,,	,,	Six premolars of which two premolars are with disease of dental caries.
				Note :—It is clear by the study of above teeth and by the number of ten premolars that the teeth belong to more than one person, likely to two persons.
15.	332, 333	,,	,,	Second and third molars with internal slight hollowness. Both of the teeth experienced attrition.
16.	324	,,	,,	Half fragment of upper incisor.
17.	325 & 336	,,	,,	Two lower incisors.
18.	337	,,	,,	One canine with indications of stain on it.
				Note :—It is clear from the above that there were two individuals, one with dental caries and other doubtful.
19.	338	,,	,,	Canine with vertical crack lines on enamel.
20.	339	,,	,,	E. caballus. 1st upper molar (Horse).
21.	340	,,	,,	E. caballus. Fragment of tooth.
22.	341	,,	,,	Human skull fragments.
23.	309	,,	,,	Cheek tooth of Equid.
24.	66	,,	,,	Fragment of Capitulum of Human femur.
25.	307	Meg. 2	,,	Fragments of Human Bones ?
26.	64	Meg. 5	,,	Human upper premolar. The tooth is small in size and without root.

S. No.	*Bone No.*	*Locus*	*Site*	*Identification*
27.	65	Meg. 5	Khapa	Human ? Shaft fragment of humerus.
28.	296	,,	,,	Human upper lateral incisor with part of root and with cutting edge slightly oblique.
29.	297	,,	,,	Human upper central incisor without root and indication of cingulum and bevelled cutting edge (horizontal). *Note* :—Nos. 296 and 297 indicate mal-occlusion.
30.	298	,,	,,	Human lower incisor with root and mesiolaterally compressed, oblique cutting edge.
31.	299	,,	,,	Human lower incisor without root and with oblique cutting edge.
32.	300	,,	,,	Human upper premolar without root.
33.	301	,,	,,	Lower premolar with incomplete root.
34.	302	,,	,,	,, ,, ,, ,,
35.	303	,,	,,	Lower molar without root.
36.	304	,,	,,	Lower first molar.
37.	306	,,	,,	2nd phalange of Human foot.
38.	165	Meg. 6	,,	Equus caballus Linn. (Horse) Lower molars and Pre-molars.
39.	166	,,	,,	E. C. Upper and lower incisors (10).
40.	167	,,	,,	E. C. Upper molar and premolar teeth (11).
41.	179	,,	,,	E. C. 1st right Lower premolar.
42.	168	,,	,,	E. C. Linn. Distal fragment of 1st phalanx of pes.
43.	169	,,	,,	E. C. Distal part of cannon bone with marks of cut.
44.	170	,,	,,	E. C. 1st phalanx of Manus.
45.	171	,,	,,	E. C. Distal fragment of cannon bone.
46.	172	,,	,,	E. C. 2nd phalanx of Manus.
47.	173	,,	,,	E. C. ,, ,,
48.	174	,,	,,	E. C. Rt. Astragalus.
49.	175	,,	,,	E. C. 2nd phalanx of pes.
50.	176	,,	,,	E. C. Left Astragalus.

S. No.	Bone No.	Locus	Site	Identification
51.	177	Meg. 6	Khapa	E. C. 2nd phalanx of pes.
52.	178	,,	,,	E. C. Distal end fragment of 1st phalanx of pes.
53.	58	,,	,,	E. C. Distal end fragment of cannon bone.
54.	59	,,	,,	Human one, second lower right molar with only crown and no roots. The size of the tooth is small.
55.	60	,,	,,	Human 3rd left lower molar (wisdom tooth of female ?) the tooth is small, worn out with crown only and without roots.
56.	61	Meg. 7	Khapa	Human 2nd left lower molar with prominent cusps and crown and without root.
57.	62	,,	,,	Human 2nd lower molar small in size four cusps of crown without root.
58.	305	,,	,,	Human, capitulum of femur.

Megalith : 1

Megalith 1 of Khapa yielded several human teeth remains as well as a few Equus caballus Linn. teeth remains. It is clear from the study of human teeth and by the total number of ten premolars and five 3rd molars (wisdom teeth), that the teeth belong to more than one person and possibly to two persons. Further, as wisdom tooth eruption is normally between 17-25 years, and as wisdom teeth are indicated in the collection, the age of these teeth possessors is not less than 17 years, and therefore the concerned persons are majors.

A canine in the collection of teeth indicates reddish stain (Nicotin ?) suggestive of usage of tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) as masticatory or fumigatory by the person.

Some of these teeth clearly indicate cavities on the crown. This means that the person or persons suffered from a disease of dental caries. It may be recalled in this connection, that the pathogen of caries is bacteria called Lactobacillus acidophyllus. It is also clear from a close observation of the teeth, the consideration of size of the teeth and dental caries that the teeth are not just of one individual.

A few small human skull fragments and capitulum fragment of human femur are also evidenced in the same megalith.

Some of the well preserved human teeth such as molar (Pl. XXIV, 6), two upper premolars (Pl. XXIV, 7), upper incisor (Pl. XXIV, 8) and second molar (Pl. XXIV, 9), are reproduced.

Megalith : 2

This megalith yielded fragments of human bones.

Megalith : 5

Megalith 5 of Khapa yielded ten human teeth comprising four incisors, four premolars and two molars. This small number indicates that a complete set of teeth is not available from this megalith. All the ten teeth indicate some accretion of tartar which in turn means improper dental hygiene. Cusps of these teeth are worn out much due to attrition which is suggestive of food habits. Further the cutting edges of incisors and wear of teeth at particular places other than normal places suggest certain amount of mal-occlusion of dental arcade of the concerned person. Along with it, a human second phalange of foot was also collected in the megalith. No animal remains occur in this megalith.

Megalith : 6

Megalith 6 is represented by two human cheek teeth devoid of roots. These teeth are found associated in the same megalith with skeletal and teeth remains of Equus Caballus Linn. Human third molar (wisdom tooth) indicates that its individual was not less than 17 years in age at the time of death. Both the teeth are small in size. The remains of horse resemble those of the recent one. The incisors reveal 'the marks'[14] and the study of 'the marks' indicates that this animal is not less than five years in age, but likely to be between five and six years of age. The canine or 'tush' is not found in the lot of teeth. As this tooth is generally a characteristic of male one, it is difficult to record the sex in this case. A cannon bone fragment bears a cut mark on it. Some of the better preserved remains of Equus Caballus Linn., such as part of cannon bone (Pl. XXIV, 1), 1st phalanx (Pl. XXIV, 2) 2nd phalanx (Pl. XXIV, 3) and two incisors (Pl. XXIV, 4-5) are illustrated.

Megalith : 7

Megalith 7 reveals a few human lower molar teeth the size of which is small. It also reveals capitulum of human femur. This megalith was not equipped with any animal remains.

Summary and Conclusions :

The occurrence of mollusc shells was attributable to the close proximity of river adjacent to the mound. Sambar deer is an inhabitant of forest coupled with grassy terrain, and therefore, the find of antler at Takalghat mound reveals the animals' ecological habitat of forest coupled with grassy land at close proximity, apart from its being a game or sport animal.

The animal which was not probably domesticated and which frequently lived in the vicinity of human habitation is the rat represented by a few of its remains at Takalghat.

The avine (Gallus sp.) remains suggest that the inhabitants were in the know of domestication of fowl and poultry. Apart from its food values, its value as game cannot be ruled out. The following representatives were probably maintained in a state of domestication. They are : the Zebu, the Buffalo, the Goat, the Sheep, the Domestic Fowl, the Horse and the Pig. The presence of large number of Zebu and Pig lead to the inference that the inhabitants practised full-fledged domestication. The occurrence of live-stock animals further adds to the inference that farming economy was practised by these people. Some remains of Zebu and Goat indicate signs of charring and cut marks thereby leading to the observation that they were used as

14. *Animal Management* (London, 1933), pp. 36-37

food. As Bubalus bubalis exists in the vicinity of marshy land mixed with forest, it is suggestive of the same condition in this habitational site. The limited evidence of this animal indicates that the Takalghatians did not maintain large herds of this animal.

The Khapa Stone Circles yielded human relics. These available bone remains were not found in articulation *in situ* in all of the megaliths leading to the inference that the defleshed remains were buried.

The finds of Equus Caballus Linn. in Meg. 1 and Meg. 6 suggest the practice of the inclusion of the remains of pet animals in burials. In Junapani[15] also human remains are recorded in association of Equus bones in megaliths. Interestingly, the occurrence of horse with human remains seems to be one of the features in megalithic culture of Vidarbha. In some Stone Circles more than one individual were buried as revealed by the evidence of teeth. The occurrence of wisdom teeth shows that the individuals were adults. Some of the teeth indicate cavities indicating that some teeth suffered from caries.

The stain on the canine tooth is suggestive of the use of tobacco as masticatory or fumingatory. The observations on horse incisor teeth reveal that it was above 5 years in age. Some of the human teeth show the accretion of tartar indicative of the quality of dental care. Further observations point out a certain amount of mal-occlusion of teeth in the dental arcade of the individual.

15. *IA-R*, 1961-62, p. 33

APPENDIX—II

ANALYSIS OF COPPER AND IRON OBJECTS FROM TAKALGHAT AND KHAPA

By

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&
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University Deptt. of Chemistry

Samples of the pieces of an iron spear and a copper bangle found in Megalithic context at Khapa were received for qualitative and quantitative analysis from Prof. S. B. Deo.

Analysis of these objects was undertaken to determine the constituents of the metal so as to relate them with similar objects reported in similar context elsewhere.

(*I*) *The method of analysis*:

(*A*) *Copper Bangle* : (No. 54, KP, Meg. 7)

The copper bangle was first qualitatively analysed when it was found to contain copper, iron and tin only. These were then quantitatively estimated as follows :

The copper bangle was cleansed and treated with concentrated nitric acid when a part dissolved and a white residue was left behind. This residue was identified as hydrated stannic oxide and was estimated as SnO_2 H_2O (Metastannic acid).

From the solution, after necessary treatment, copper was precipitated as copper sulphide by passing hydrogen sulphide gas. The precipitate was redissolved in dilute nitric acid and copper estimated Iodometrically using standard thiosulphate solution.

The filtrate from which copper had been removed was taken and hydrogen sulphide removed from it completely. Iron was then precipitated as iron hydroxide and the precipitate converted into ferric iron by dissolving it in dilute nitric acid. It was then estimated colorimetrically using potassium thiocynate as reagent.

(*B*) *Iron Spear* : (No. 55, KP, Meg. 7)

The piece of the iron spear was cleansed and dissolved in concentrated nitric acid and was analysed qualitatively for common elements. Only iron was found to be present. It was estimated quantitatively by precipitating as iron hydroxide and its subsequent ignition to iron oxide.

(II) *The results of the analysis* :

(*A*) *Copper bangle* was found to contain—

Copper : 88%

Iron : 3%

Tin : 8.5%

(*B*) *Iron Spear* was found to contain—

Iron : 99.6%

(*III*) *Observations on the analysis* :

(*A*) *Copper Bangle* :

From the analysis it appears that the bangle is made of an alloy which can be called Bronze or Gunmetal. The limits of the main components, *viz*.- copper and tin, are known to vary widely in alloys of these (copper 60.87% and tin 1.30%). The presence of iron is not unusual. Modern alloys of copper and tin are also known to contain small amounts of iron, zinc or lead; iron, if present, is of the order of 1 to 3%. It appears probable that the addition of iron may be deliberate for conferring hardness on the alloy.

(*B*) *Iron Spear* :

The piece from the spear contained 99.6% iron. It is very hard and may be a variety of steel.

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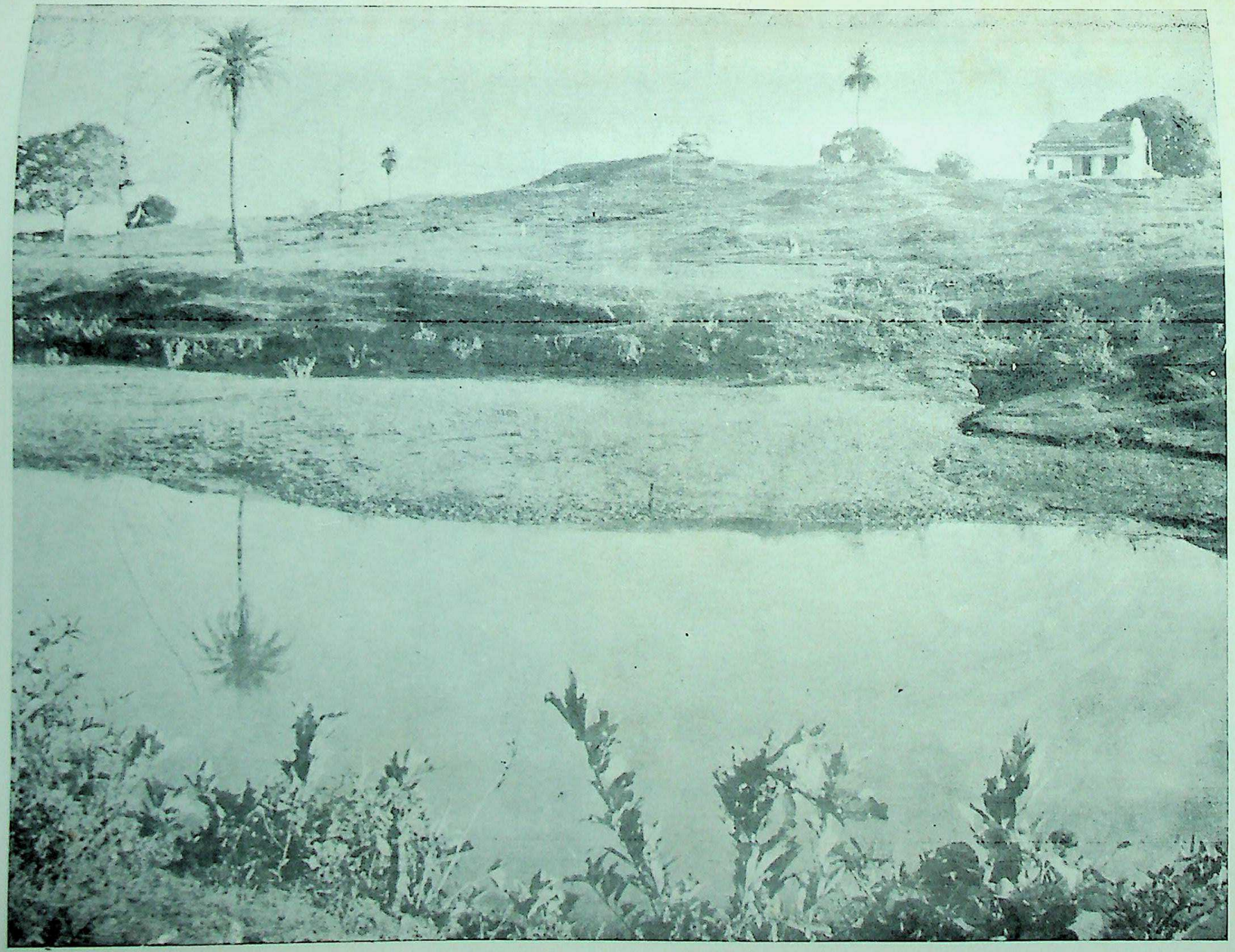
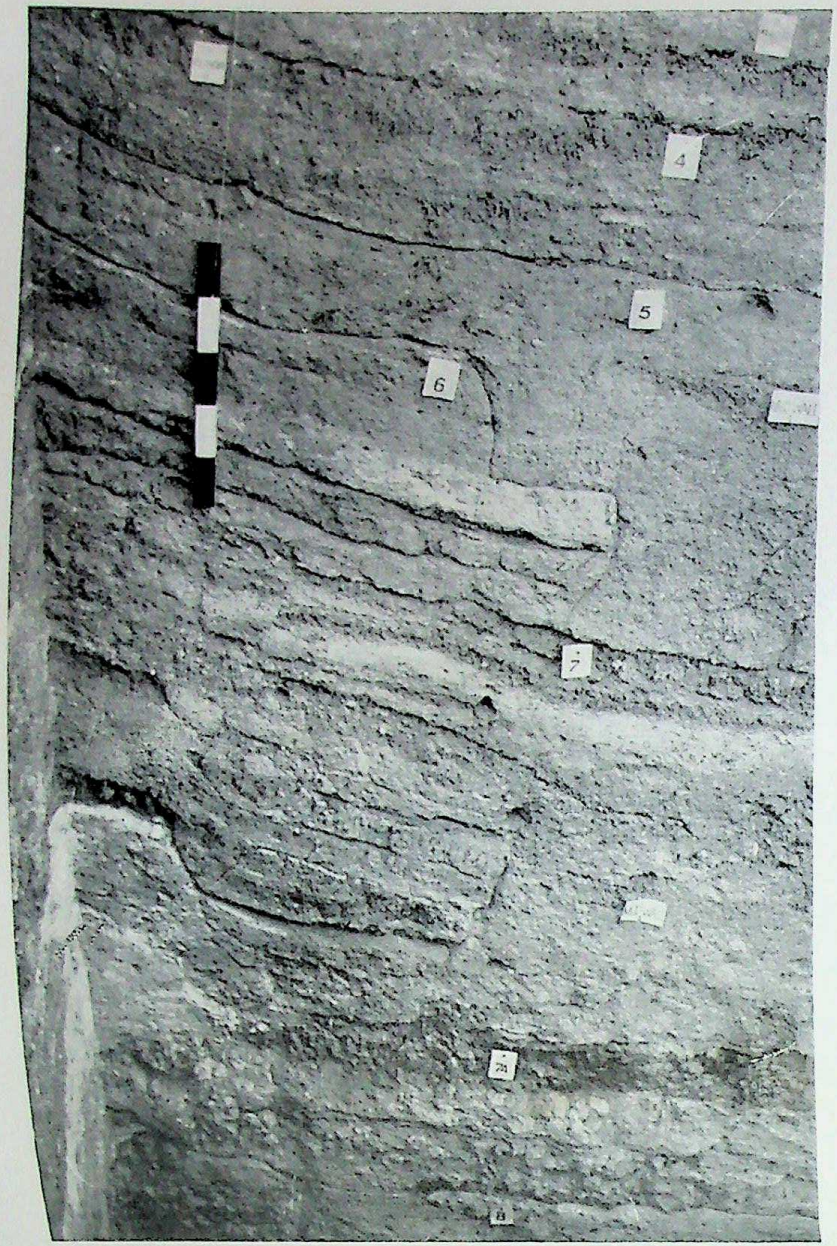
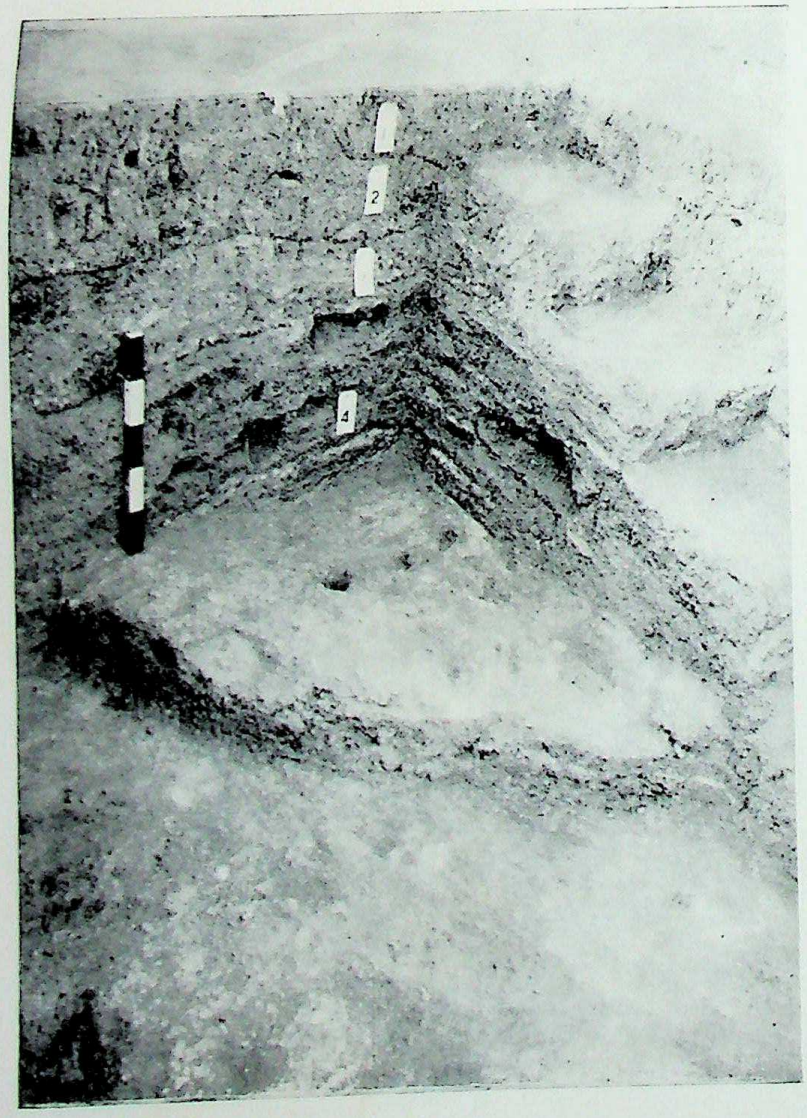


Pl. I : View of habitational mound, Takalghat.

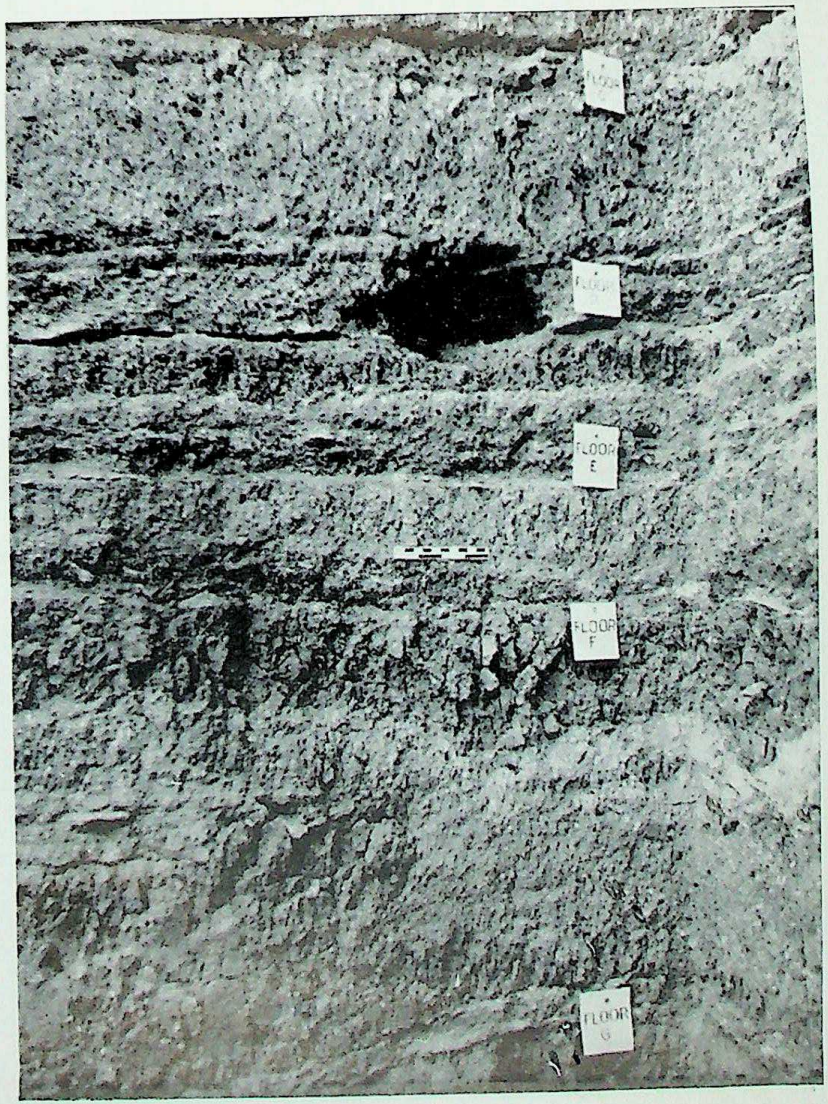


Pl. II A : Section facing West, Takalghat.

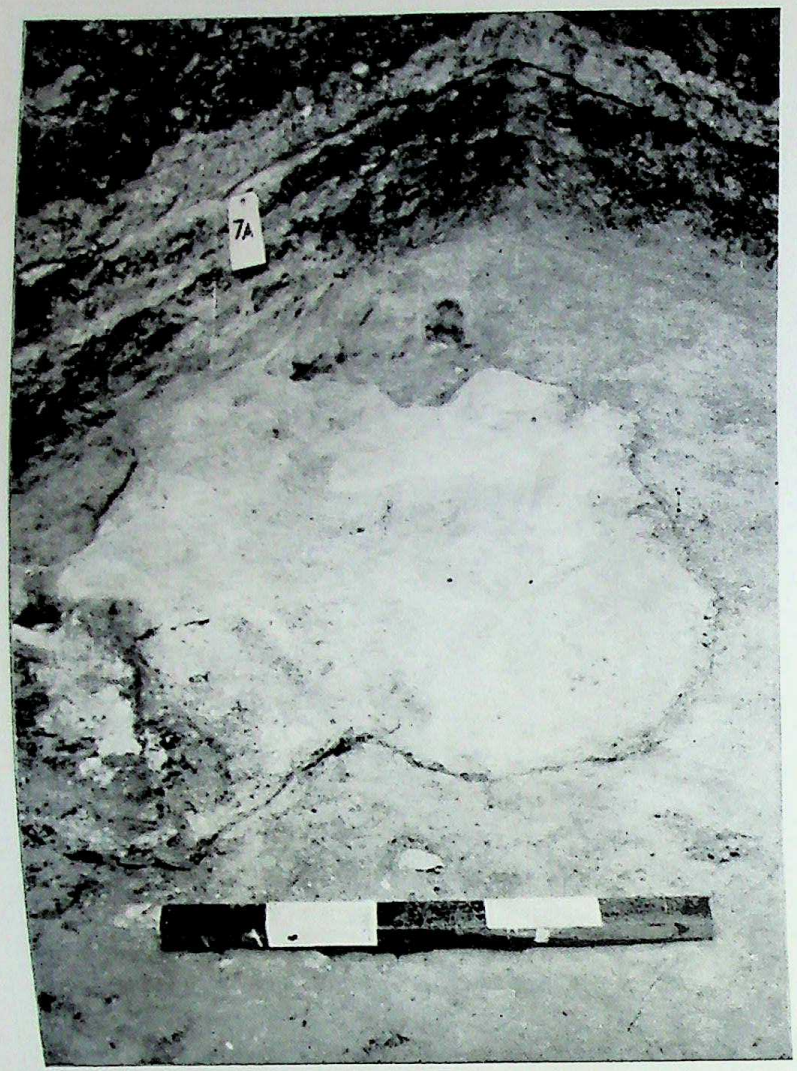
II B : Section facing West, Takalghat.



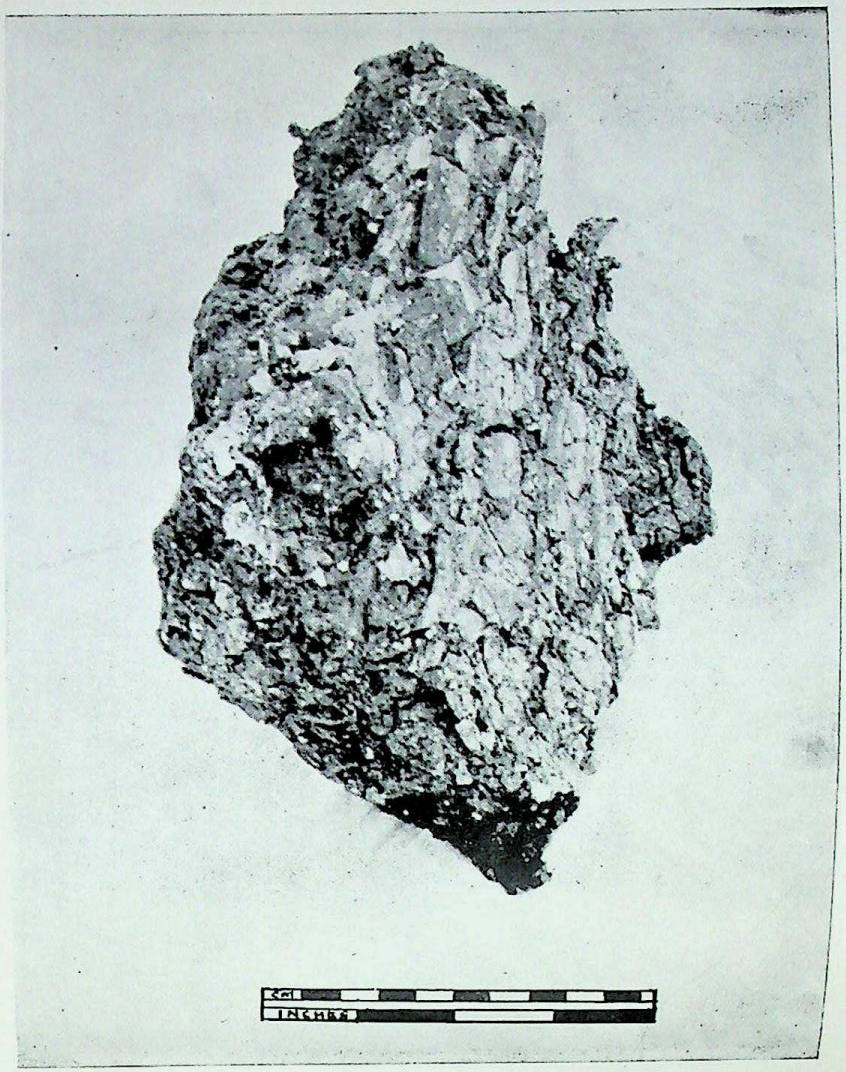
Pl. III A : Flooring with post-holes, IB : TKG.



III B : Section showing floorings, IB : TKG.

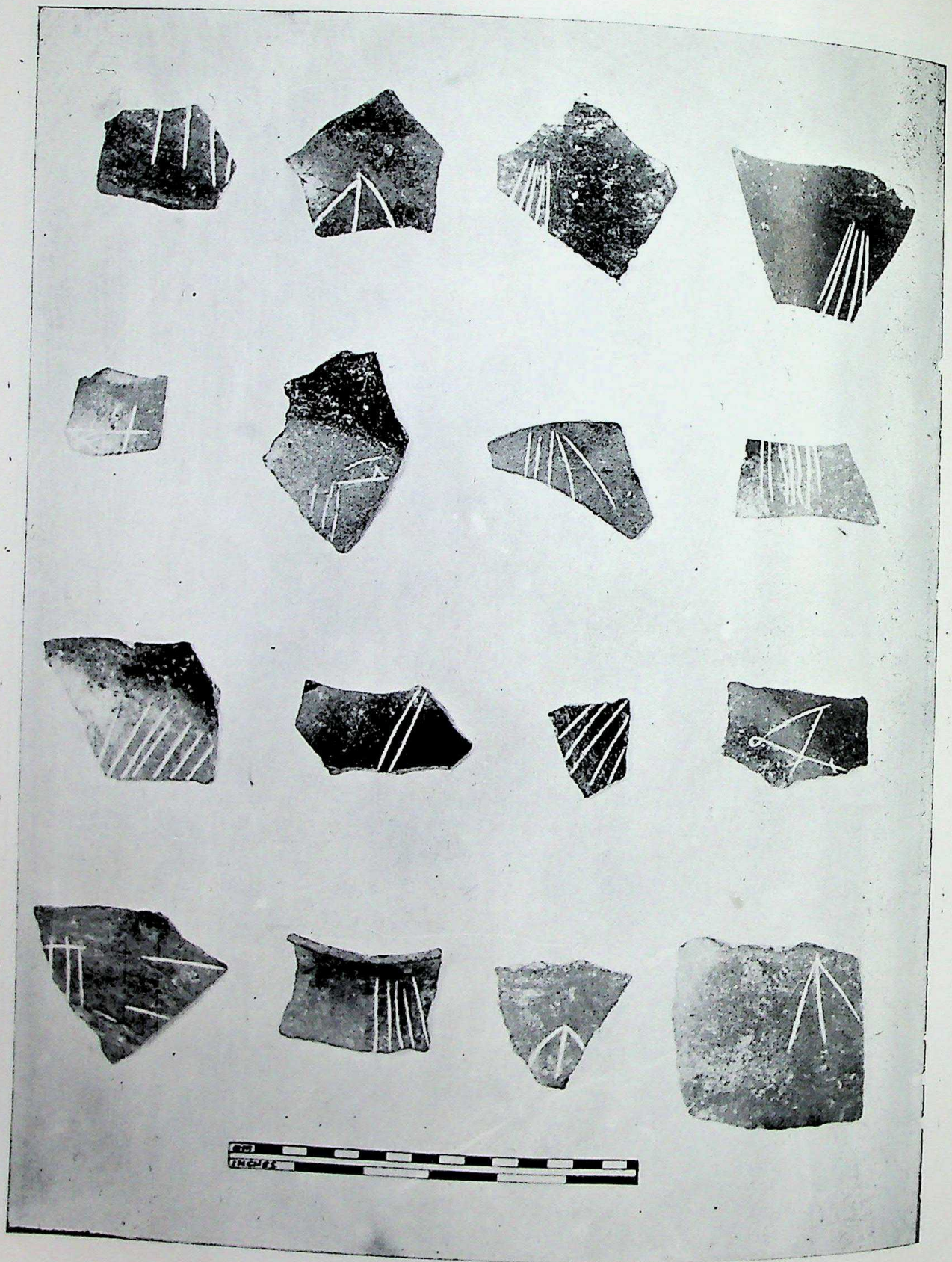


Pl. IVA : Lime and clay flooring, 1B : TKG.



IVB : Burnt clod of mud wall, *1B* : TKG.

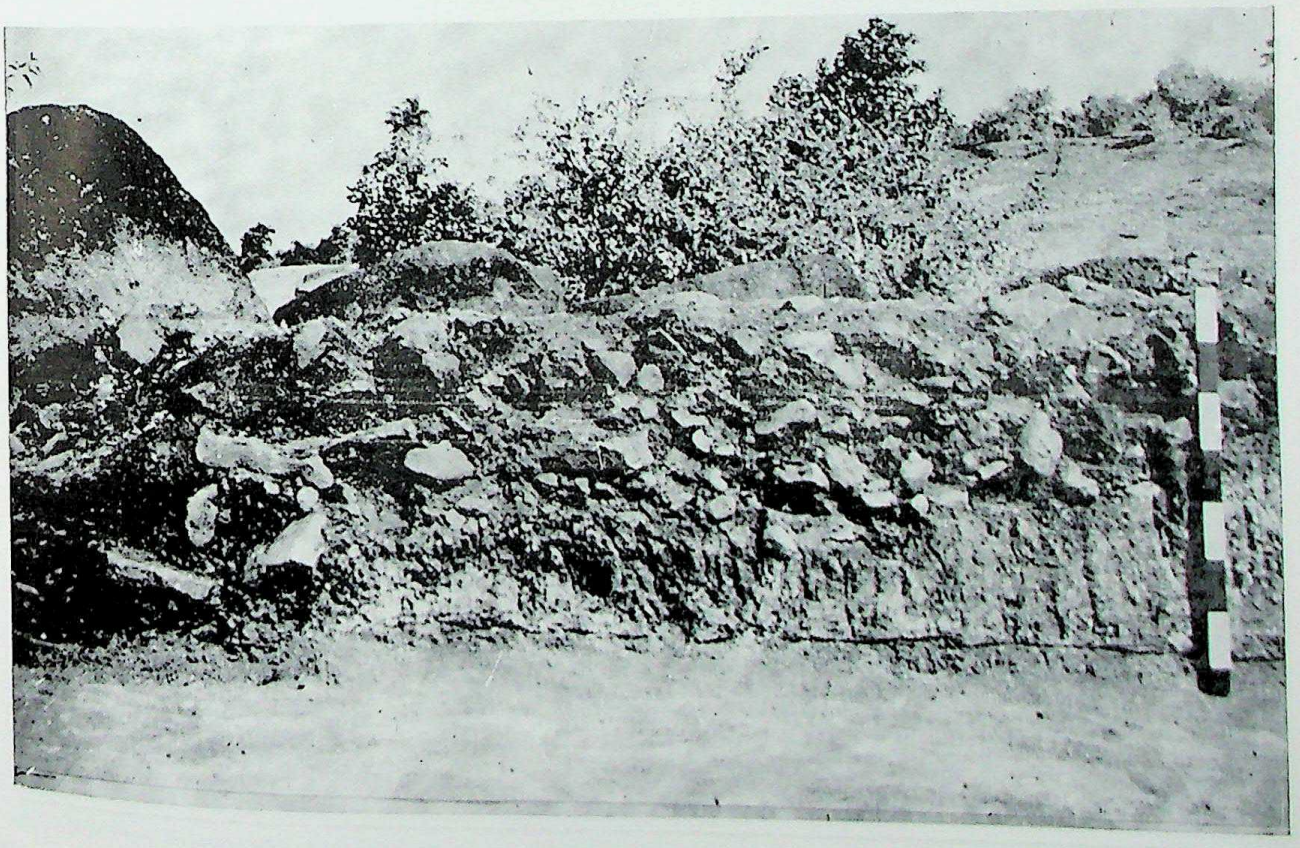
Pl. V : Painted Pottery, Takalghat.



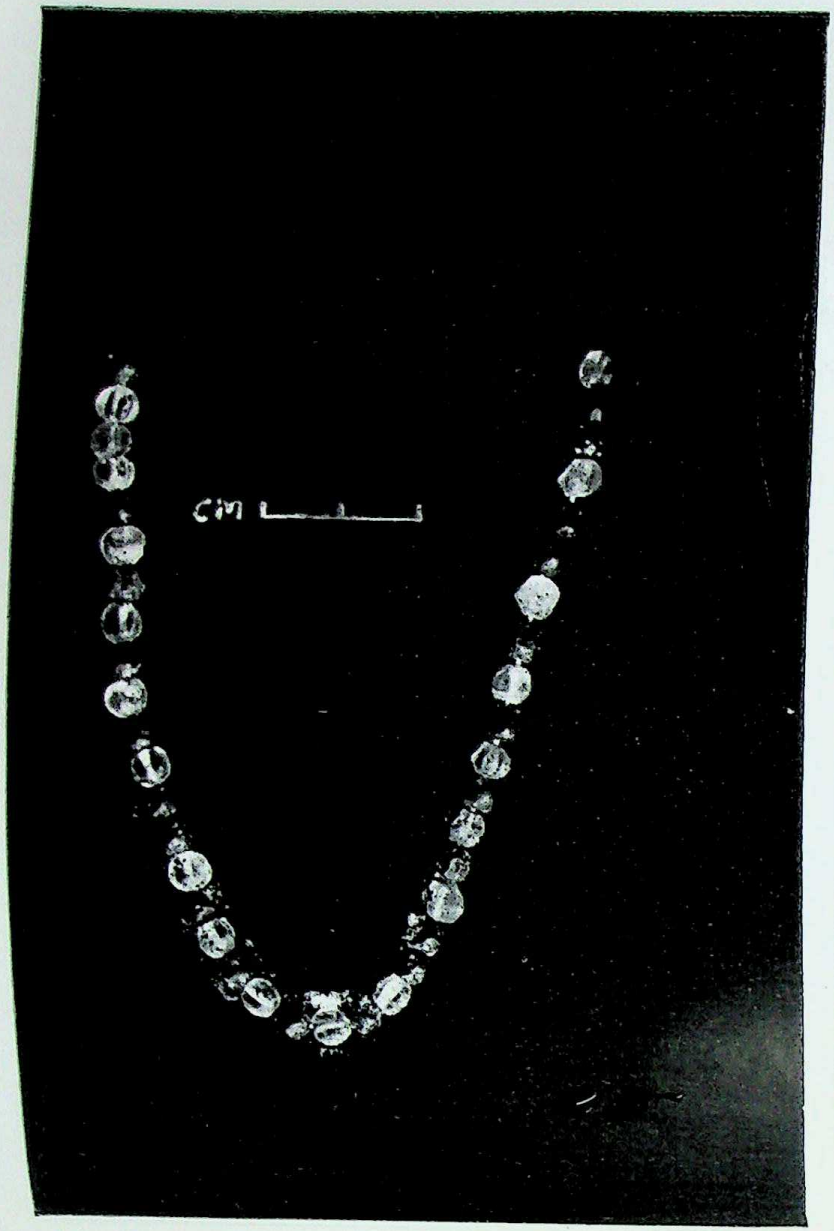
Pl. VI : Black-and-Red Ware Sherds with graffiti, TKG.

Pl. VII : Stone Circle, Gangapur.

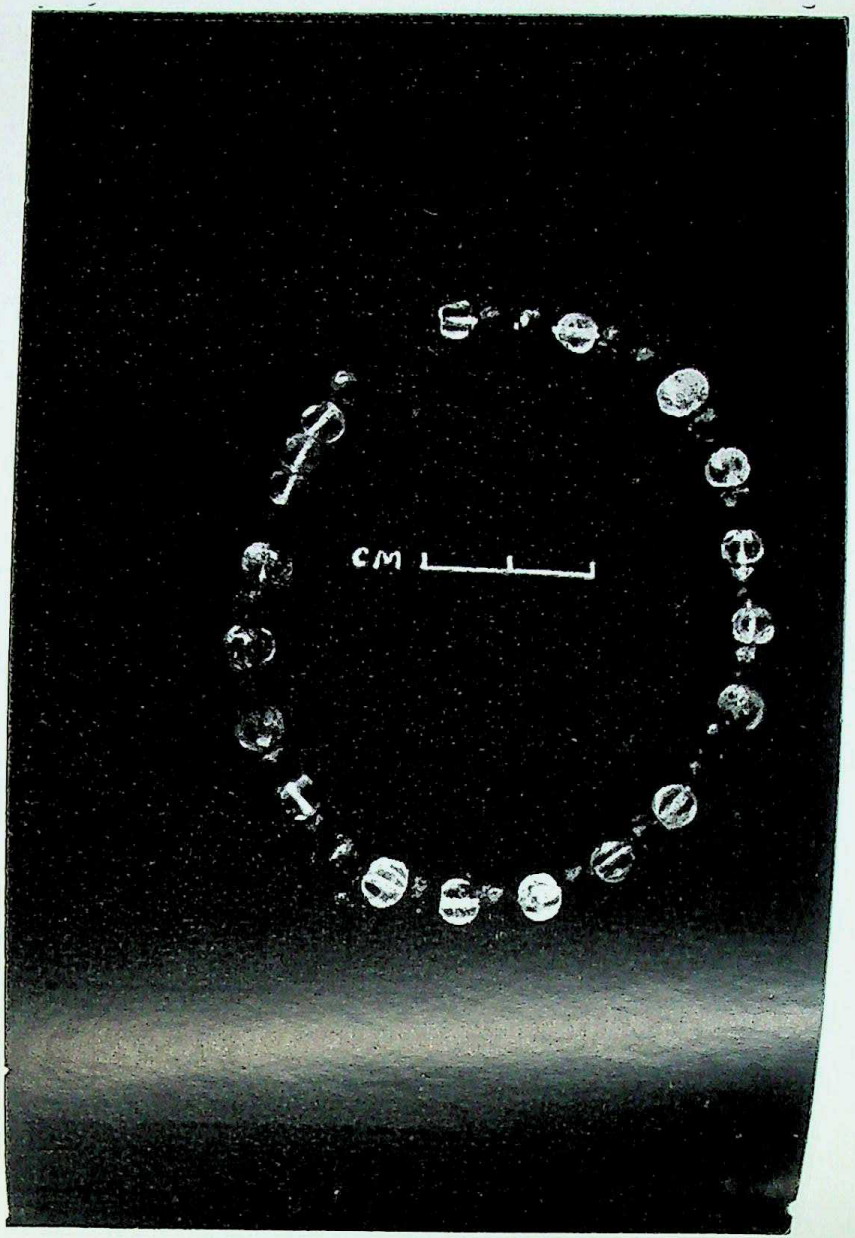
Pl. VIII : Stone Circle, Ḳhapa



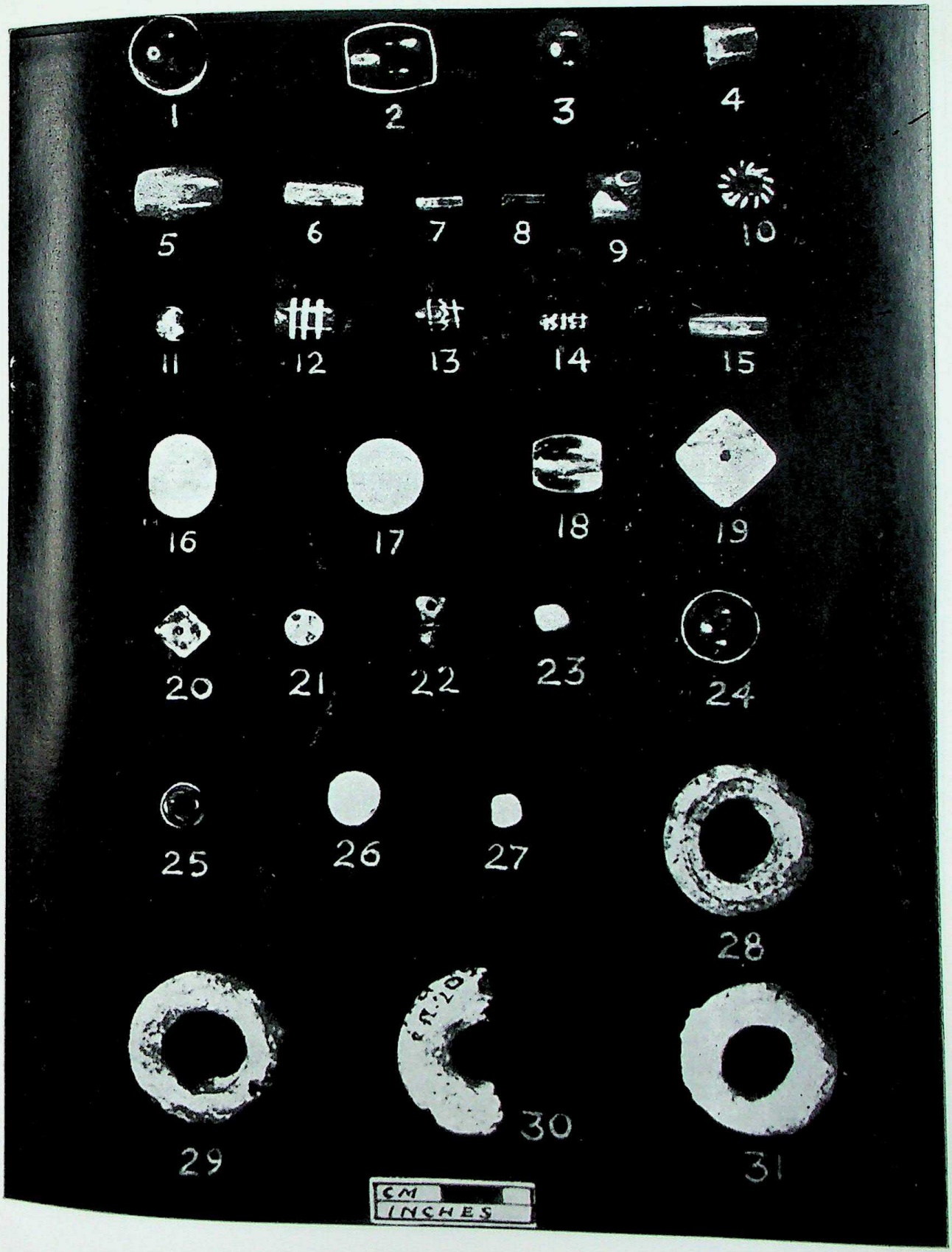
Pl. IXA : Megalith 1 with central pebble filling, Khapa.
B : Rubble and clay filling, Megalith 2, Gangapur.



Pl. XA : Beads, Khapa



Pl. XB : Beads, Khapa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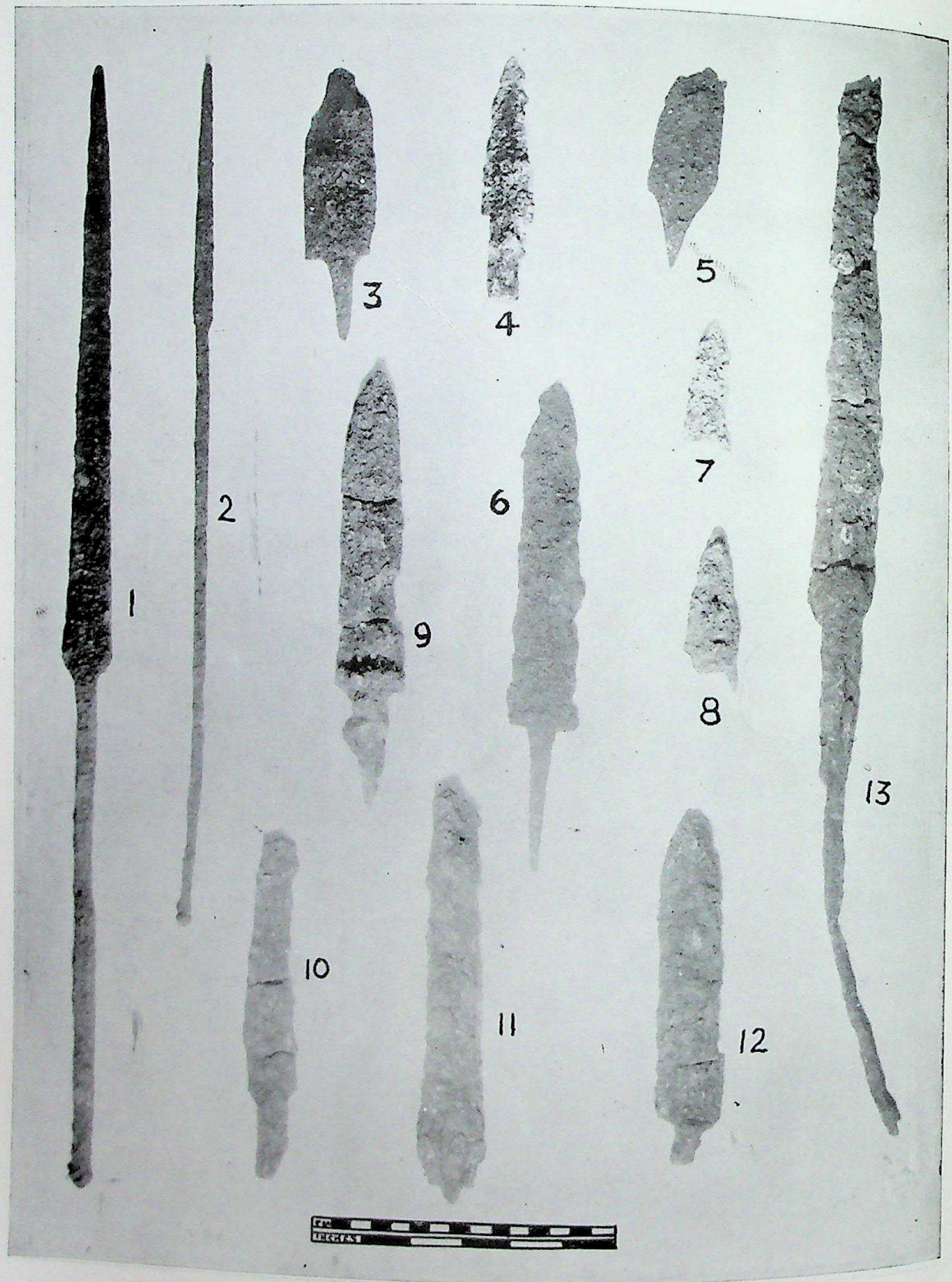
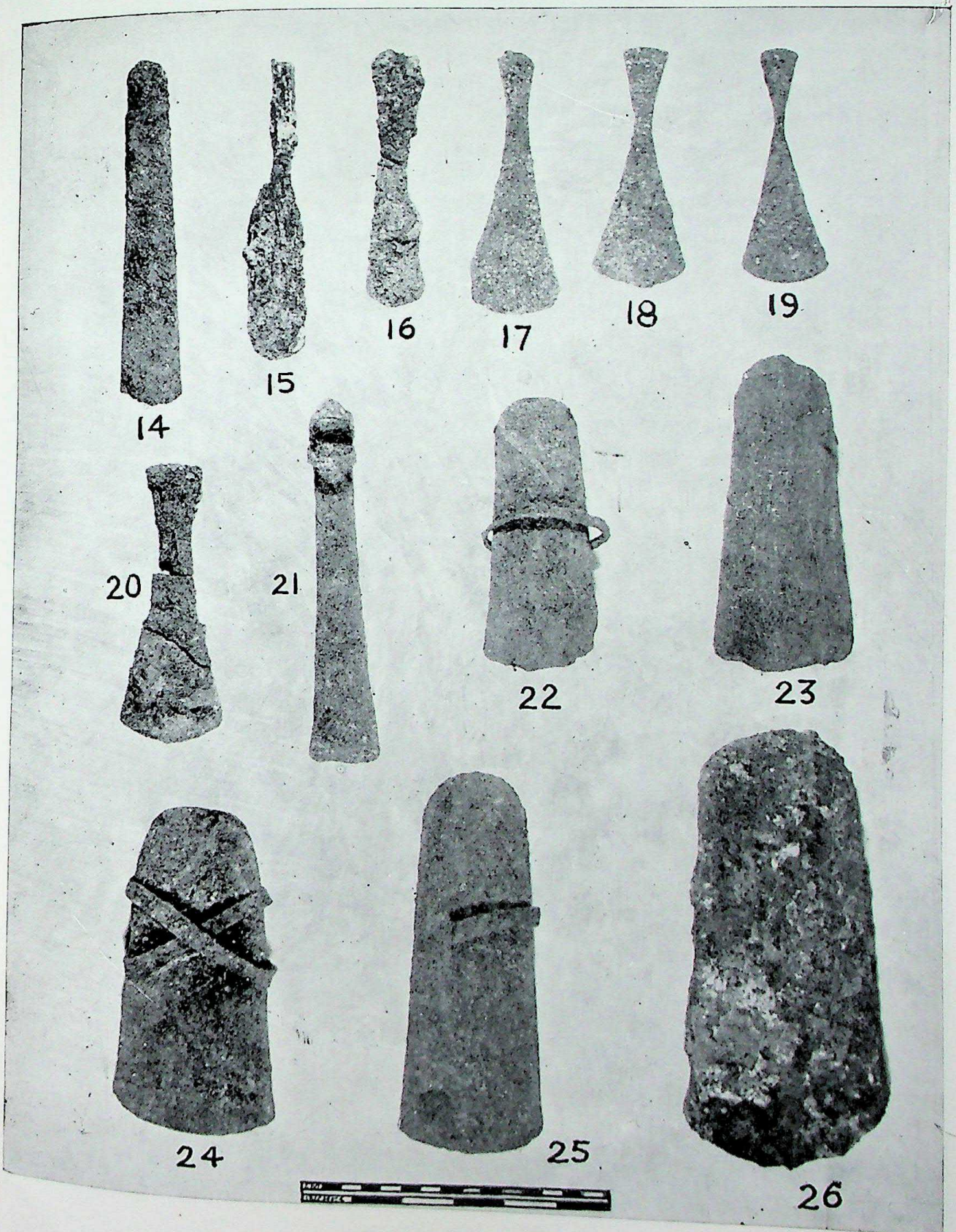
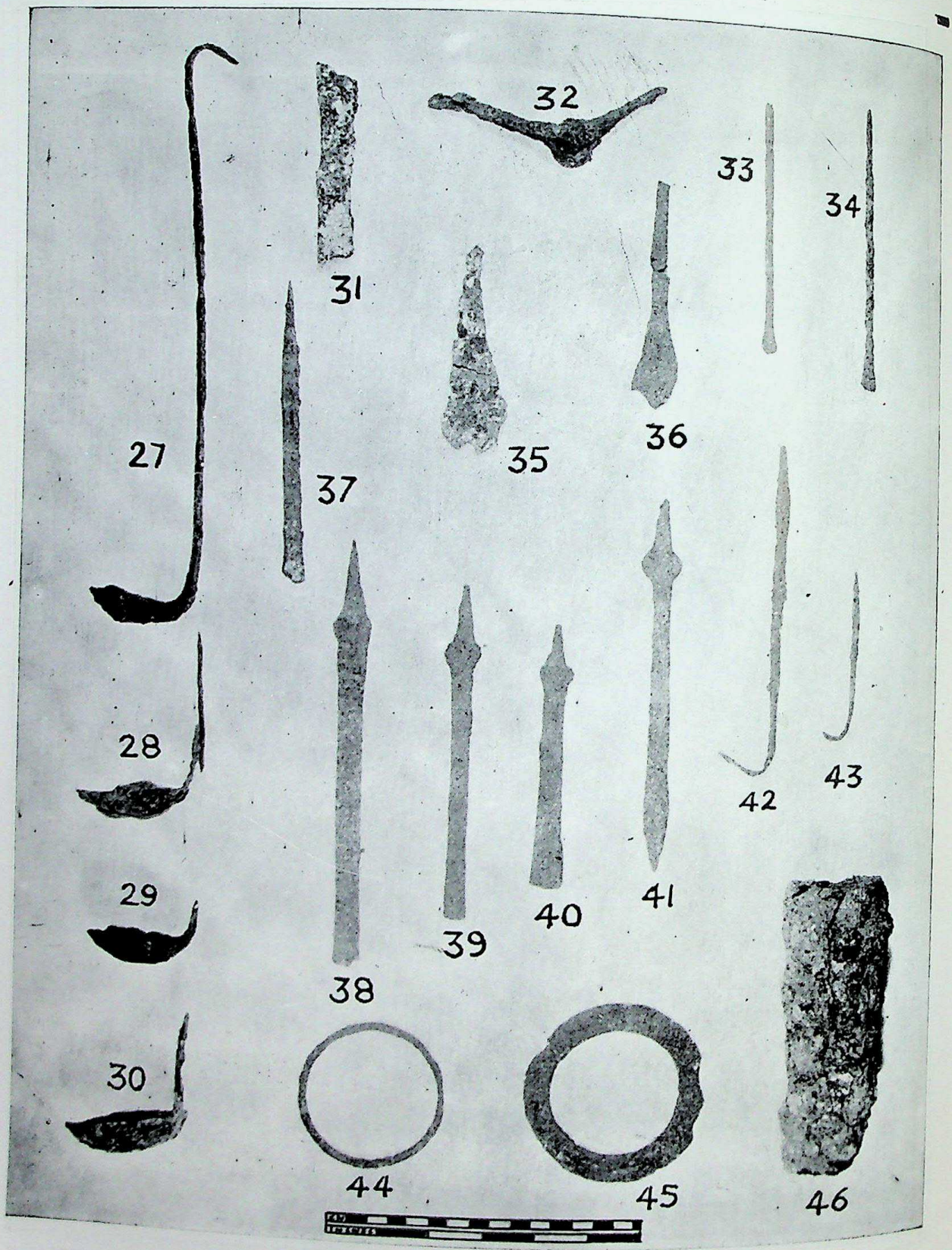
Pl. XI : Beads



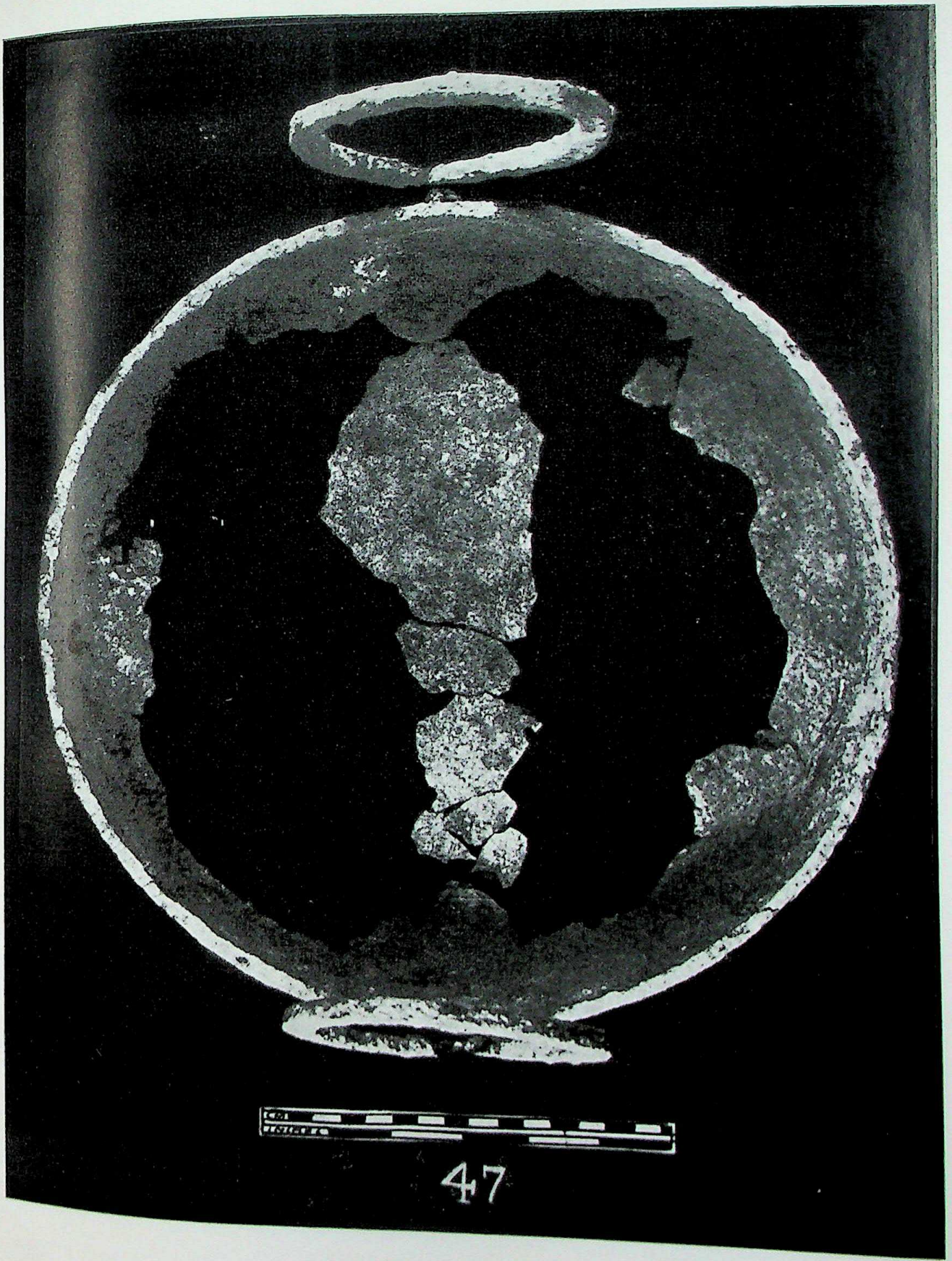
Pl. XII : Iron Objects



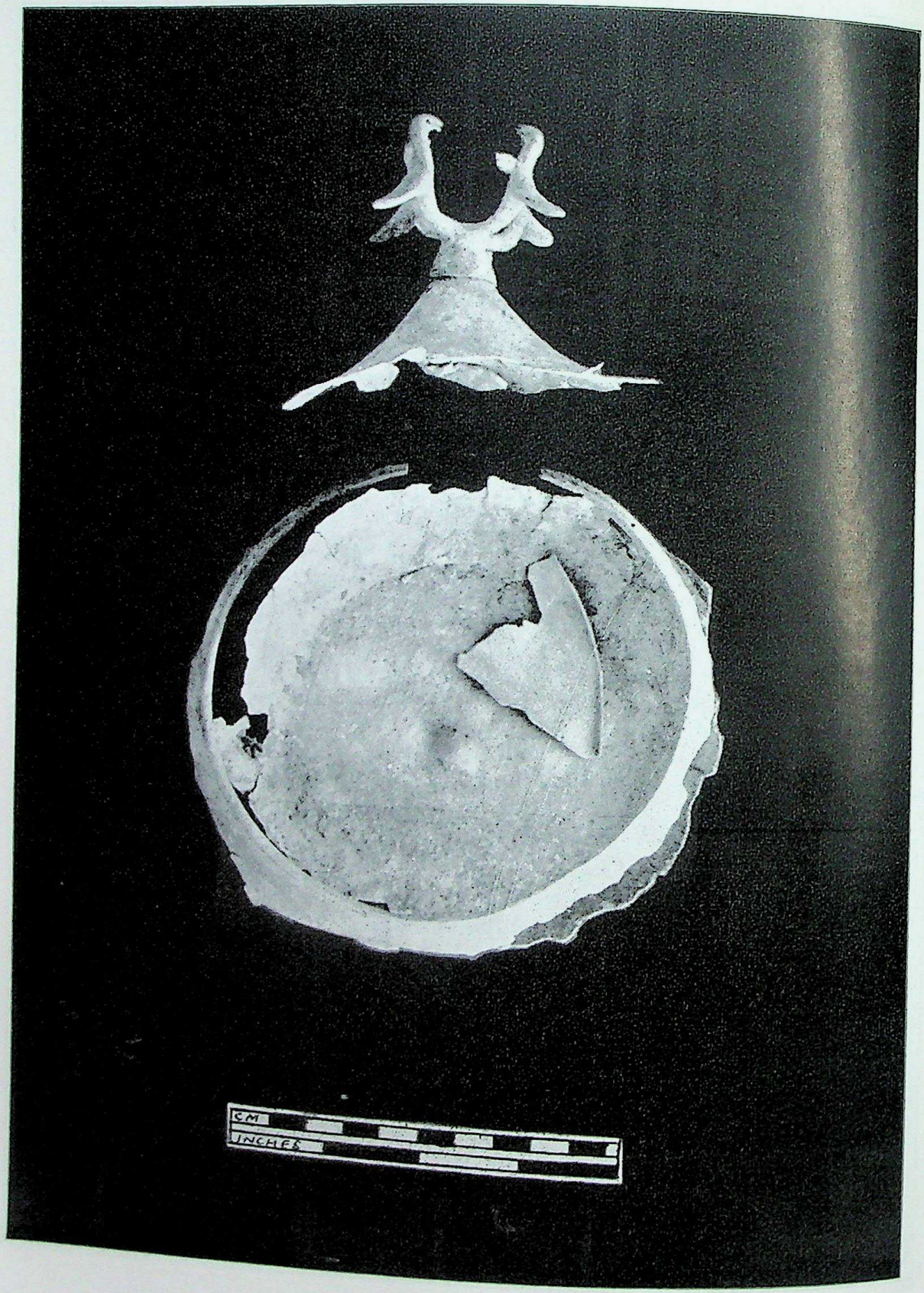
Pl. XIII : Iron Objects



Pl. XIV : Iron Objects

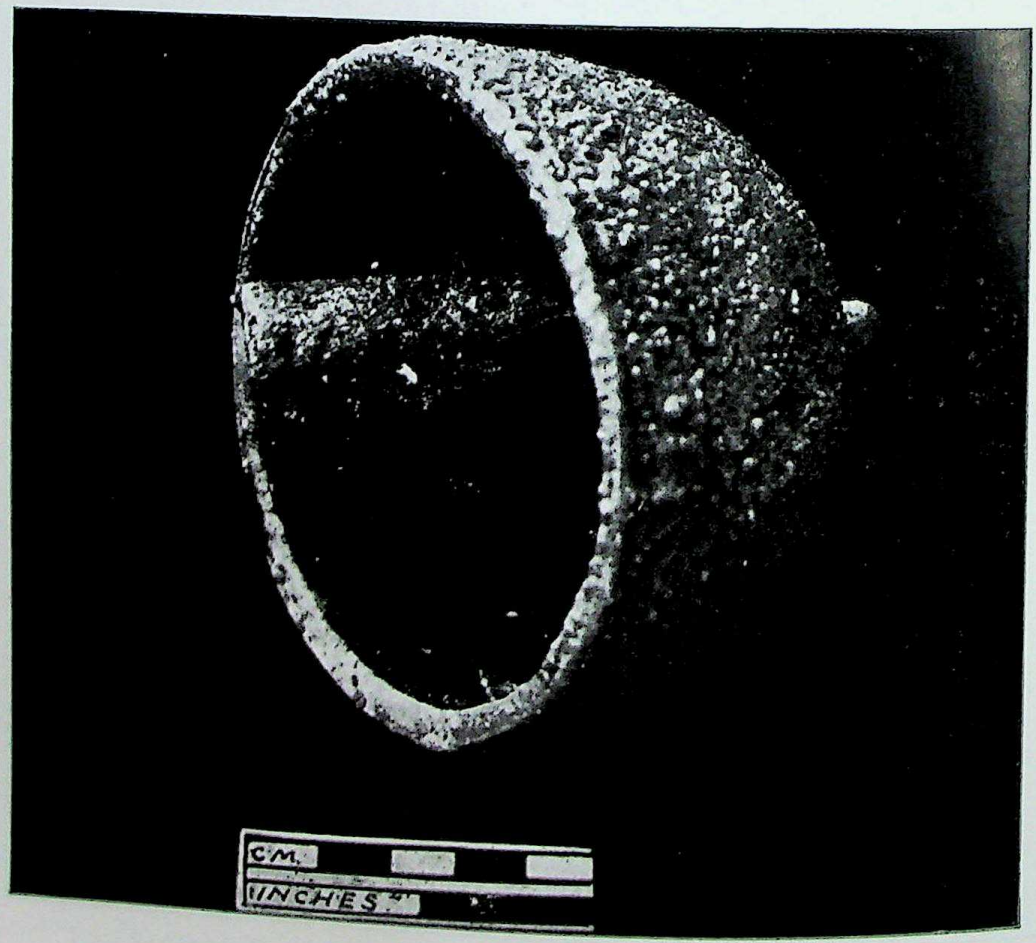


Pl. XV : Iron Cauldron

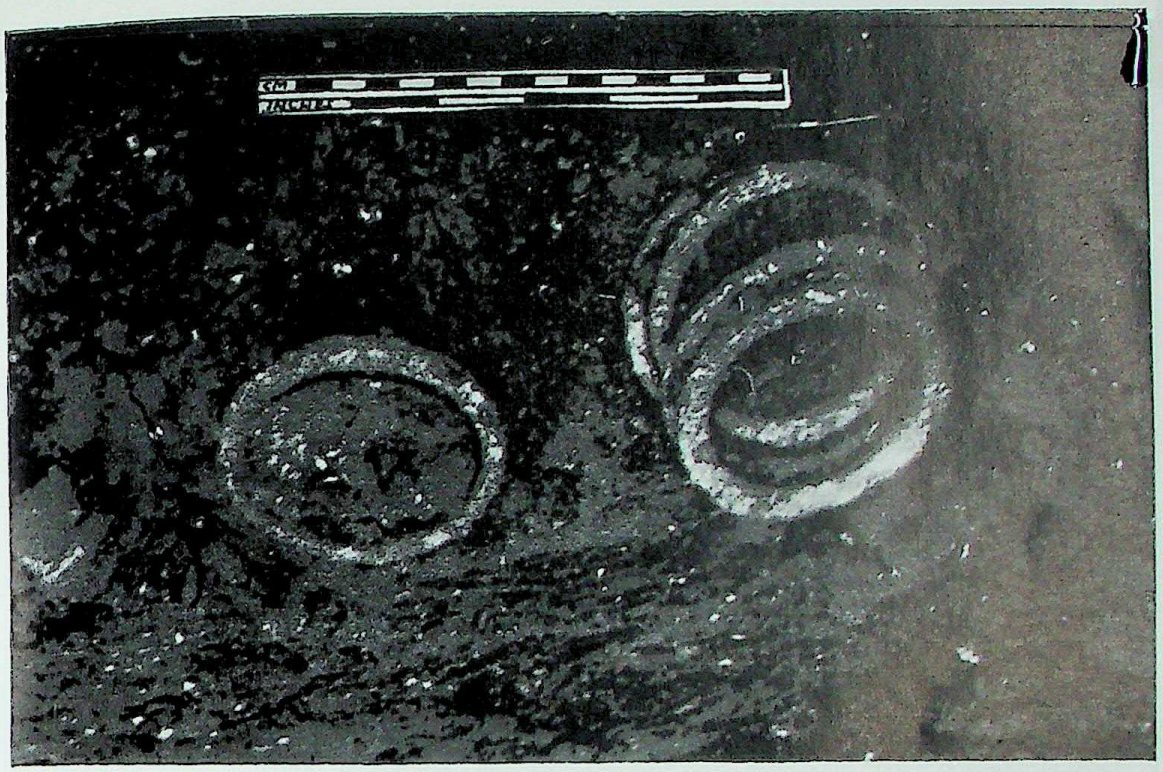


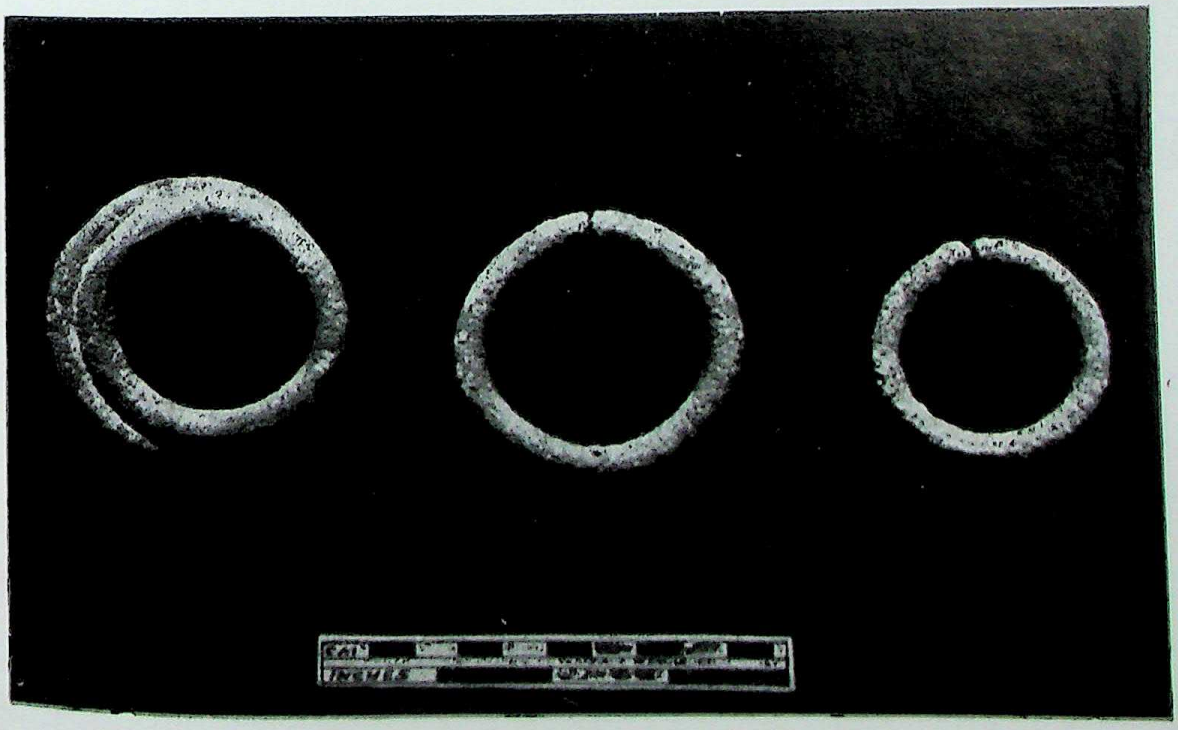
Pl. XVI : Copper Dish and Lid with bird motif, Khapa

Pl. XVII : Copper Lid with bud motif, Khapa

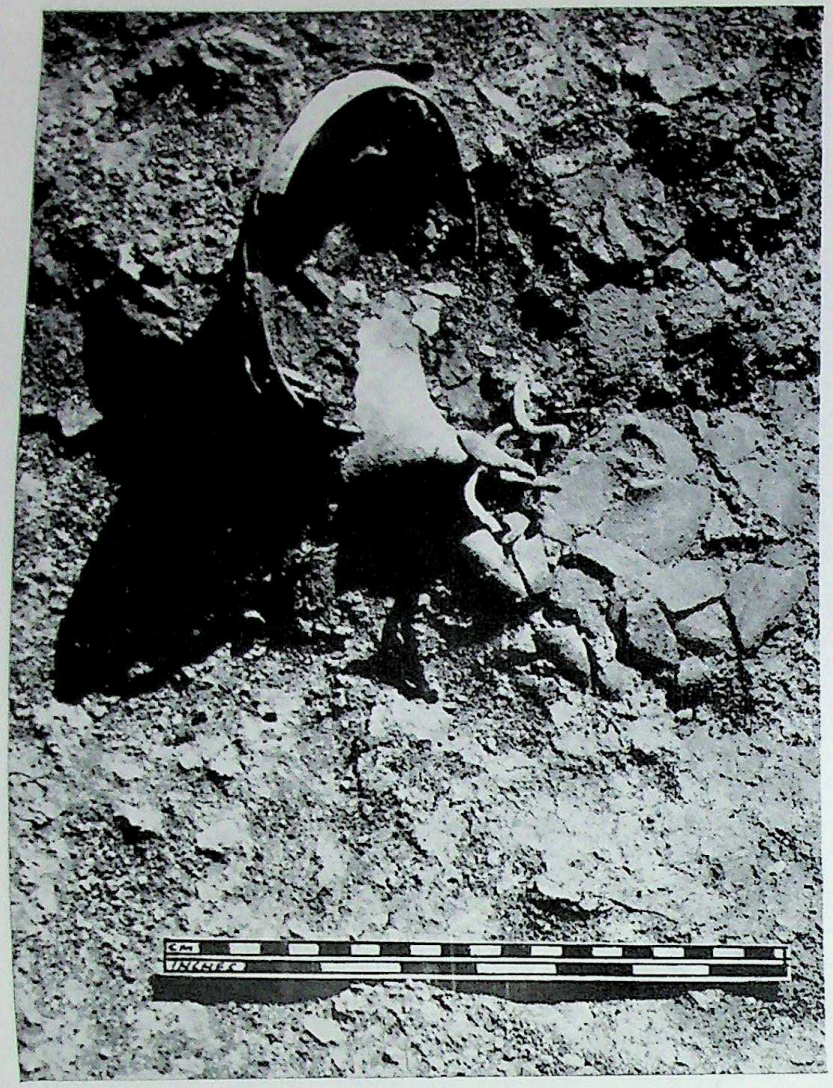


Pl. XVIII : A. Group of bell-shaped copper objects, Khapa
B. Bell-shaped object with piece of bone, Khapa

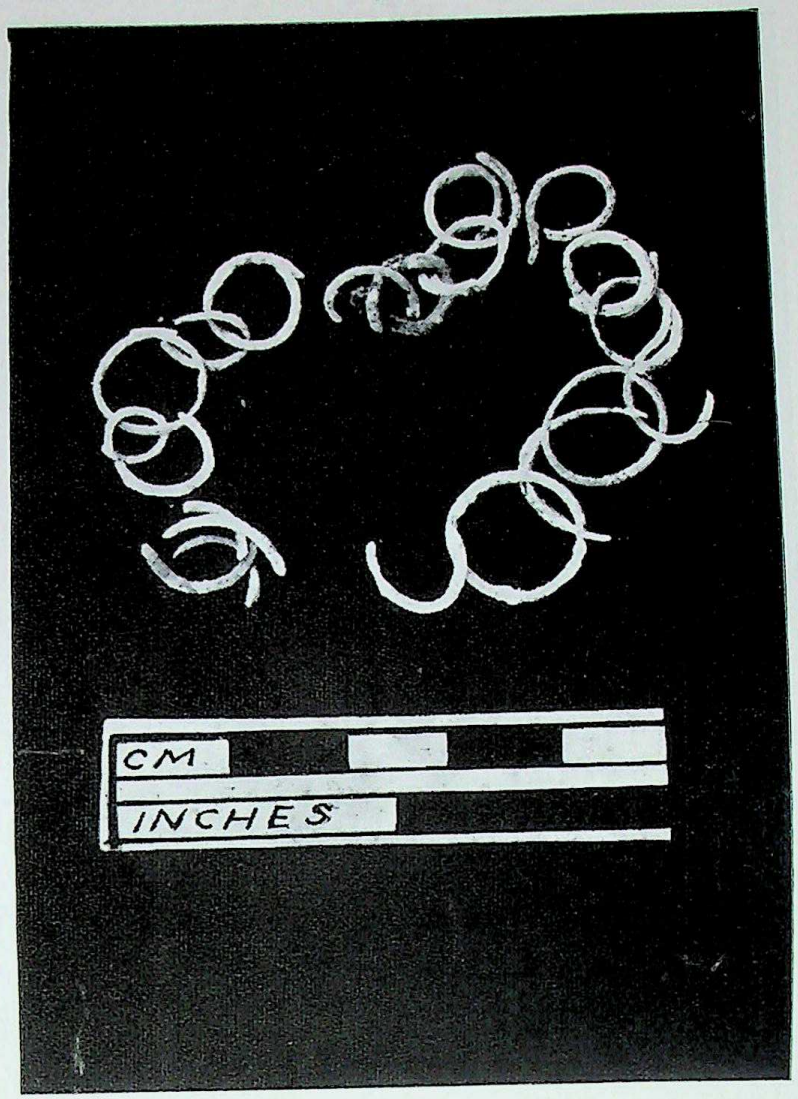




Pl. XIX : A. Group of Copper Bangles, Khapa
B. Close up of Copper Bangles, Khapa

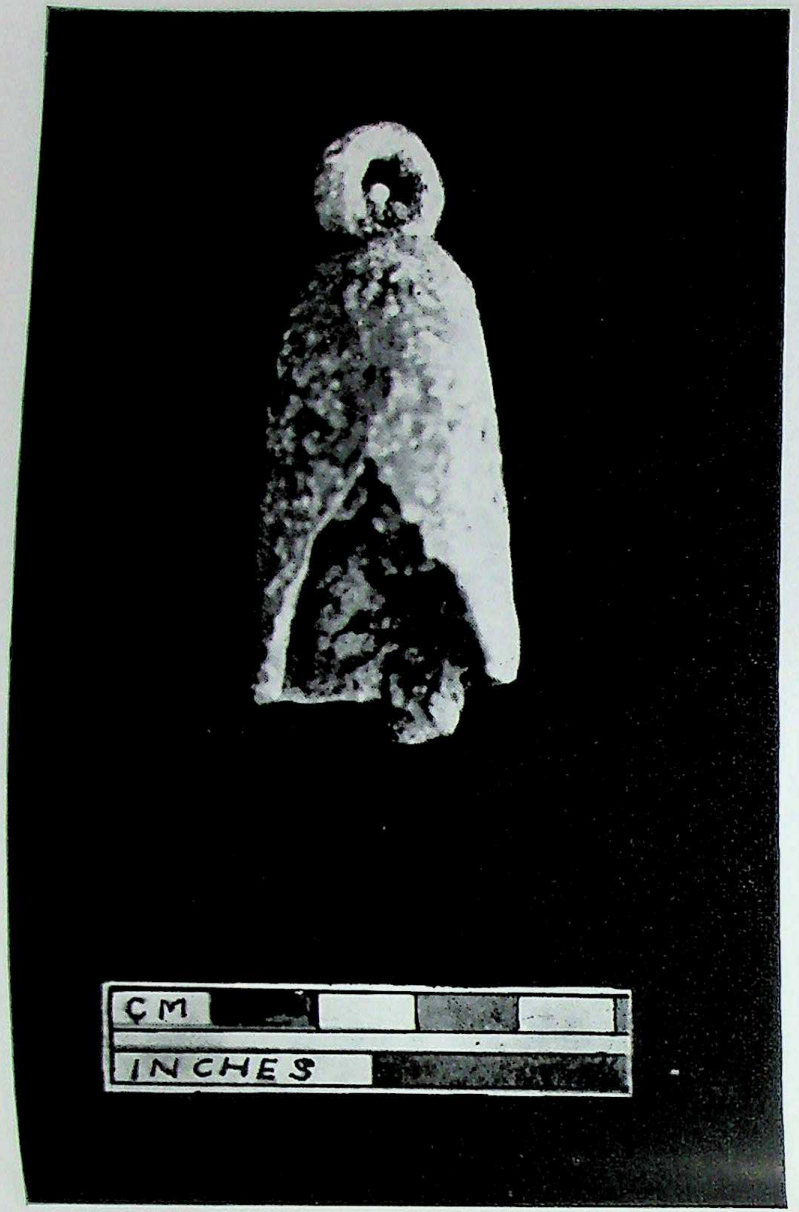


Pl. XXA : Copper dish and bird lid, Khapa

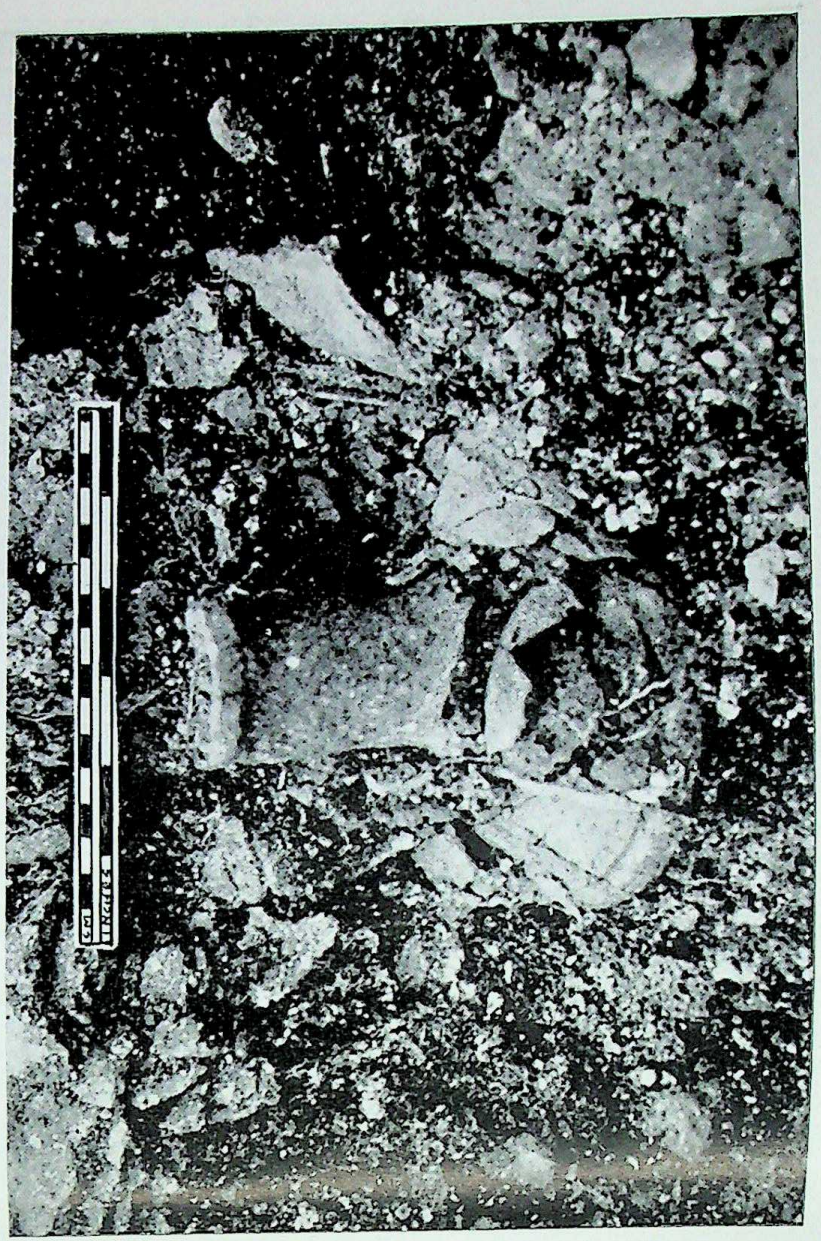


Pl. XXB : Copper ring chain, Gangapur

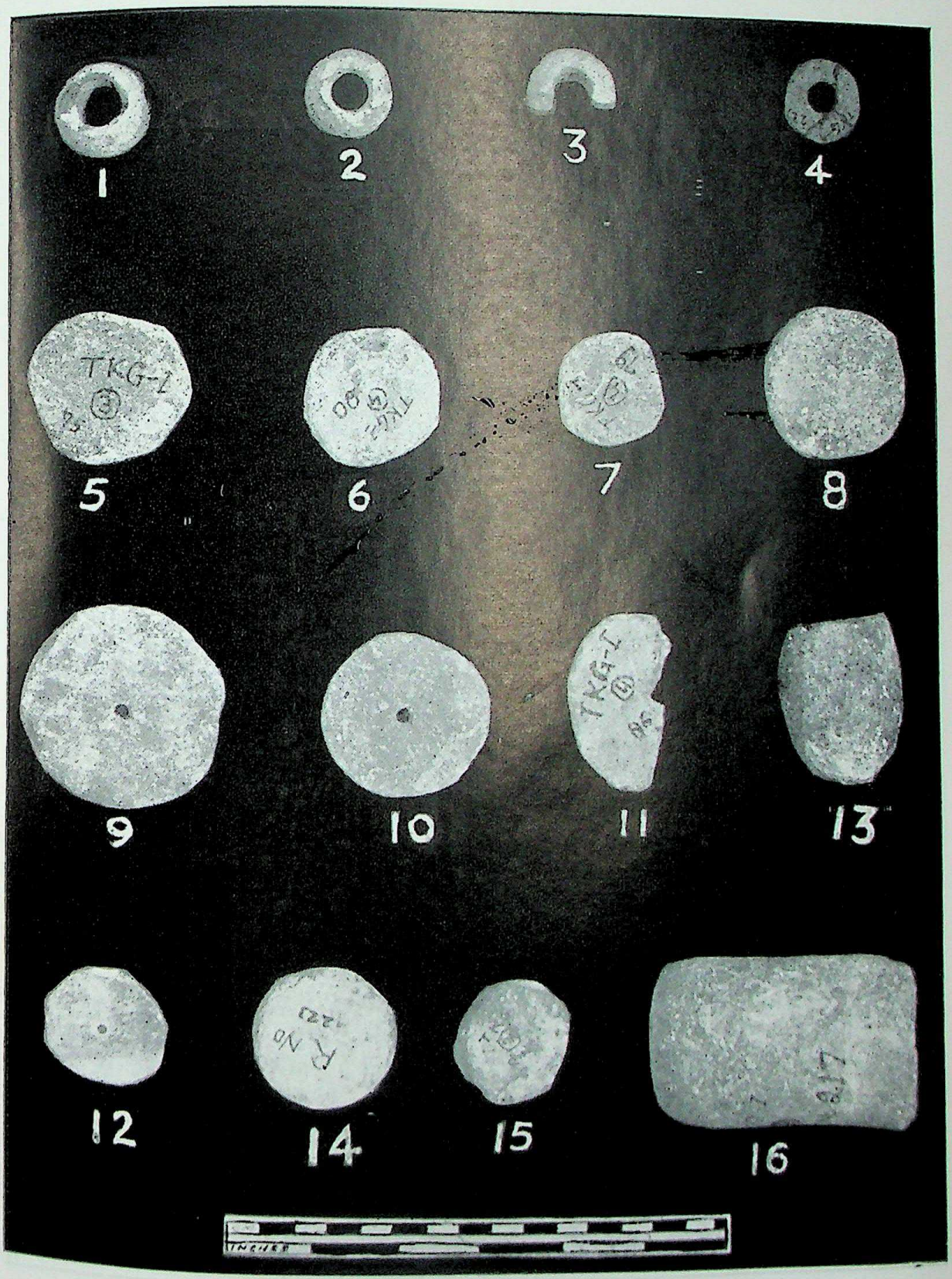
Pl. XXI : Copper Ornament of a horse, Khapa



Pl. XXII A : Copper Bell, Khapa

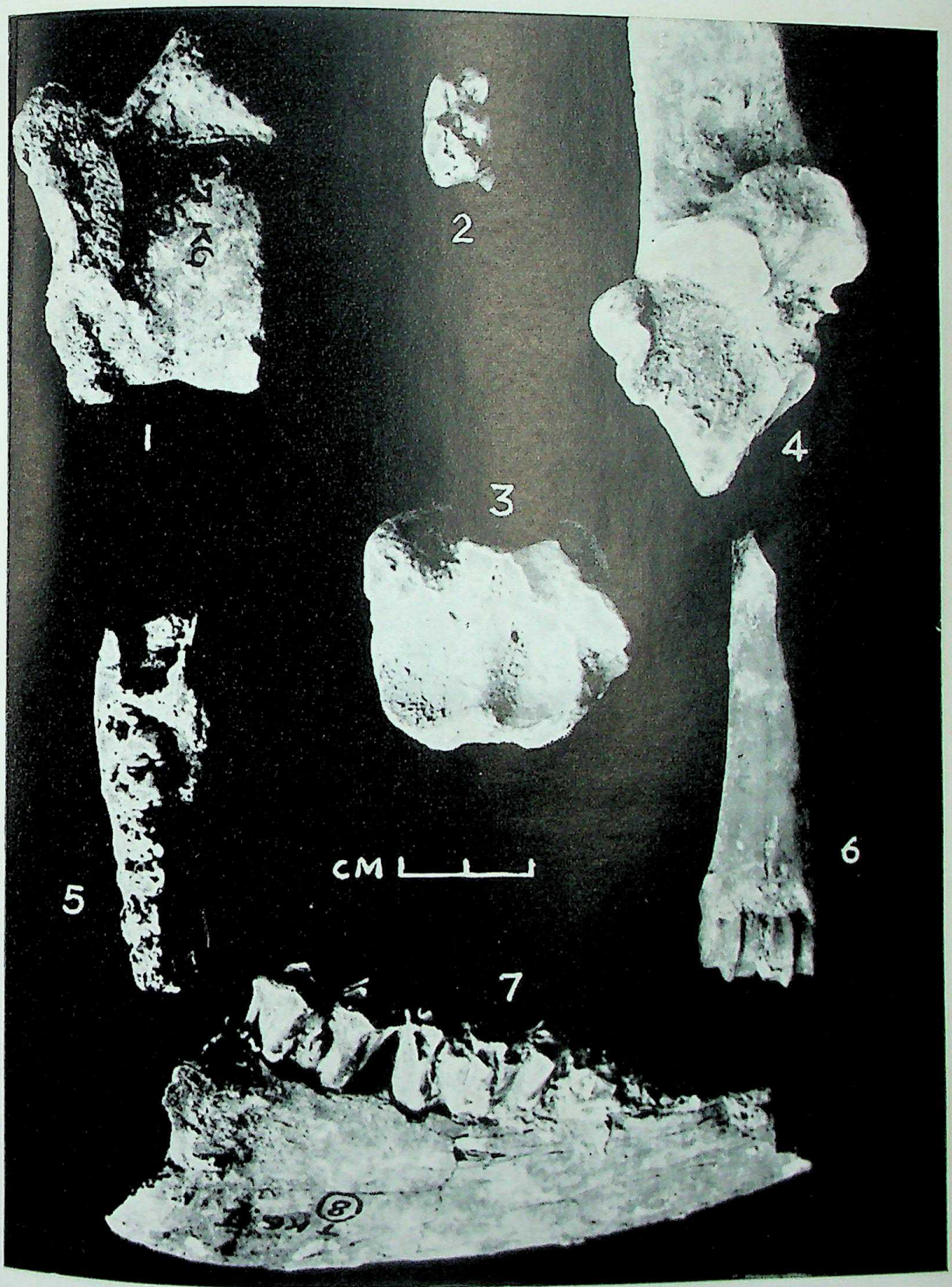


Pl. XXII B : Pottery Stand, Khapa

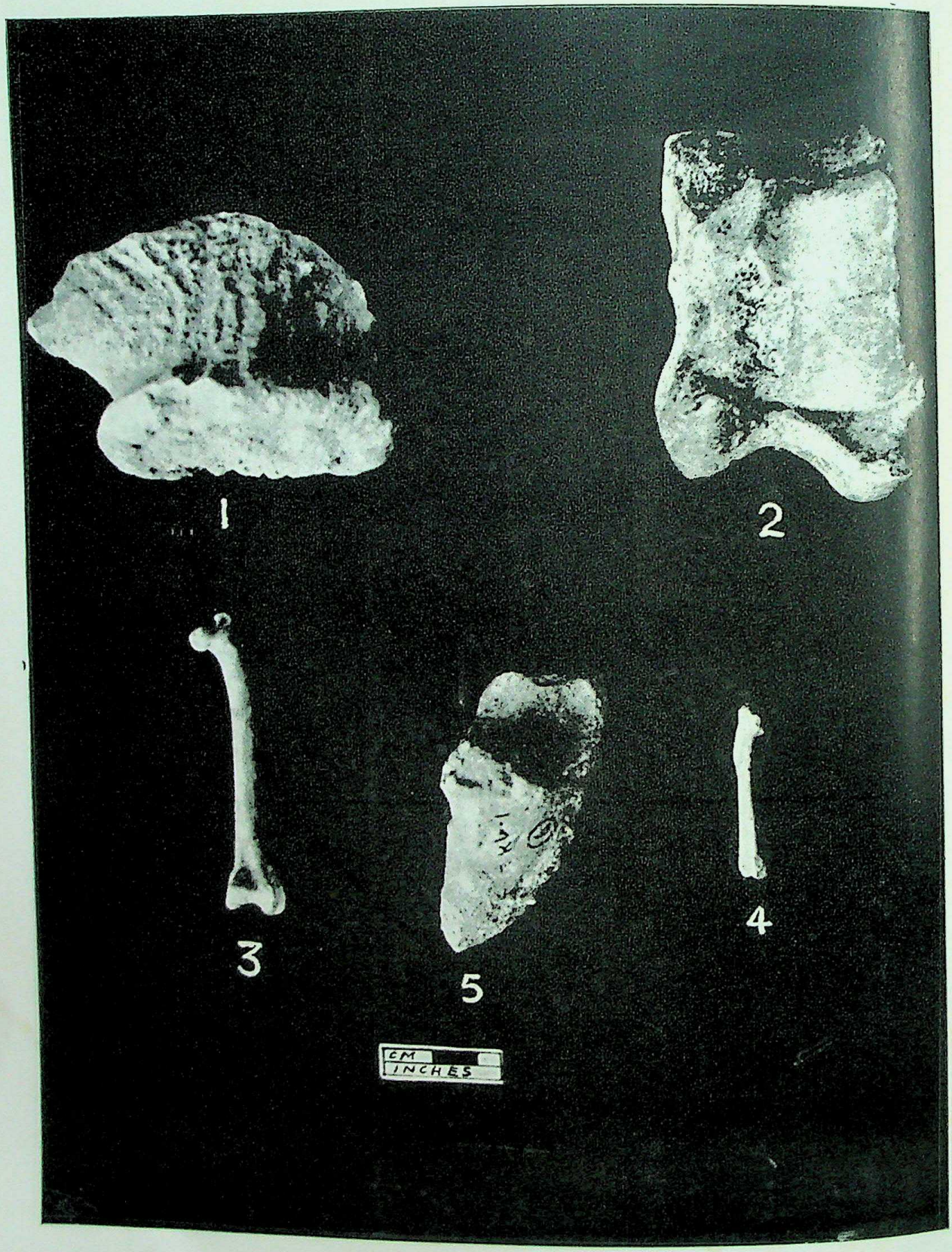


Pl. XXIII : Terracotta and Stone Objects

Pl. XXIV : Animal Bones



Pl. XXV : Animal Bones



Pl. XXVI : Animal Bones

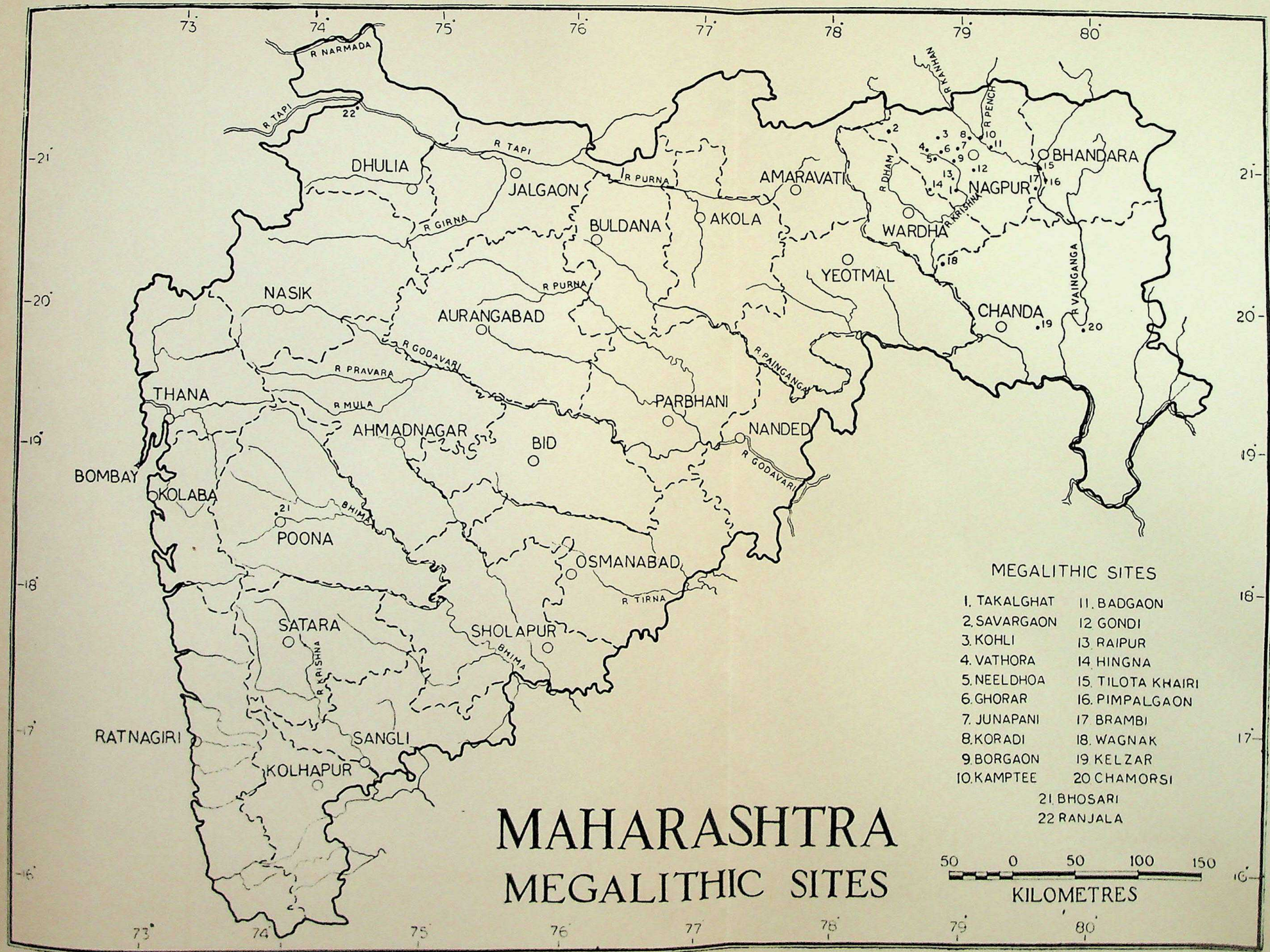

MAHARASHTRA
MEGALITHIC SITES
MEGALITHIC SITES
1. TAKALGHAT
2. SAVARGAON
3. KOHLI
4. VATHORA
5. NEELDHOA
6. GHORAR
7. JUNAPANI
8. KORADI
9. BORGAON
10. KAMPTEE
11. BADGAON
12. GONDI
13. RAIPUR
14. HINGNA
15. TILOTA KHAIRI
16. PIMPALGAON
17. BRAMBI
18. WAGNAK
19. KELZAR
20. CHAMORSI
21. BHOSARI
22. RANJALA
50 0 50 100 150
KILOMETRES
DHULIA
JALGAON
AMARAVATI
BHANDARA
NAGPUR
BULDANA
AKOLA
WARDHA
YEOTMAL
NASIK
AURANGABAD
CHANDA
THANA
PARBHANI
AHMADNAGAR
BID
NANDED
BOMBAY
KOLABA
POONA
OSMANABAD
SATARA
SHOLAPUR
RATNAGIRI
SANGLI
KOLHAPUR
R NARMADA
R TAPI
R GIRNA
R PURNA
R PRAVARA
R GODAVARI
R MULA
R PAINGANGA
R WAINGANGA
R WARDHA
R PENCH
R KANHAN
R KRISHNA
R BHIMA
R TIRNA
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

Fig. 1

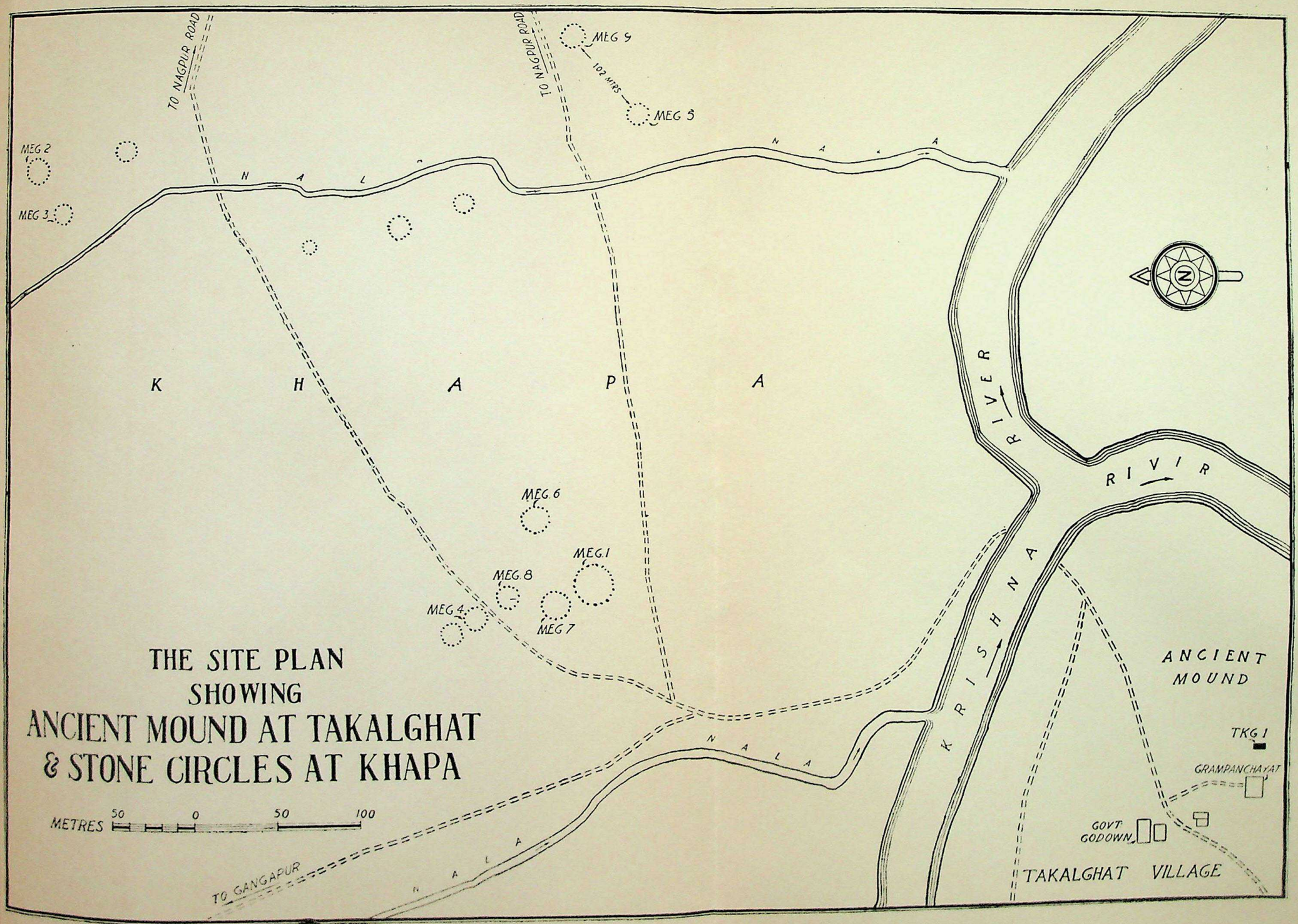

TO NAGPUR ROAD
TO NAGPUR ROAD
MEG 9
102 MTRS
MEG 5
MEG 2
MEG 3
N A L A
N A L A
K H A P A
RIVER
RIVER
KRISHNA
MEG 6
MEG 1
MEG 8
MEG 4
MEG 7
THE SITE PLAN
SHOWING
ANCIENT MOUND AT TAKALGHAT
& STONE CIRCLES AT KHAPA
METRES 50 0 50 100
TO GANGAPUR
N A L A
ANCIENT
MOUND
TKG 1
GRAMPANCHAYAT
GOVT
GODOWN
TAKALGHAT VILLAGE

Fig. 2

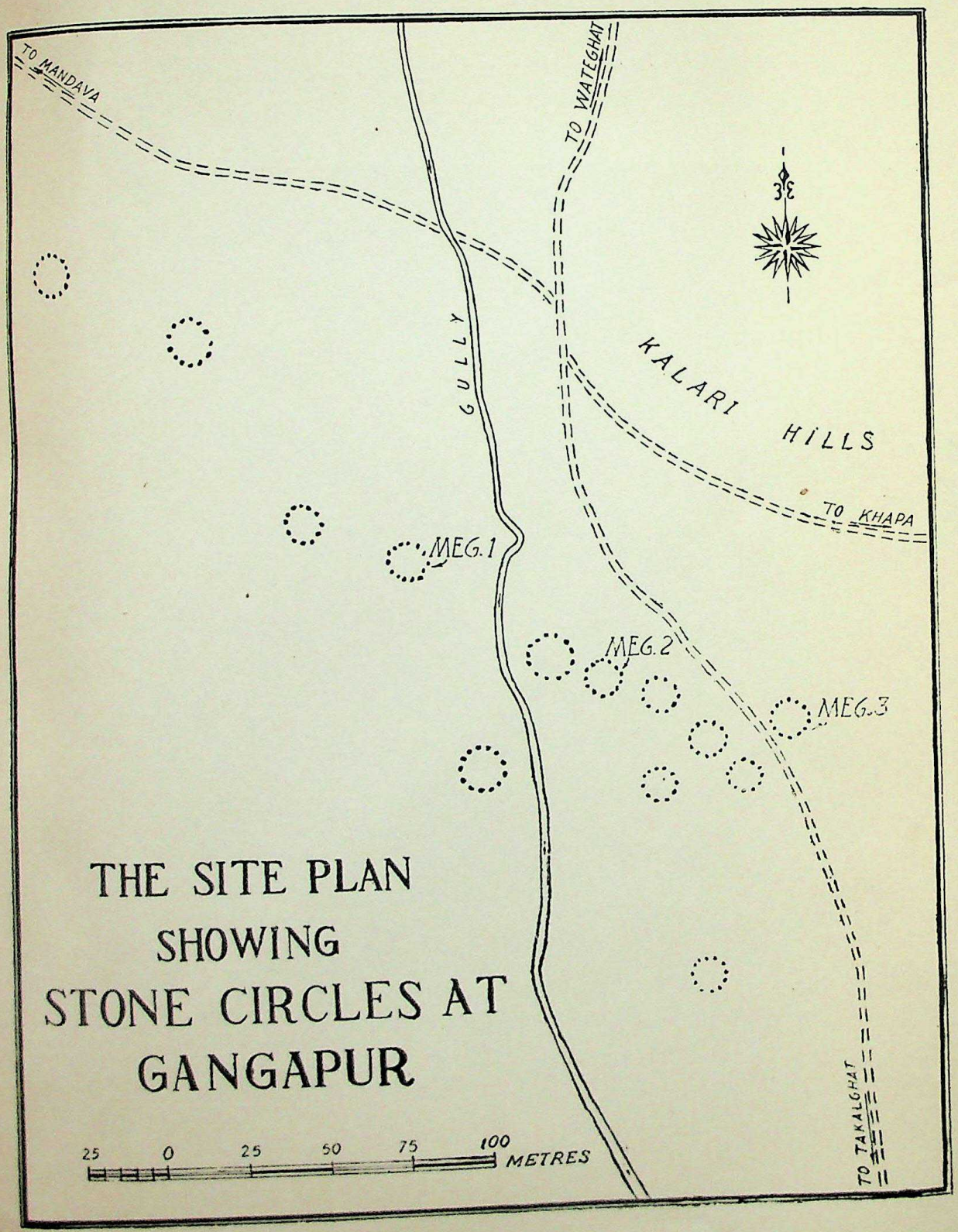
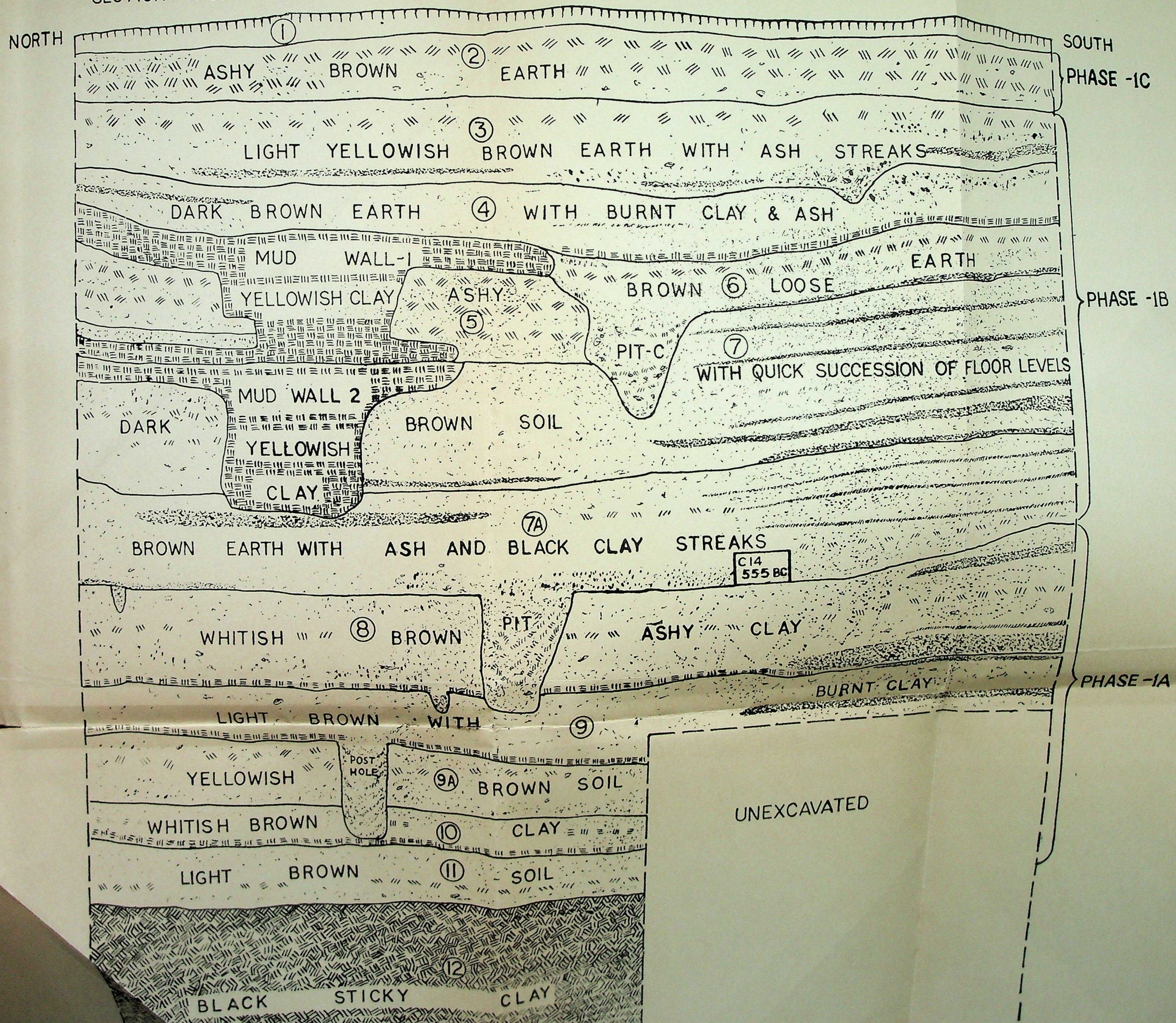

TO MANDAVA
TO WATEGHAT
GULLY
KALARI
HILLS
TO KHAPA
MEG.1
MEG.2
MEG.3
THE SITE PLAN
SHOWING
STONE CIRCLES AT
GANGAPUR
25 0 25 50 75 100 METRES
TO TAKALGHAT

Fig. 3

TAKALGHAT 1968 (TKG-1)

SECTION FACING WEST



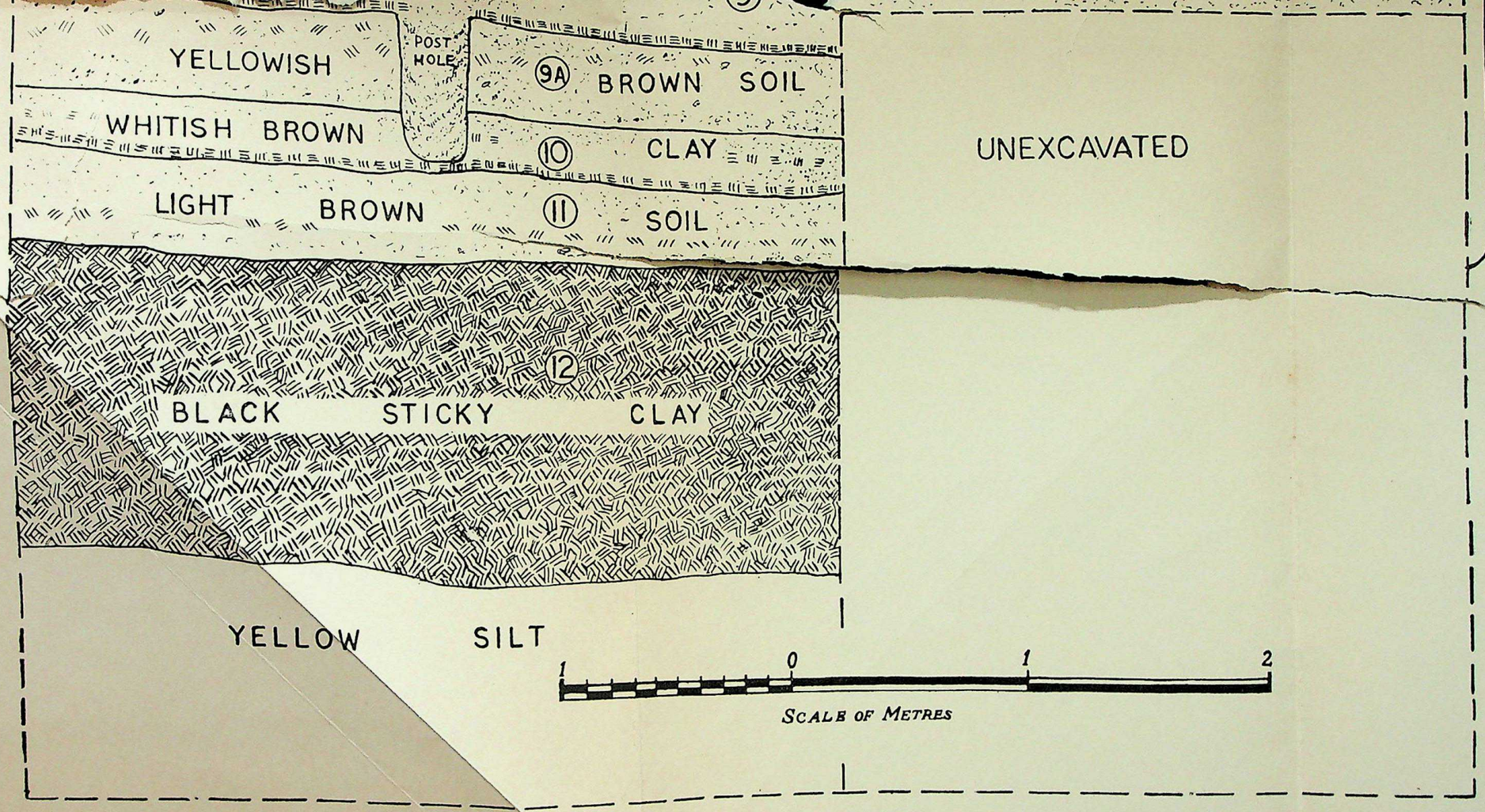

YELLOWISH
POST HOLE
9A BROWN SOIL
WHITISH BROWN
10 CLAY
UNEXCAVATED
LIGHT BROWN
11 SOIL
12
BLACK STICKY CLAY
YELLOW SILT
1 0 1 2
SCALE OF METRES

Fig. 4

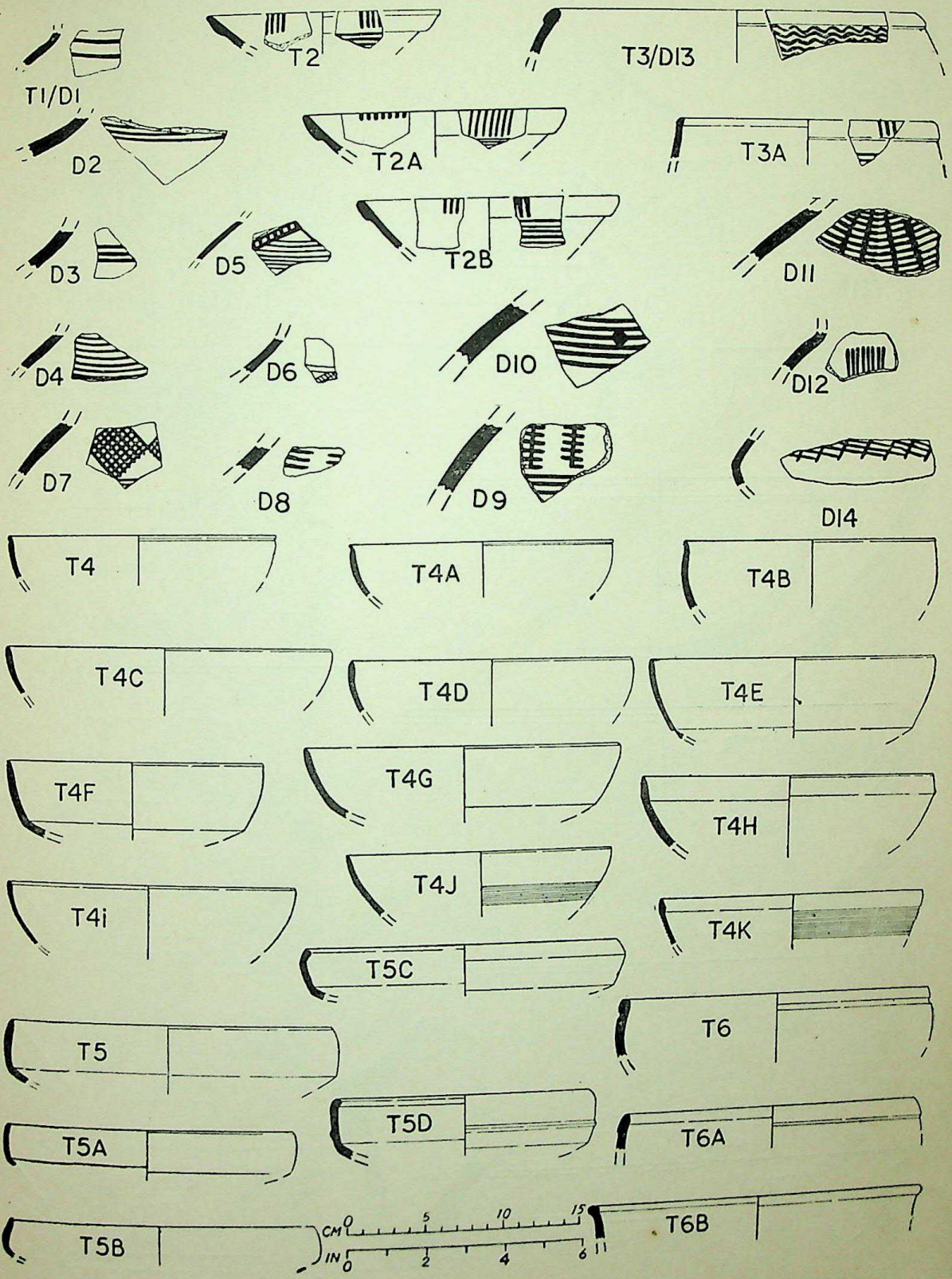

T1/D1
T2
T3/D13
D2
T2A
T3A
D3
D5
T2B
D11
D4
D6
D10
D12
D7
D8
D9
D14
T4
T4A
T4B
T4C
T4D
T4E
T4F
T4G
T4H
T4J
T4i
T4K
T5C
T6
T5
T5D
T6A
T5A
T6B
T5B
CM
IN

Fig. 9

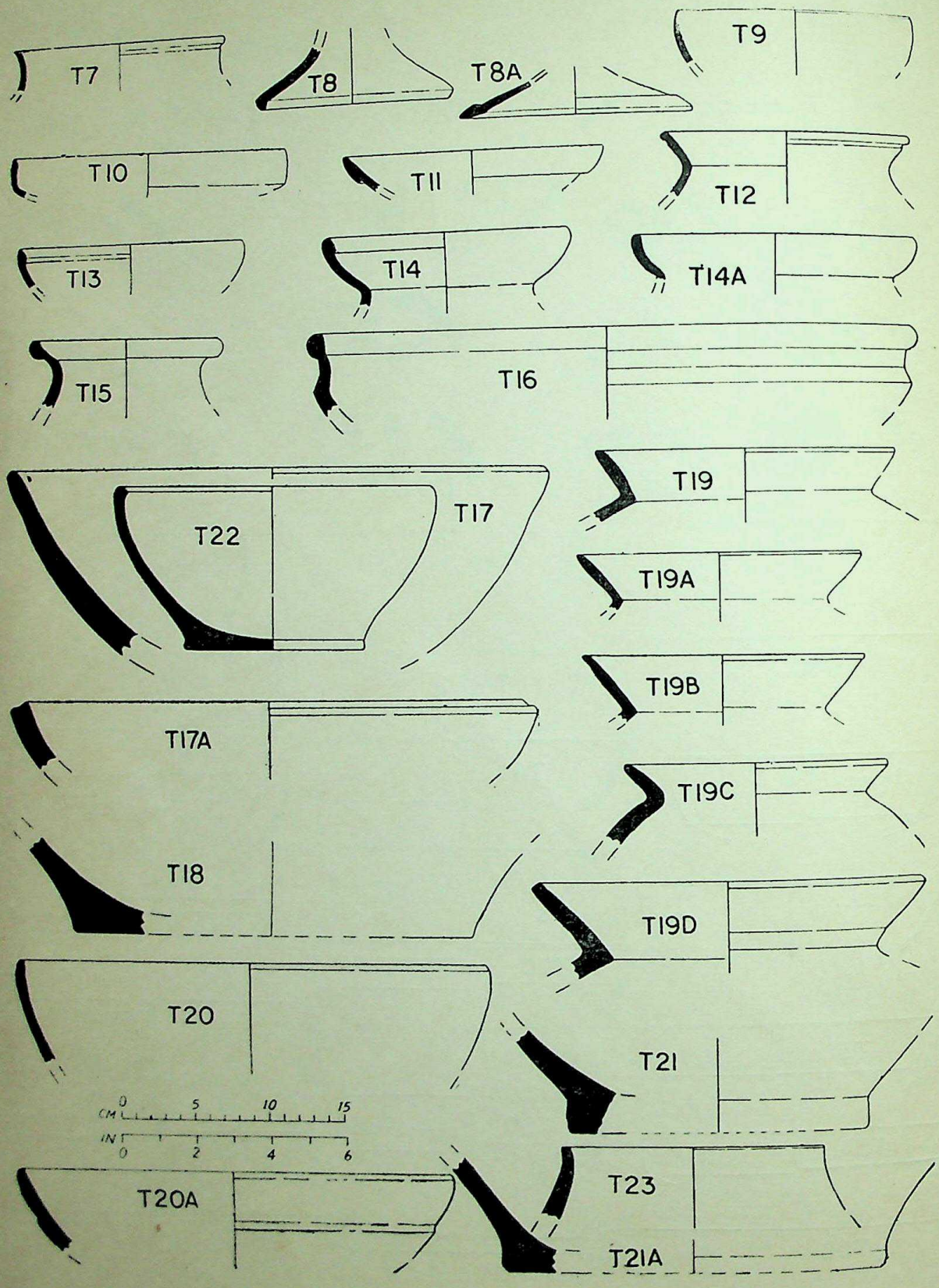

T7
T8
T8A
T9
T10
T11
T12
T13
T14
T14A
T15
T16
T17
T22
T19
T19A
T19B
T17A
T19C
T18
T19D
T20
T21
0 5 10 15
CM
IN
0 2 4 6
T20A
T23
T21A

Fig. 10

D15
D16
D17
D17B
D17A
D17C
D17D
D17E
D17G
D17H
D17F
D18
D19
D19A
D19B
D19C
D19D
D20
D20A
D20B
D21
D21A
D22
D22A
D22B
D23
D24
D25
D25A
D26
D27
D28
D29
D30
D31
D32
D33
D34
D35
D36
CM
IN
0
5
10
15
0
2
4
6
D37
D41
D38
D39
D40
D42
D43

Fig. 11

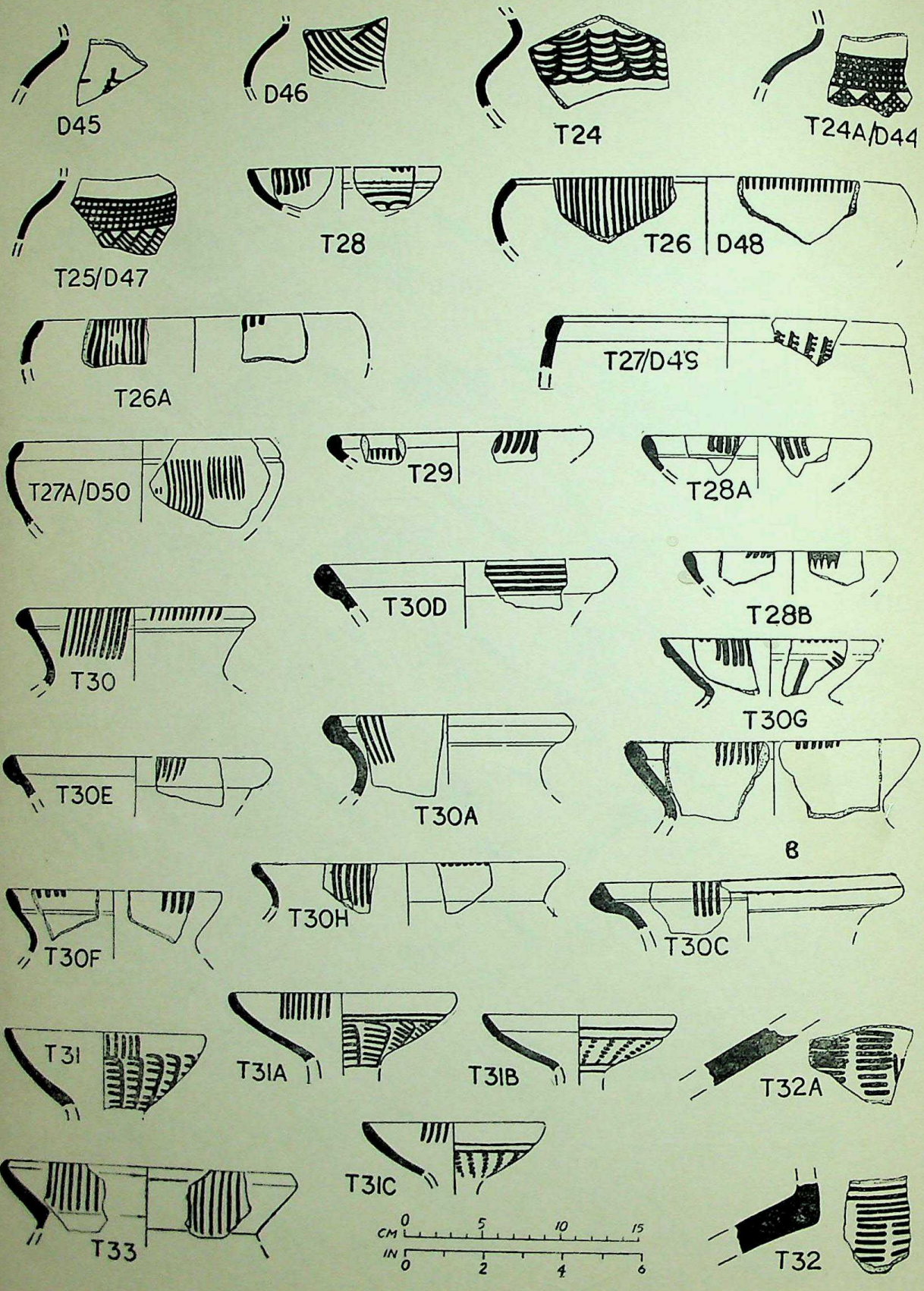

D45
D46
T24
T24A/D44
T25/D47
T28
T26
D48
T26A
T27/D49
T27A/D50
T29
T28A
T30D
T28B
T30
T30G
T30E
T30A
B
T30H
T30C
T30F
T31
T31A
T31B
T32A
T31C
T33
T32
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6

Fig. 12

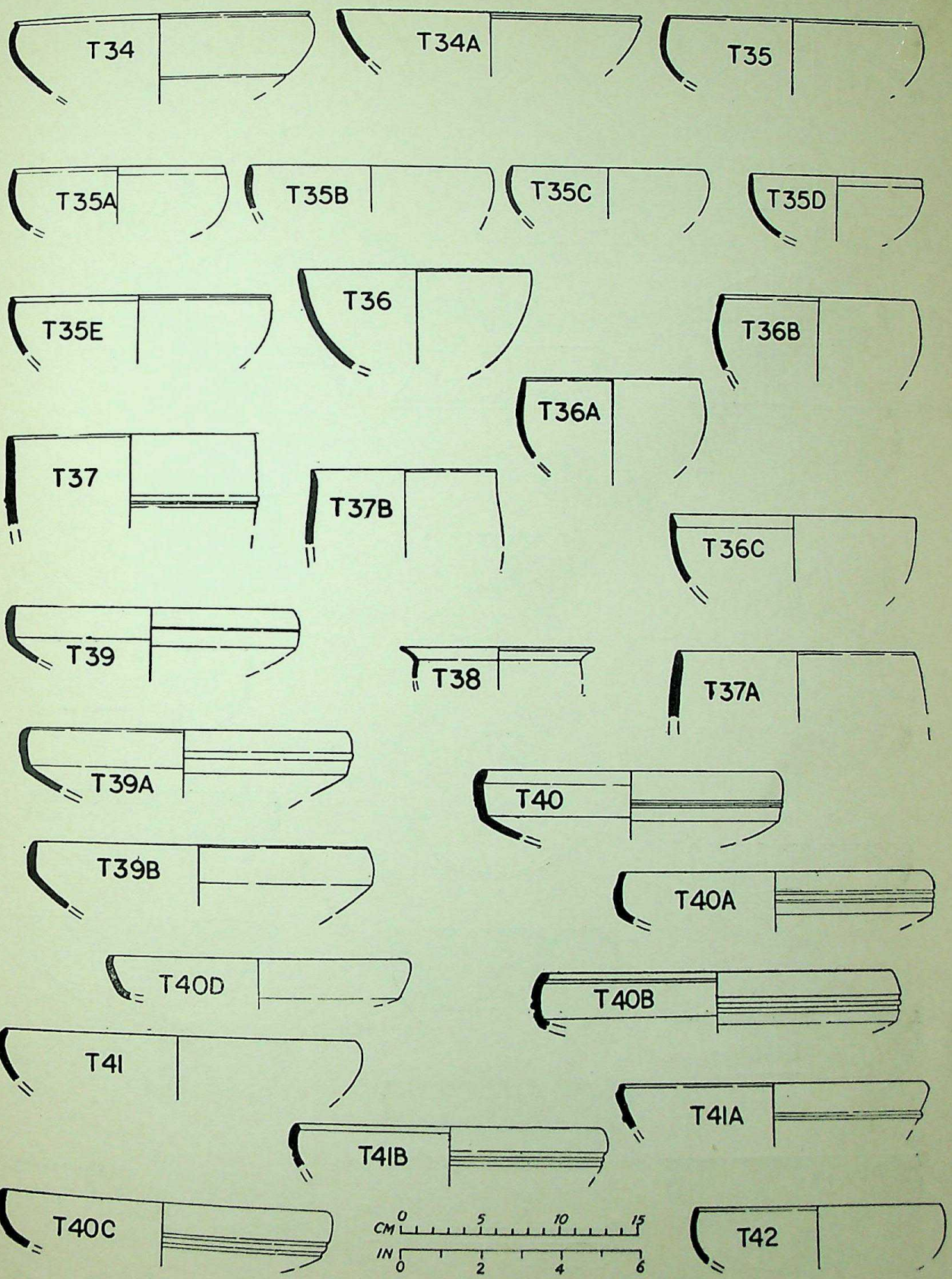

T34
T34A
T35
T35A
T35B
T35C
T35D
T35E
T36
T36B
T36A
T37
T37B
T36C
T39
T38
T37A
T39A
T40
T39B
T40A
T40D
T40B
T41
T41A
T41B
T40C
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
T42

Fig. 13

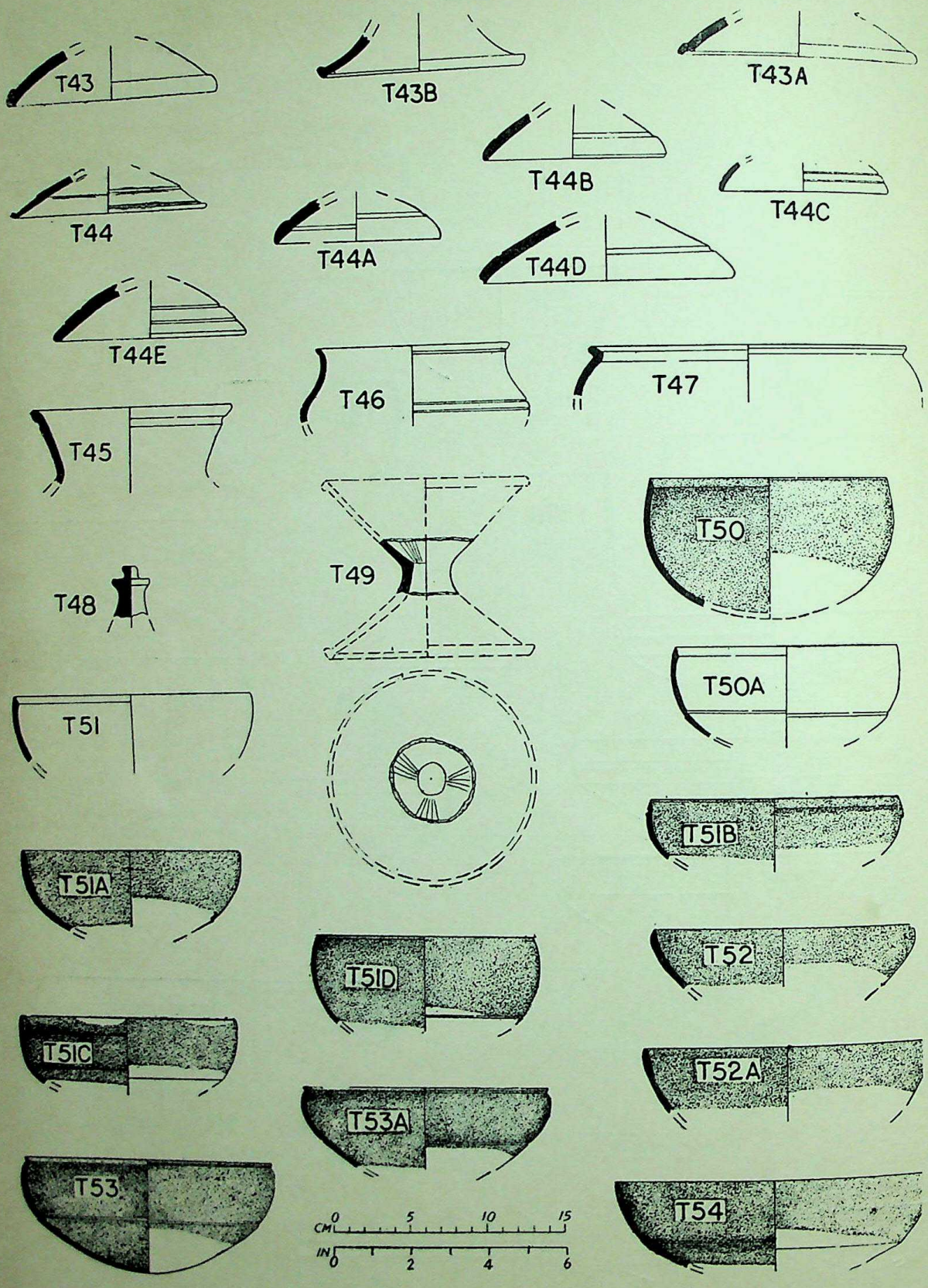

T43
T43B
T43A
T44B
T44
T44C
T44A
T44D
T44E
T46
T47
T45
T49
T50
T48
T50A
T51
T51B
T51A
T51D
T52
T51C
T52A
T53A
T53
T54
0 5 10 15
CM
IN
0 2 4 6

Fig. 14

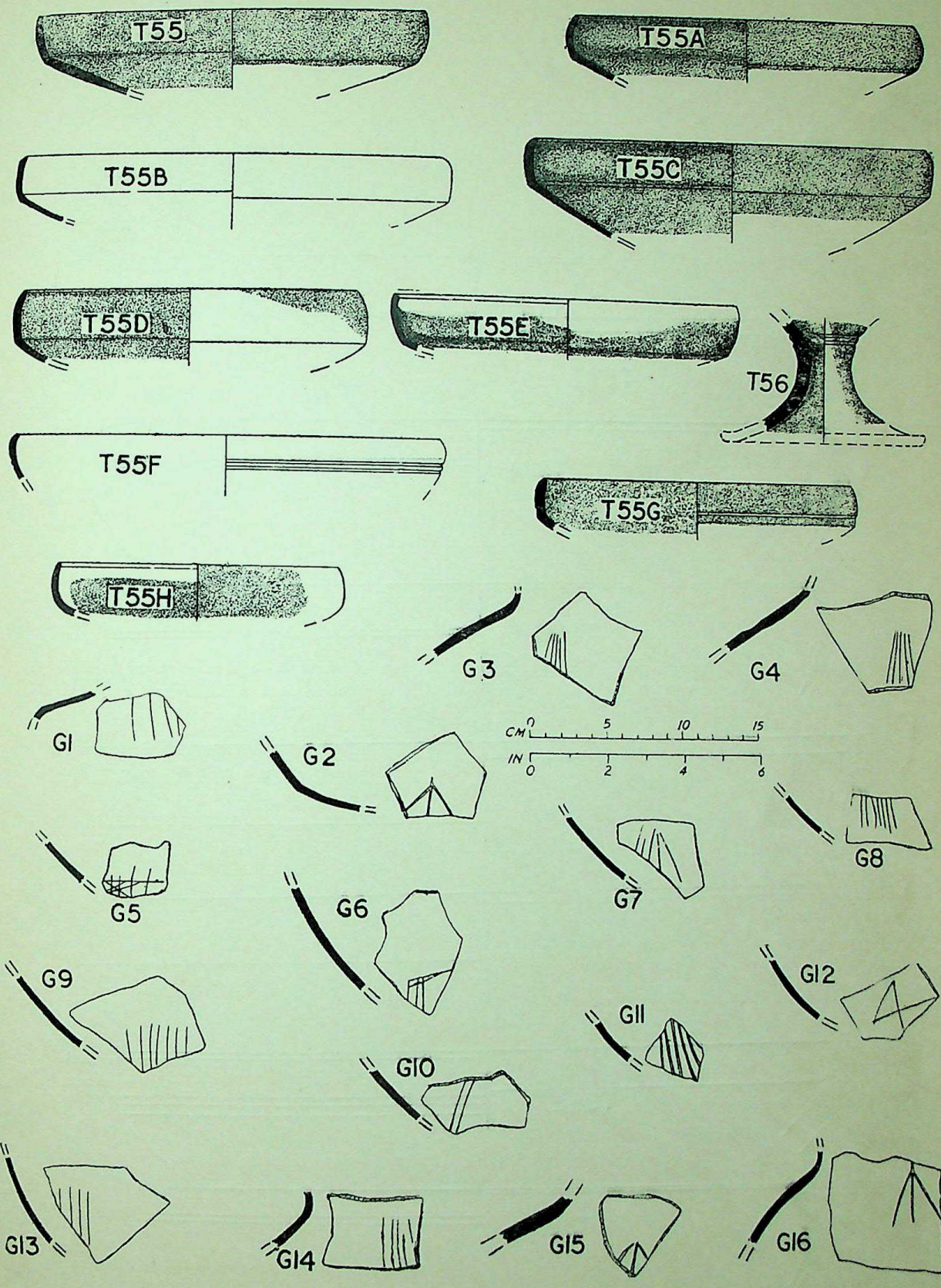

T55
T55A
T55B
T55C
T55D
T55E
T56
T55F
T55G
T55H
G3
G4
G1
G2
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
G8
G7
G5
G6
G9
G12
G11
G10
G13
G14
G15
G16

Fig. 15

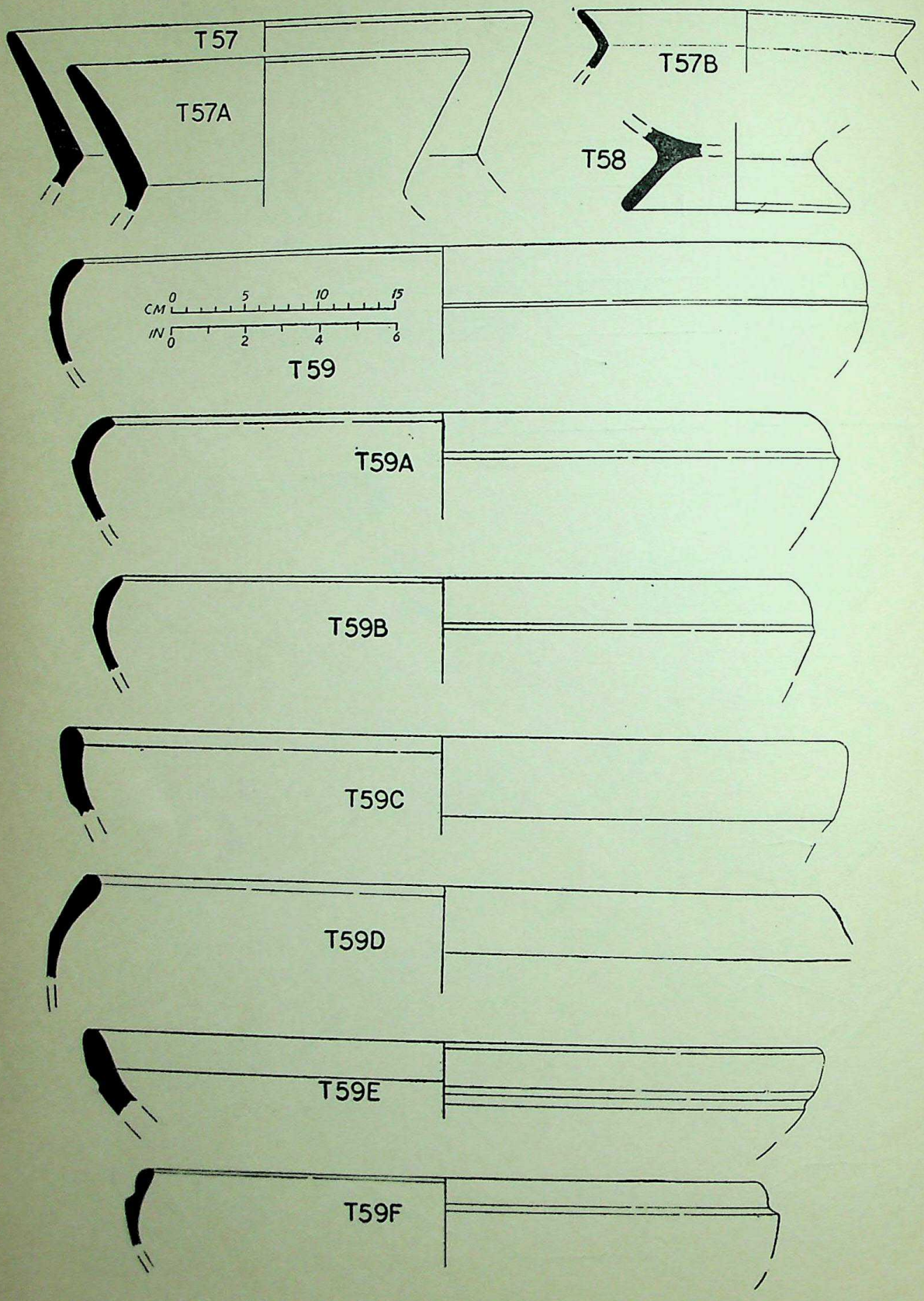

T57
T57A
T57B
T58
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
T59
T59A
T59B
T59C
T59D
T59E
T59F

Fig. 16

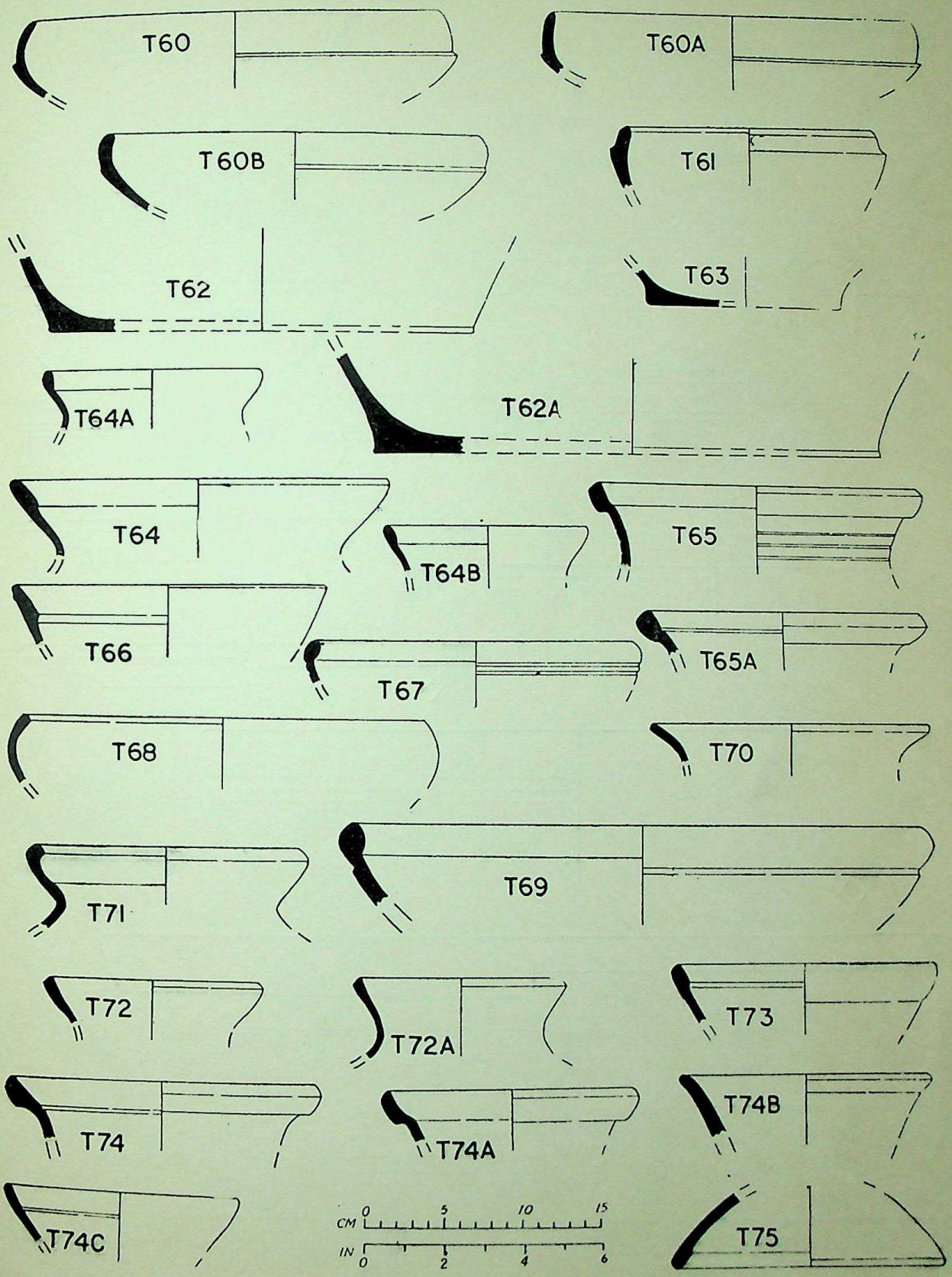

T60
T60A
T60B
T61
T62
T63
T64A
T62A
T64
T64B
T65
T66
T67
T65A
T68
T70
T71
T69
T72
T72A
T73
T74
T74A
T74B
T74C
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
T75

Fig. 17

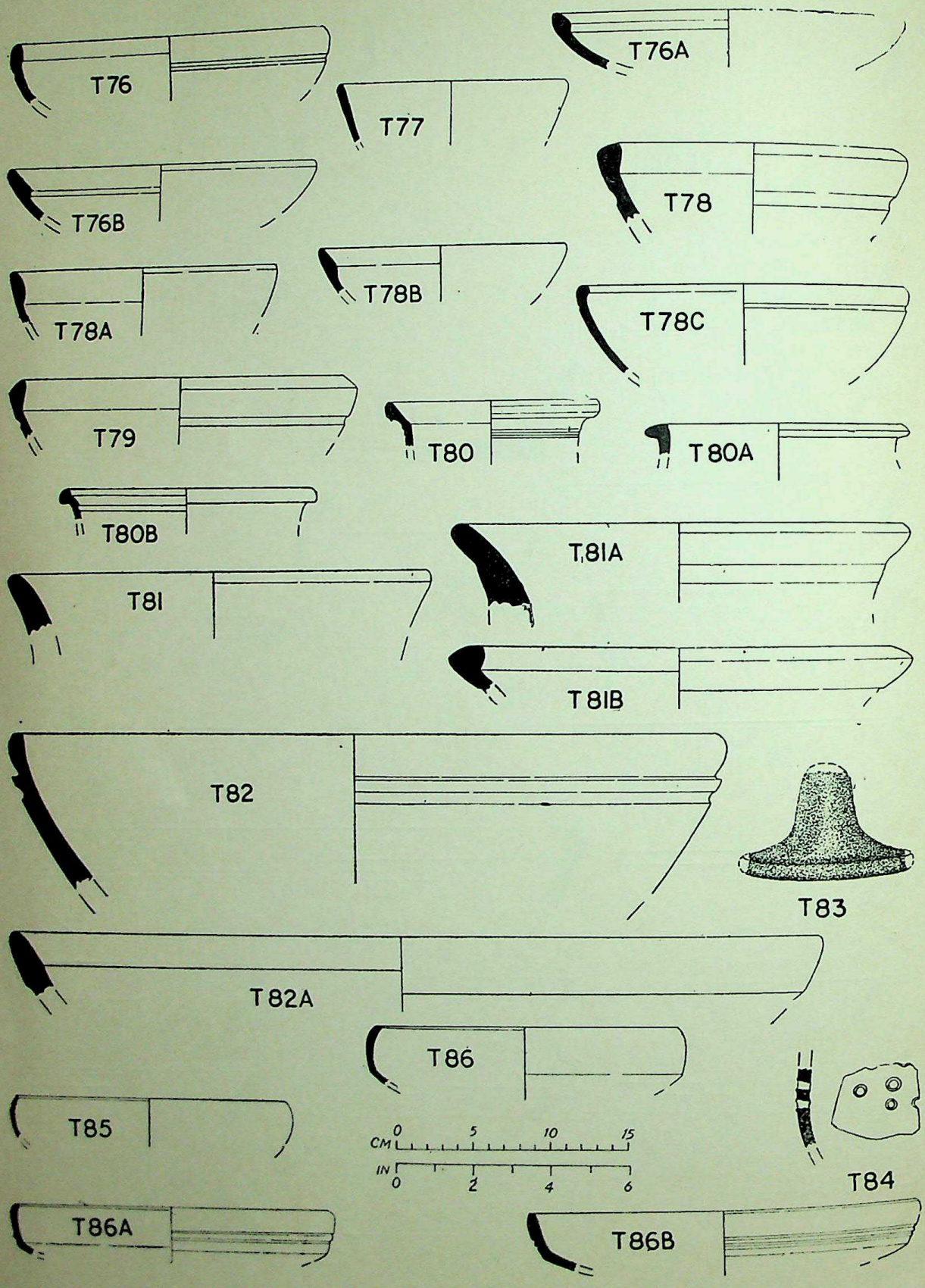

T76
T76A
T77
T76B
T78
T78A
T78B
T78C
T79
T80
T80A
T80B
T81A
T81
T81B
T82
T83
T82A
T86
T85
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
T84
T86A
T86B

Fig. 18

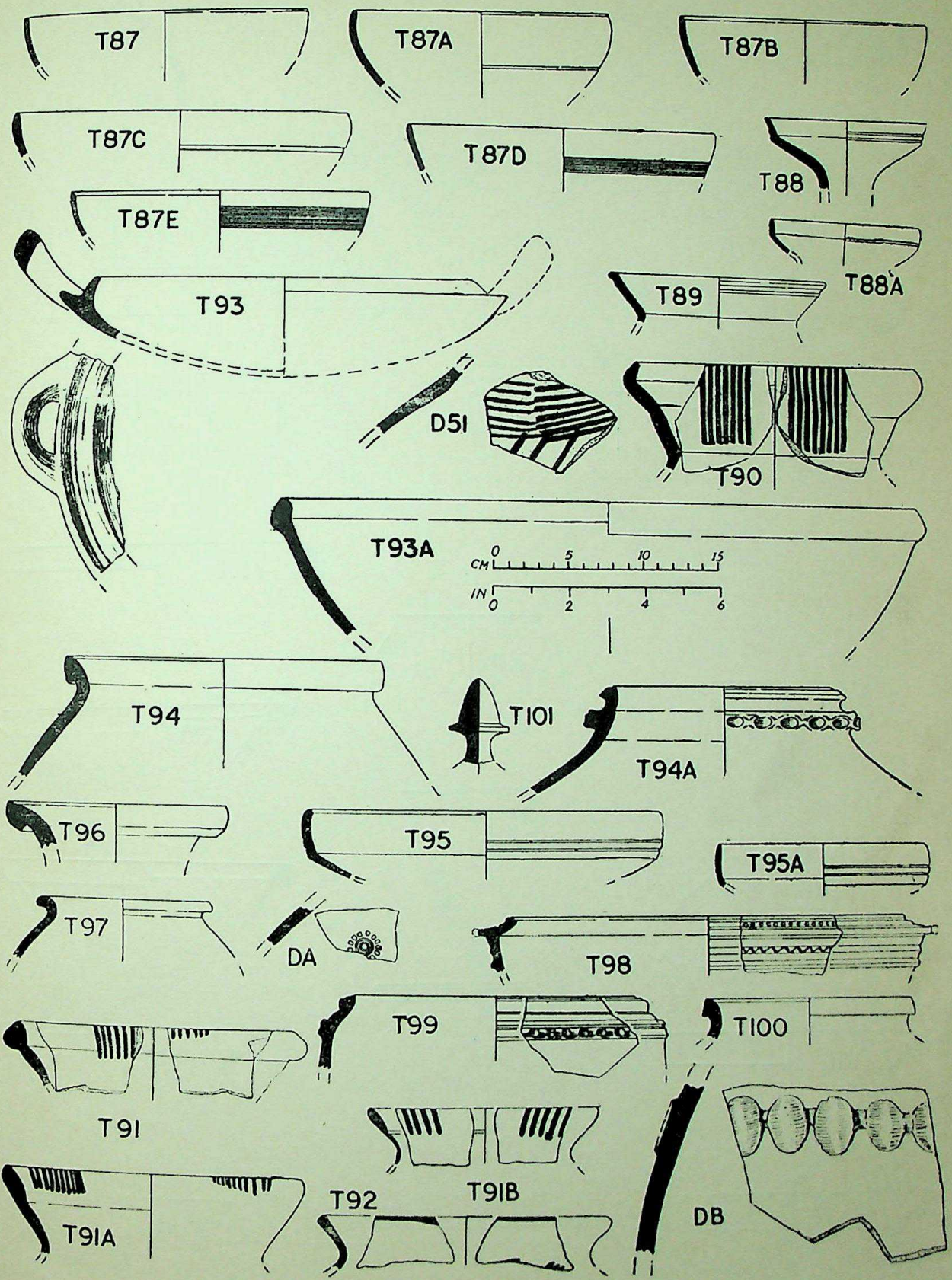

T87
T87A
T87B
T87C
T87D
T88
T87E
T88A
T93
T89
D51
T90
T93A
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
T94
T101
T94A
T96
T95
T95A
T97
DA
T98
T99
T100
T91
T91B
T92
T91A
DB

Fig. 19

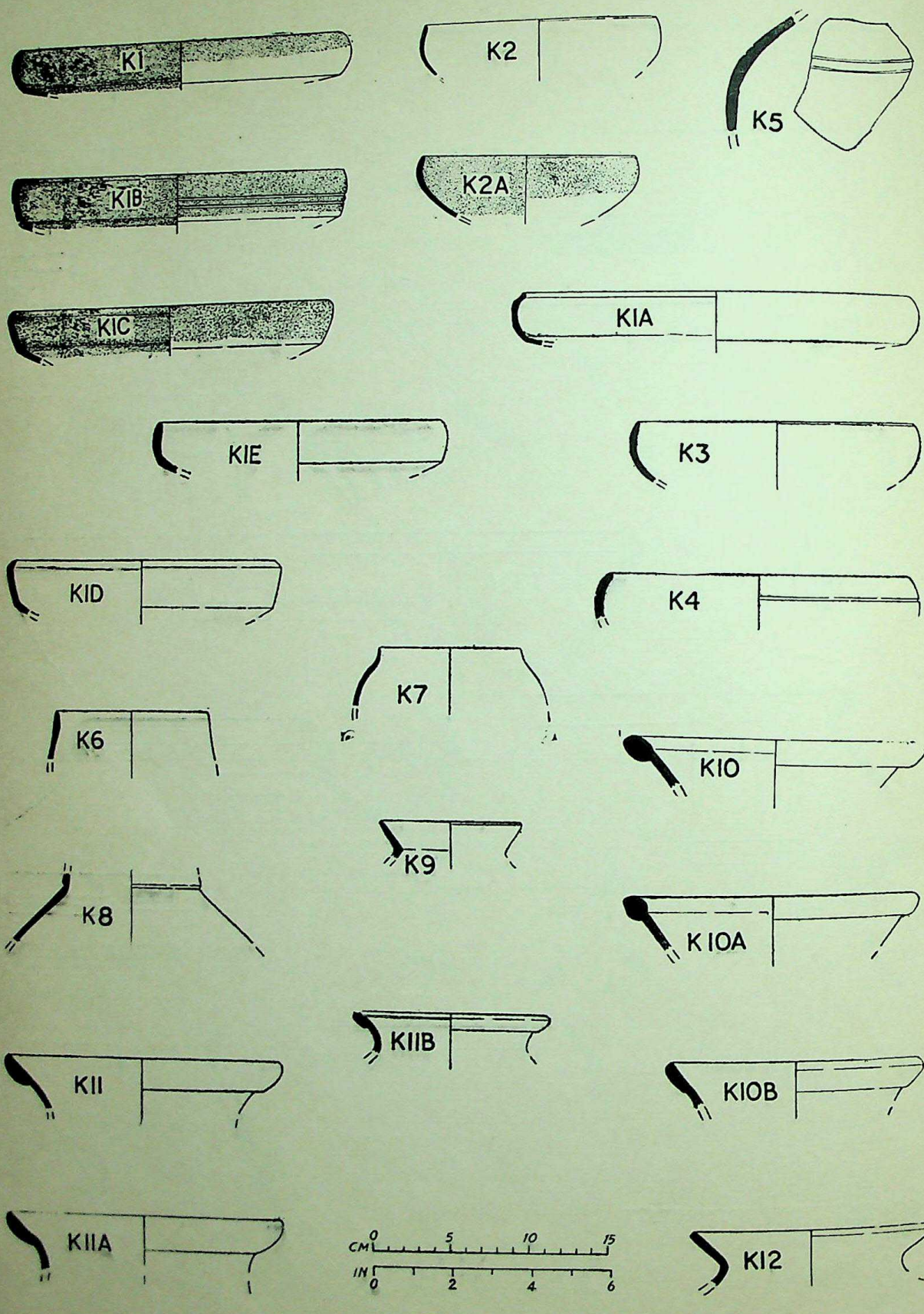

K1
K2
K5
K1B
K2A
K1C
K1A
K1E
K3
K1D
K4
K7
K6
K10
K9
K8
K10A
K11B
K11
K10B
K11A
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
K12

Fig. 20

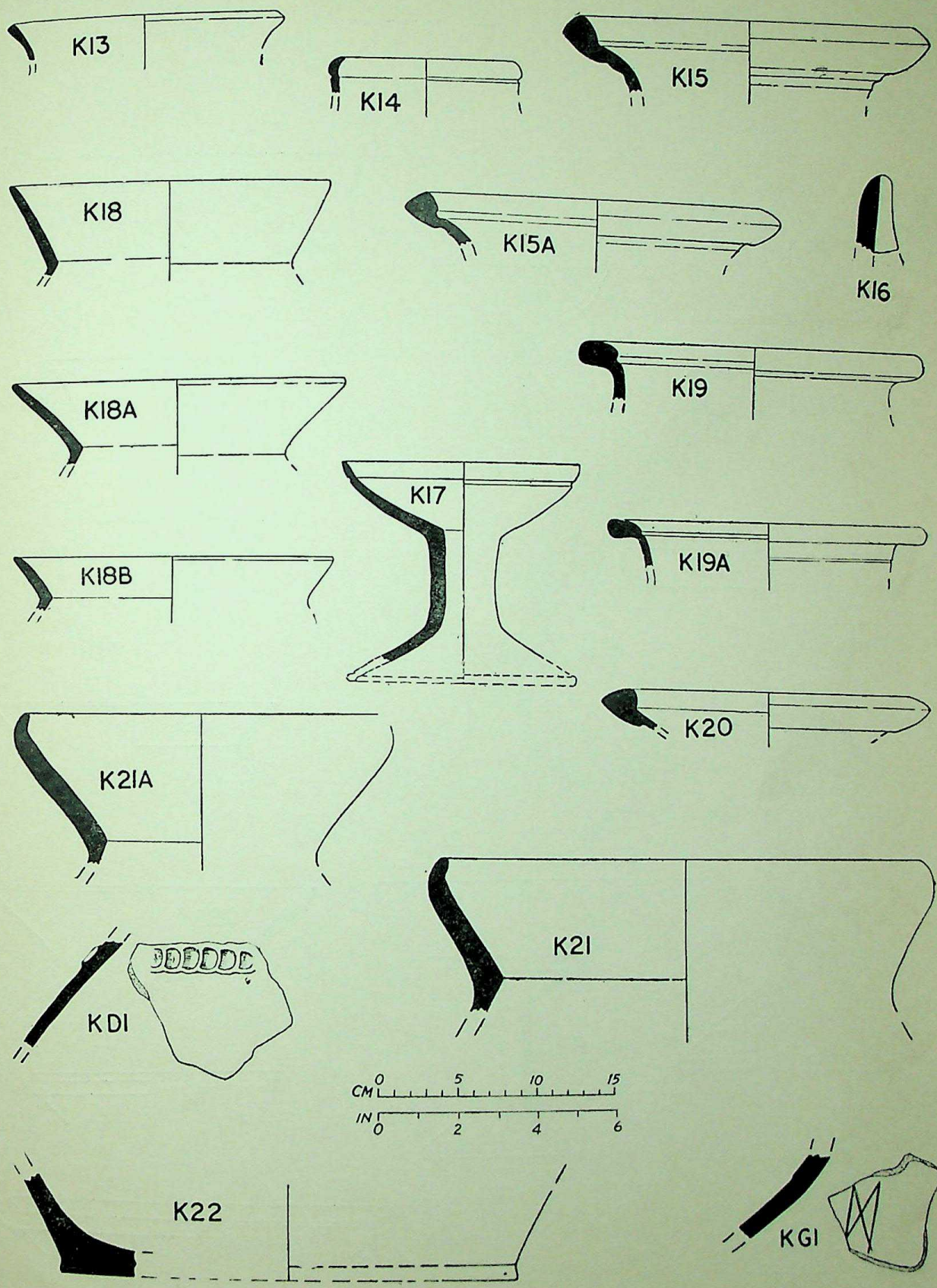

K13
K14
K15
K18
K15A
K16
K19
K18A
K17
K18B
K19A
K20
K21A
K21
KD1
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
K22
KG1

Fig. 21

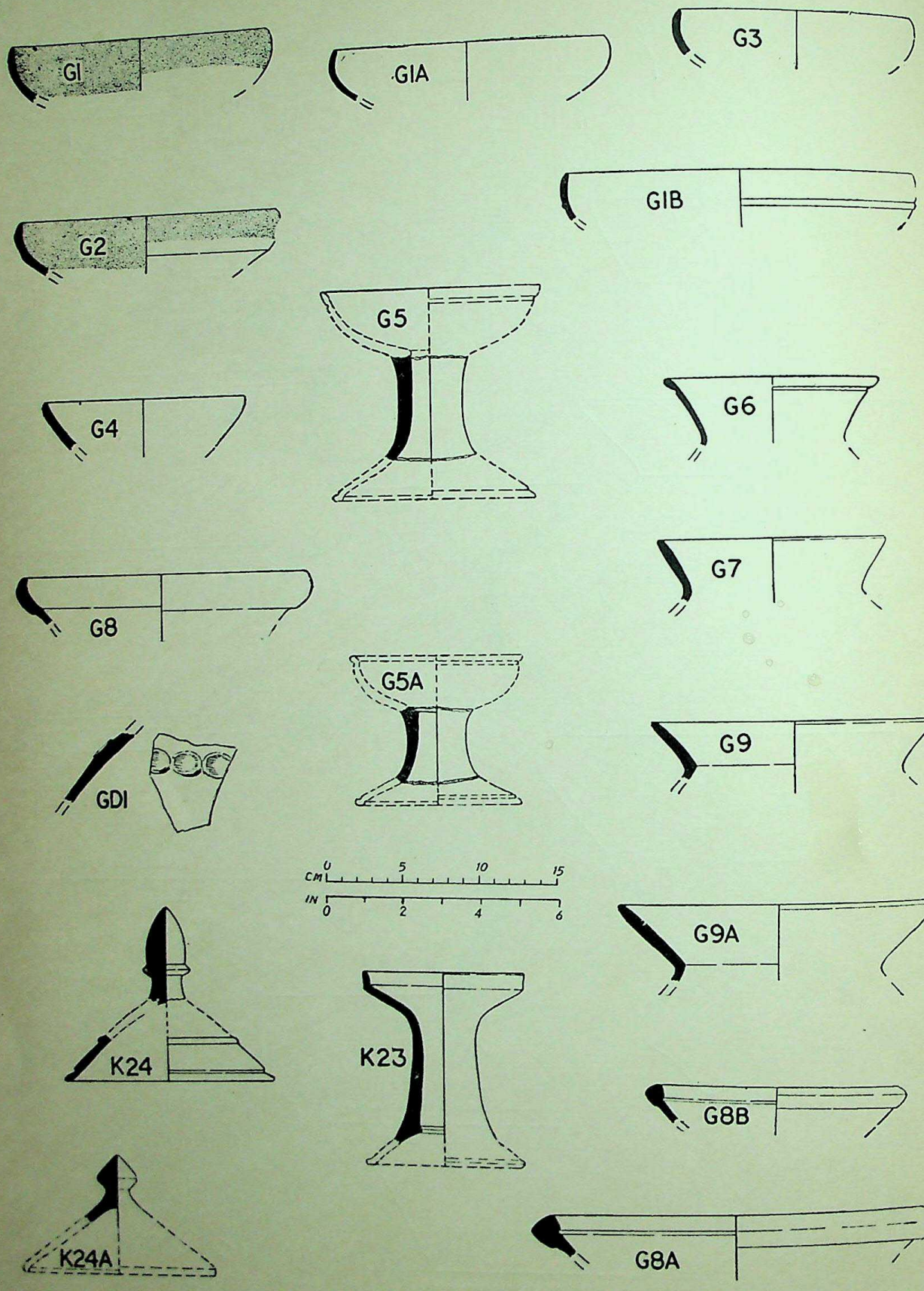
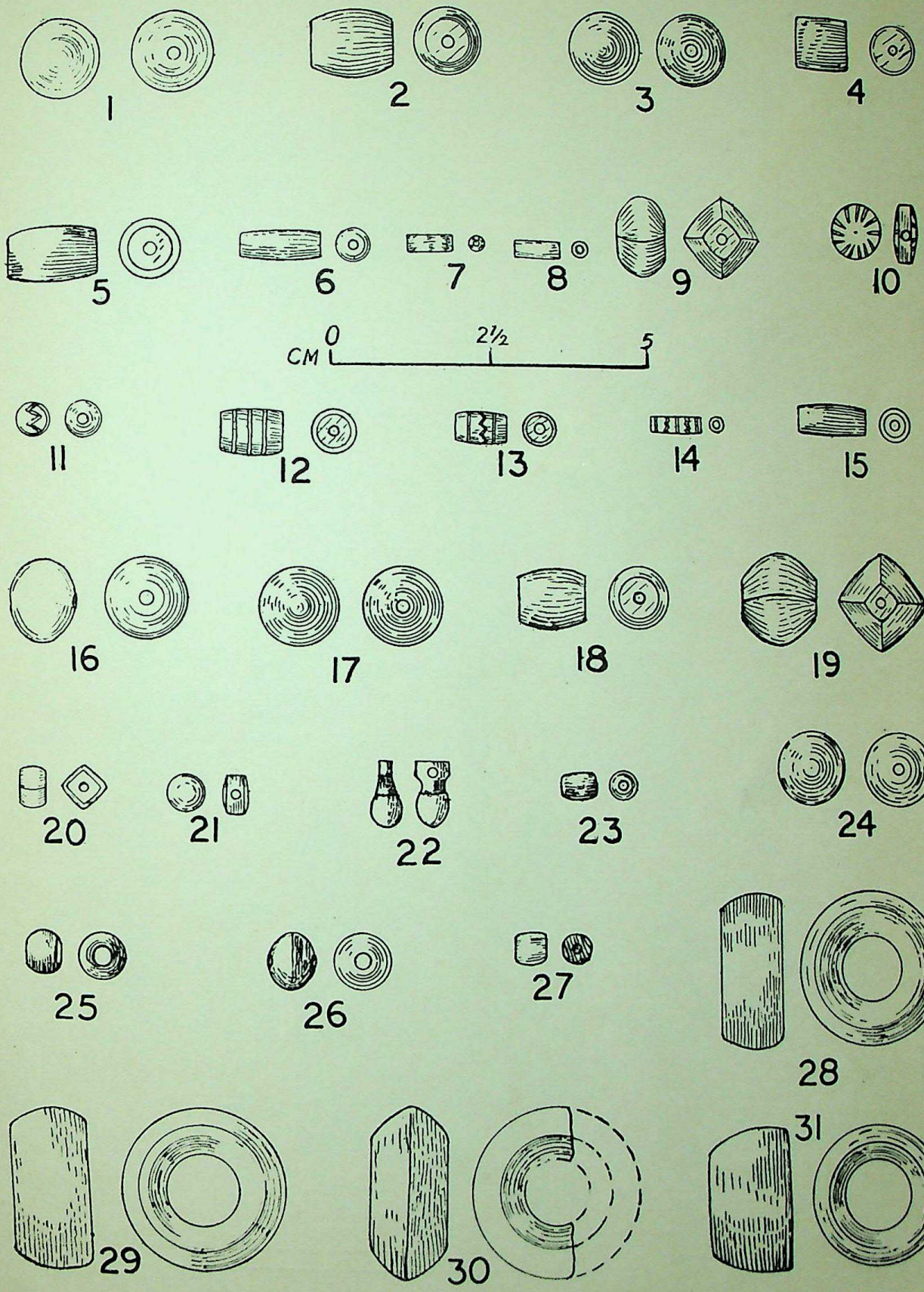

G1
G1A
G3
G1B
G2
G5
G4
G6
G7
G8
G5A
G9
GD1
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6
G9A
K24
K23
G8B
K24A
G8A

Fig. 22


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
CM 0 2½ 5
11
12
13
14
15
16
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18
19
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23
24
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Fig. 23

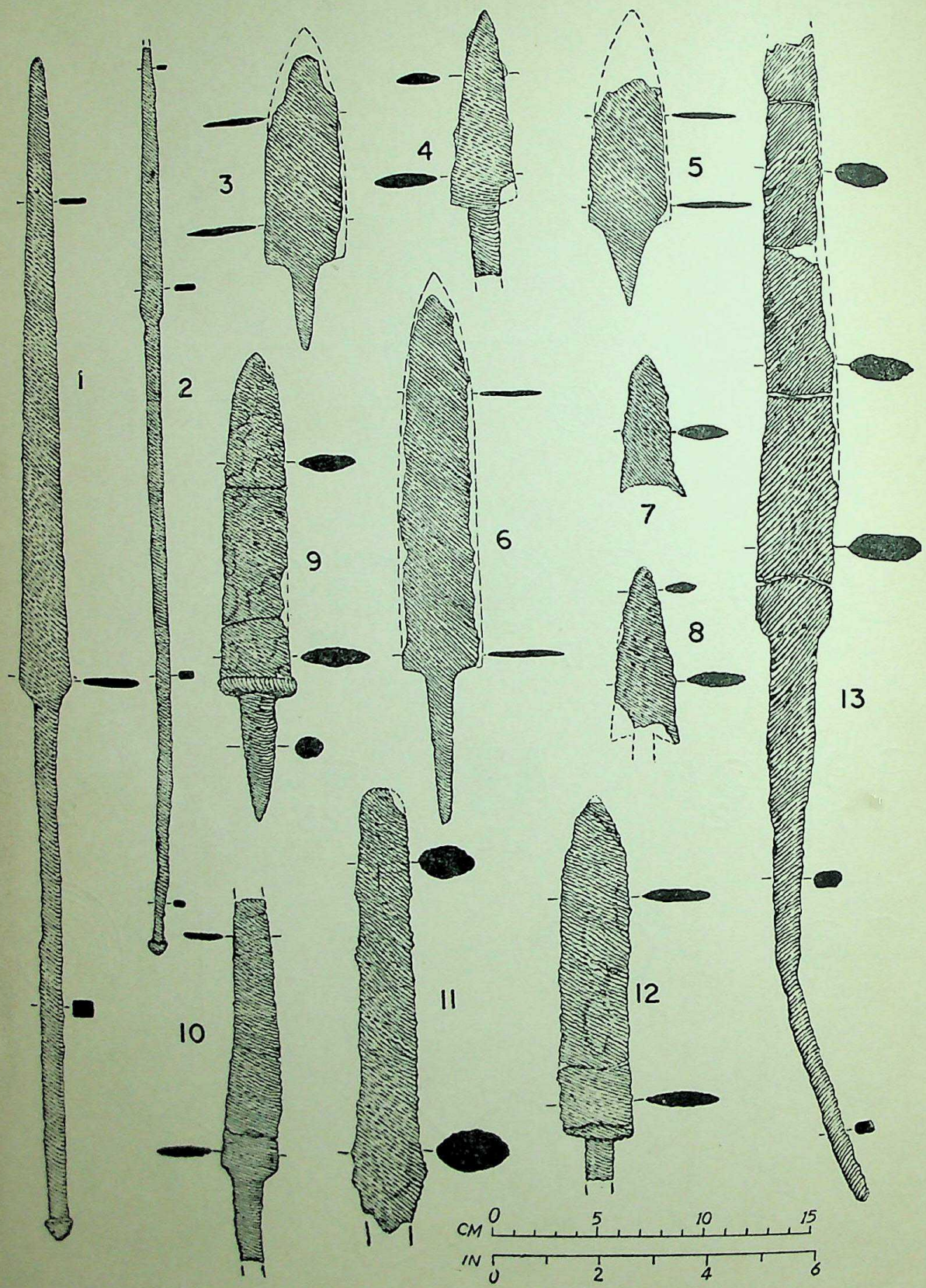


Fig. 24

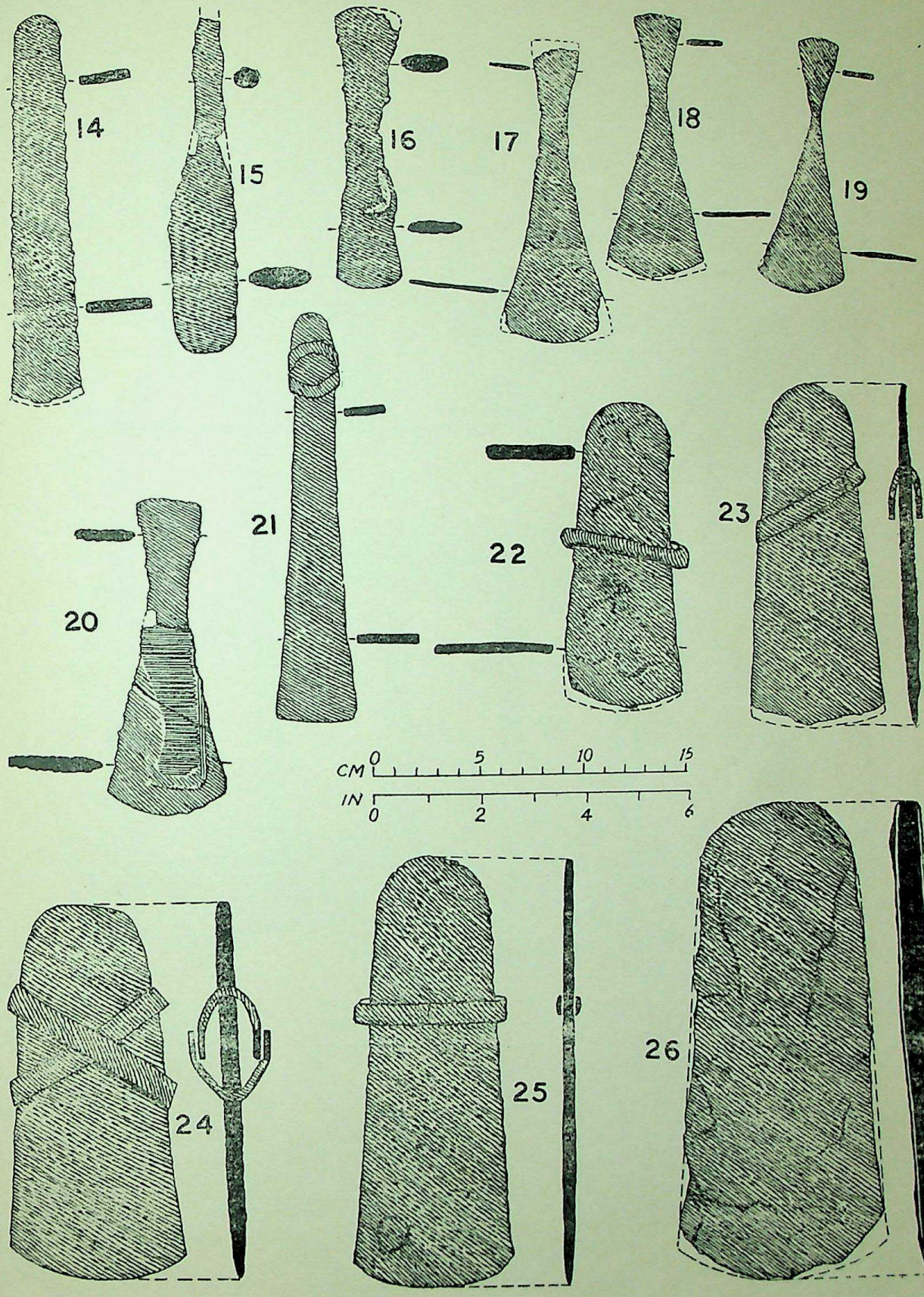


Fig. 25

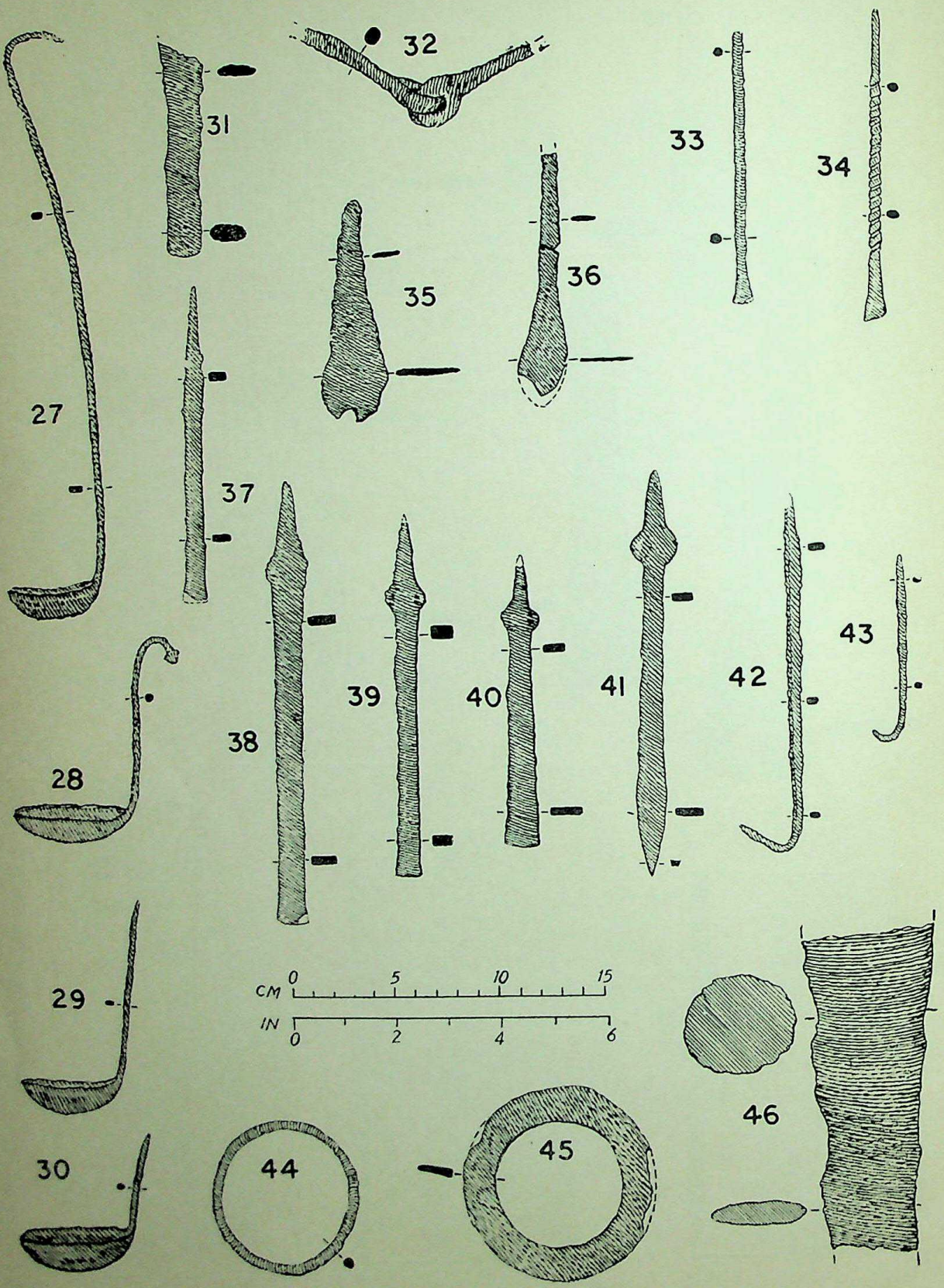
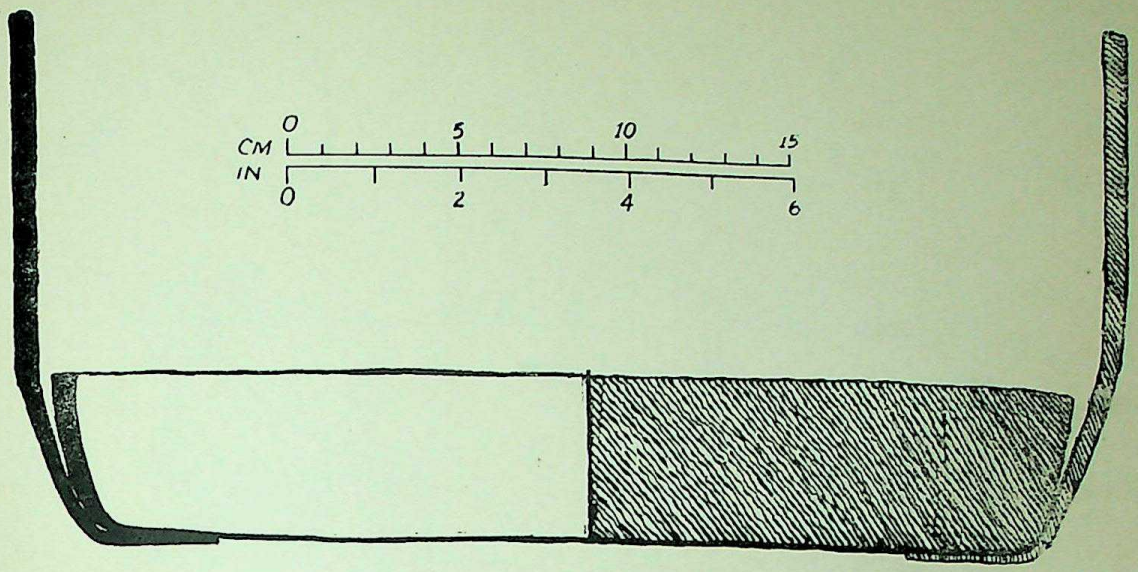

27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
CM 0 5 10 15
IN 0 2 4 6

Fig. 26



47

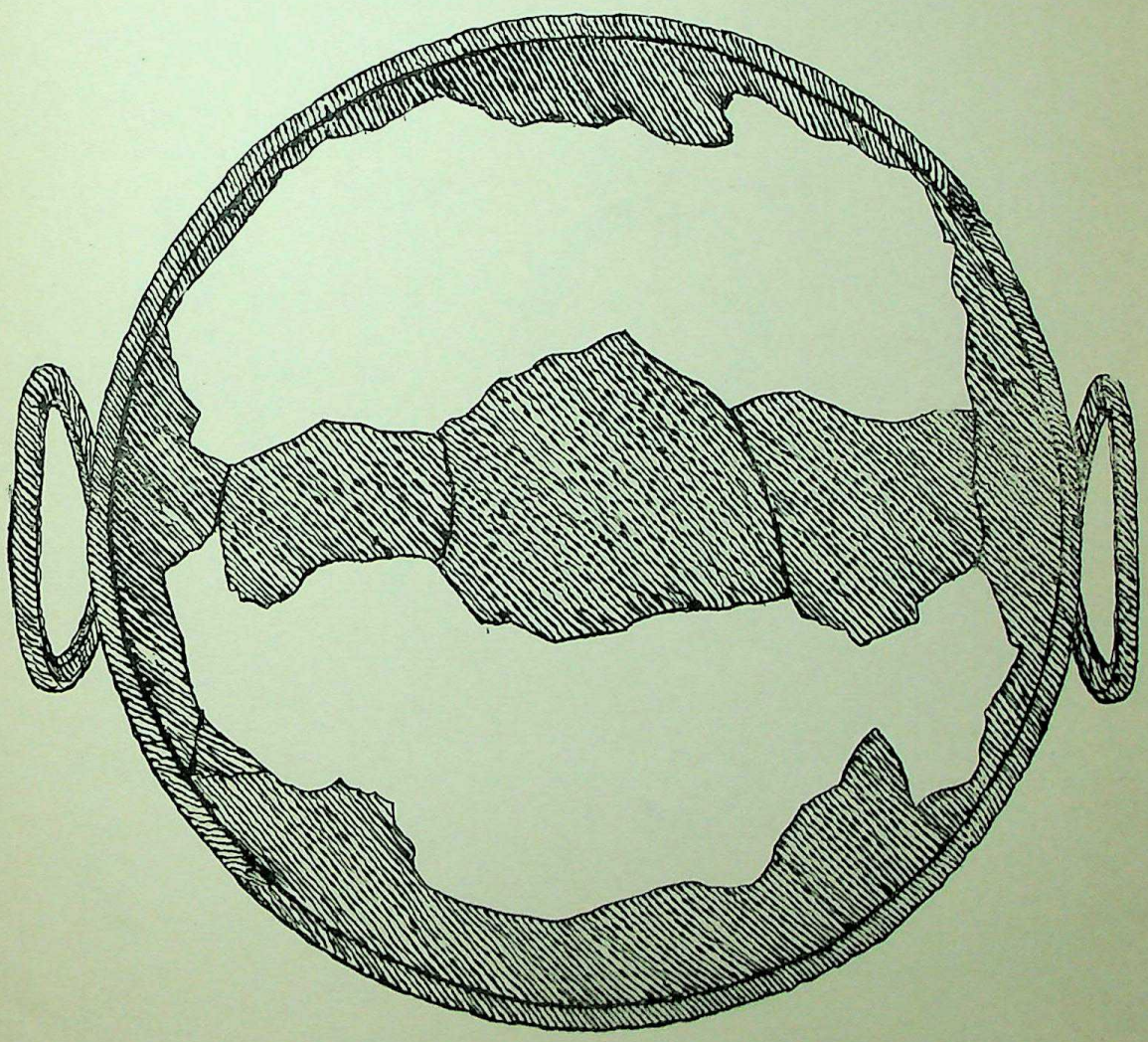
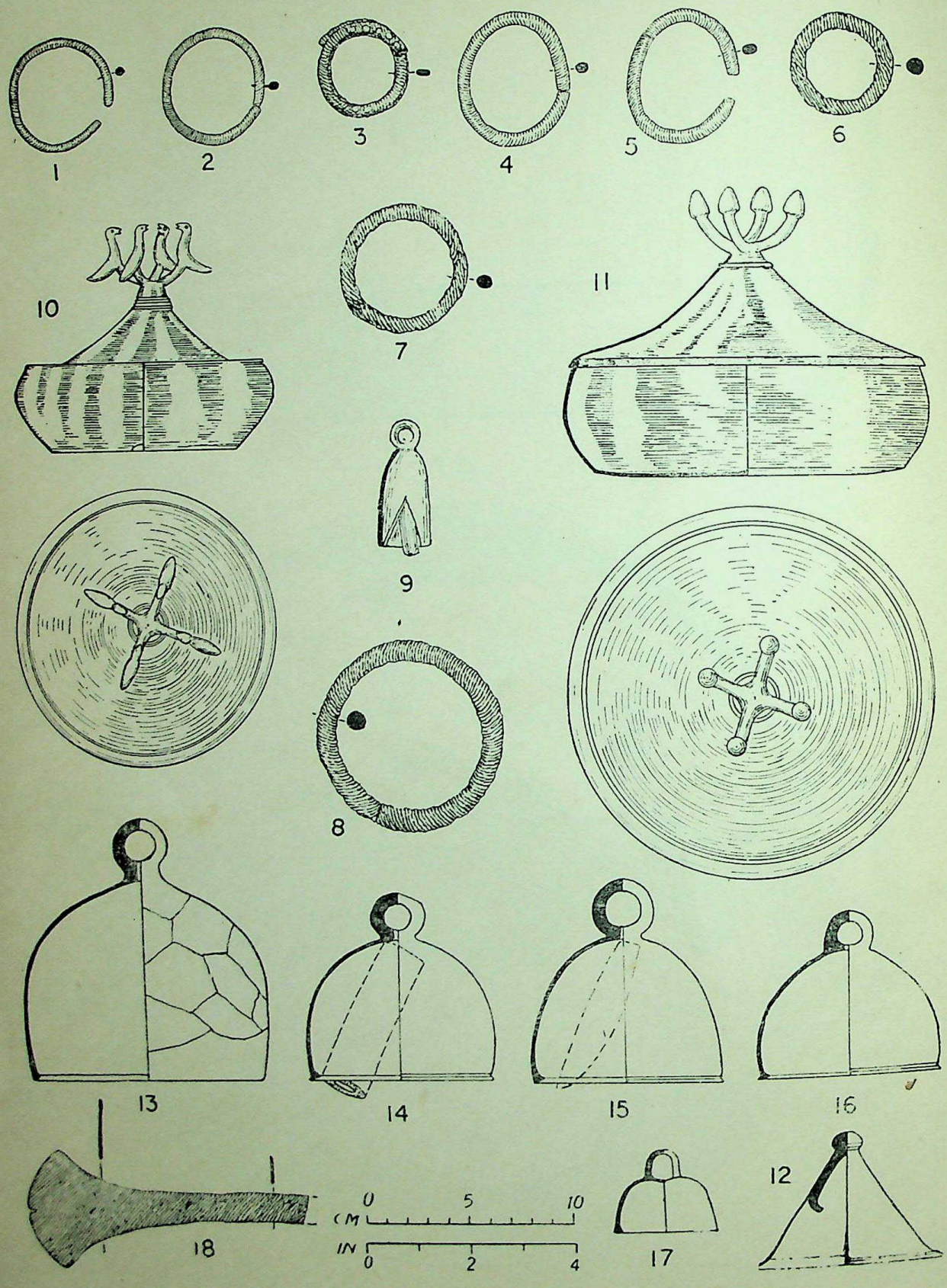


Fig. 27



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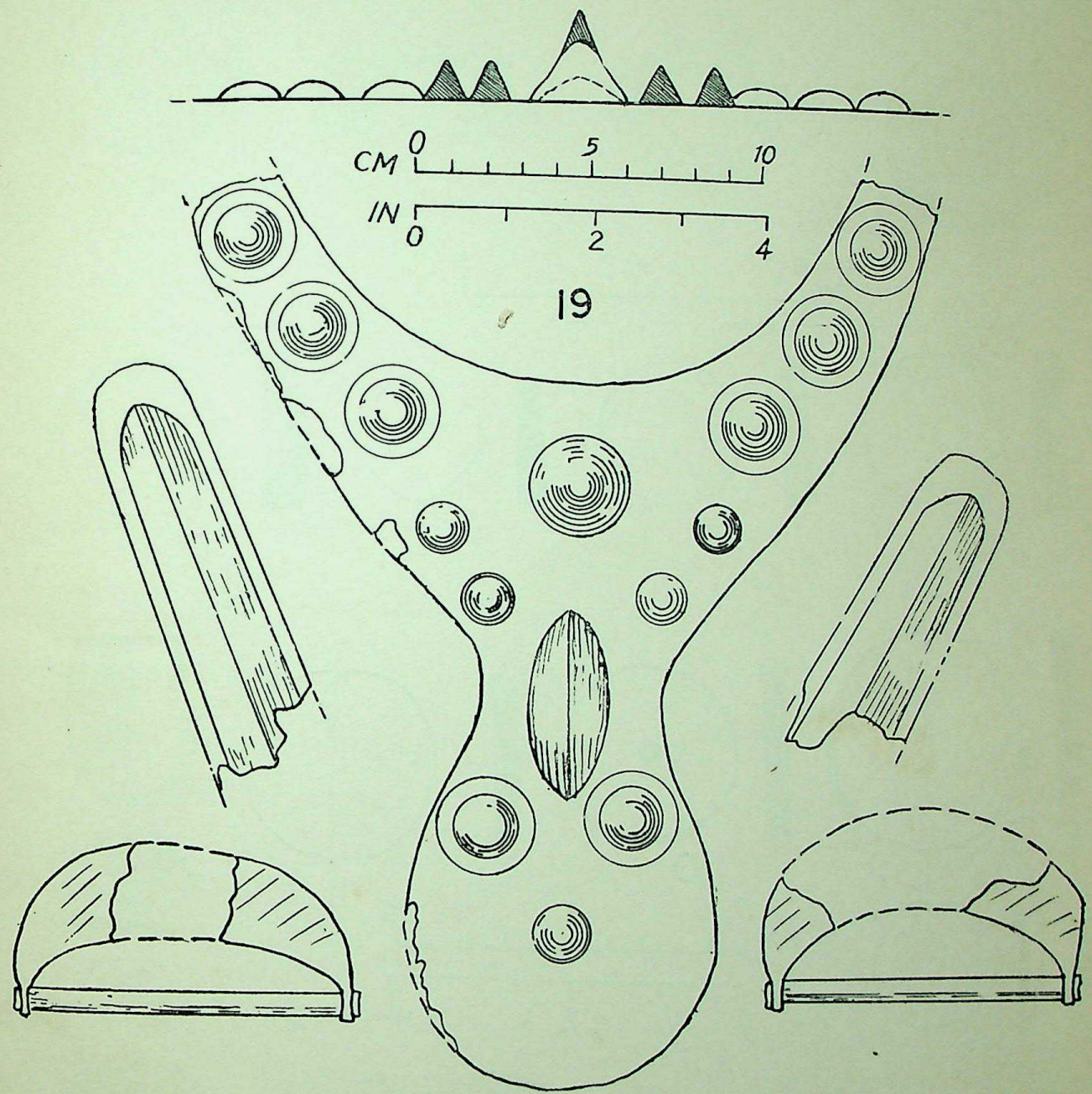

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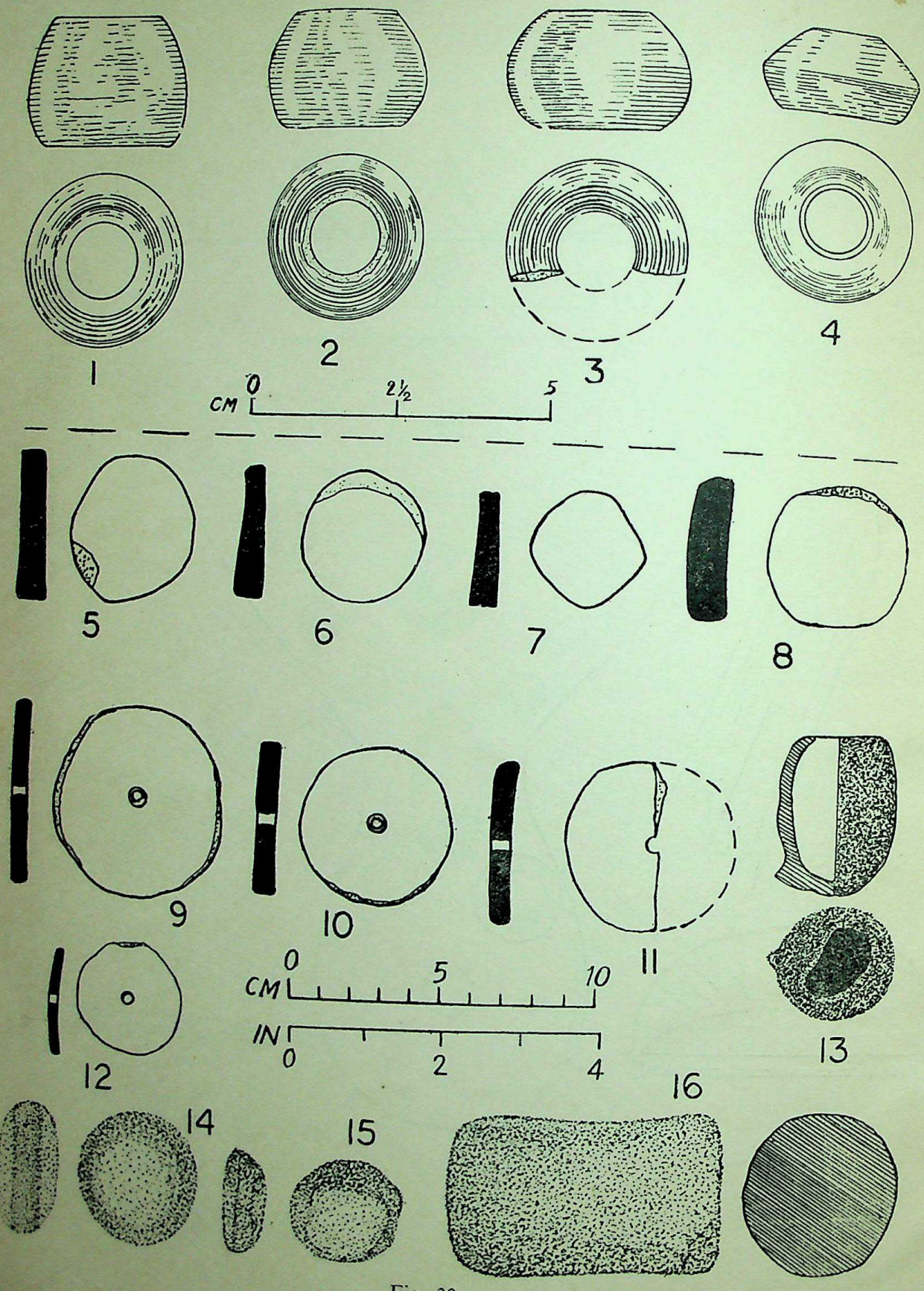

Fig. 30

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

AND

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

State Museum 8048

Edited by

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NAGPUR UNIVERSITY
1972

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

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COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

(Papers presented at the Numismatic Seminars held under the auspices of the Nagpur University on 11th & 12th November, 1970)

Edited by

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PREFACE

I

When the Nagpur University offered to host the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India, the latter, following the convention of holding seminars on some problems of interest to the students of Indian numismatics, requested the University to choose some suitable subject/ subjects for the annual numismatic seminar/seminars to mark the occasion. It was decided, after careful consideration, to organise two seminars, one, and for that matter the main one, on the Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and the other on Coins from Excavations. The value of a sustained study of the various problems raised by these two topics can hardly be overestimated.

II

The Sātavāhanas, according to the present indications, were the earliest ruling family of the Deccan to issue an extensive series of coins presenting numerous types and denominations. This coinage was systematically studied for the first time by E. J. RAPSON in his celebrated *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty* (*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. IV) which was published in 1908. During the period of over six decades that have elapsed since its publication a vast material bearing on the numismatic history of the Sātavāhanas has come to light as a result of stratified excavations and surface explorations. These discoveries have rendered some of the earlier notions about the Sātavāhana coinage untenable and given rise to some new problems besides adding several new types to those already known. Some of the Sātavāhana rulers who were earlier supposed not to have exercised the royal prerogative of issuing coins have now secured a place on the numismatic map of ancient India. Numismatists have, therefore, been feeling, for past some time, the necessity of consolidating the results of these new discoveries. This apart, the study of the Sātavāhana coinage possesses a regional significance as well, for Vidarbha formed a part of the Sātavāhana empire for some centuries. No apology is, therefore, needed for selecting the coinage of the Sātavāhanas as the subject of the main seminar which, it was hoped, would bring together all the important material bearing on this problem and thereby facilitate further studies on the subject.

III

The Seminar on the Sātavāhana Coinage took place on 11th November, 1970, the second day of the Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India, in the premises of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University. It began with the Convener welcoming

the participants and making some opening remarks as to the objects of the Seminar. It was followed by the presentation of altogether eight papers which are included in Section I of the present volume.

Dr. Nisar Ahmad (I : 1 : 1) discusses the question of the attribution and typology of the Sātavāhana coins. His attention is particularly devoted to such of the coins about whose attribution there is some difference of opinion or vagueness. He also gives a list of coin-types issued by individual rulers specifying their characteristic features and associated symbols. Most of the attributions suggested by the author, it may be noted, are based on typological grounds.*

Prof. Bajpai (I : 2 : 27) brings to light six new Sātavāhana coins and discusses some problems of Sātavāhana numismatics in their light. Of these, the most important, of course, is the square copper coin of Sātakarṇi I manufactured according to the punch-marked technique (No. 1) which adds new dimensions to our knowledge of the evolution of the Sātavāhana coinage. Equally interesting is the Lakṣmī type cast copper coin of Sāta (No. 2) whom the author identifies with either Śaktiśrī or No. 6 of the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings. The 6th coin is a numerical addition to the few known silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

An attempt to study the religious and social life under the Sātavāhanas as inferred from their coins is made by Dr. Gokhale in the following paper (I : 3 : 31). The study is primarily based on the symbols occurring on Sātavāhana coins. As pointed out by the authoress herself, the relevant information gleaned from the coins is scanty.

Dr. Gupta (I : 4 : 41) studies at length the problem of the regional distribution of the coin-types of the Sātavāhanas. He classifies the types into numerous varieties on the basis of additional ancillary devices and occasionally discusses the question of the attribution of certain coins to individual kings. In course of his study he has offered several interesting suggestions bearing on Sātavāhana history and suggested some new attributions. He has, in particular, shown, for the first time, that some of the coins bearing the names Sātakarṇi and Sāta (or Sāti) were really produced according to the punch-marking technique.

Contacts and influences as revealed by the coinage of the Sātavāhanas are subjected to a critical study by Dr. Lahiri (I : 5 : 62). He thinks it quite likely that the Andhra–Sātavāhana rulers adopted the figure of elephant and tree-in-railing, which occur very commonly on Sātavāhana coins in cheap metals, from the 12–*ratti* 4–symbol silver punch-marked coins of the Singavaram (Krishna District) hoard. While admitting the indebtedness of the Sātavāhana portrait coins to the silver issues of the Western Kṣatrapas, it has been suggested that the use by some ruling families of peculiar metals like lead and potin for coining purposes and the adoption by them of the devices like the crescent-topped hill with a wavy line below and elephant and Ujjain symbol were inspired by the monetary issues of the Sātavāhanas.

Shri P. R. K. Prasad (I : 6 : 68) studies the genesis of the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas. He suggests that the credit of initiating the portrait series is due to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and that the legend on the reverse of these coins is in Telugu, composed in one of the varieties of the metre called *Ragaḍa*, a purely *Deśī* type. This is, it has been observed, the earliest known Telugu sentence on record and supports the Andhra—Telugu origin of the Sātavāhanas.

*The paper published in this volume is a revised version of the original paper read at the seminar.

SHRI I. K. SARMA (I : 7 : 75)* casts his net wide and makes a hurried survey of the regional distribution, sequence, chronology and historical significance of the Sātavāhana coinage. He assigns some of the known coin-types afresh besides listing the types under different kings indicating their geographical distribution. According to the chronological framework adopted by him, the Sātavāhana power came into existence in *cir.* 240 B. C. and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi flourished in *cir.* 54–88 A. D. It is also suggested that the Śaka era came to be re-christened as Śālivāhana era probably during the reign of Gautamīputra Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi.

The vexed problem of the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule is discussed by the Editor in a short paper entitled '*The Epoch of the Sātavāhana Rule : A Re-appraisal*' (I : 8 : 103). After noting all the relevant evidences, literary and archaeological, it has been concluded that a date about the middle of the first century B. C. reconciles all the available data on the subject.

While it should be left to competent readers to evaluate the quality and worth of the individual papers incorporated in this section, the foregoing survey would make it abundantly clear that the section taken as a whole will make a useful reading to all serious students of Sātavāhana history and numismatics. It may not be possible to accept all the suggestions offered by the different authors, but it will not be denied that they do afford some useful material. In fact, the main point about this section is that it brings together a good deal of important material bearing on the Sātavāhana coinage. A comparison with RAPSON'S *Catalogue* and RAMA RAO'S *List of Published Satāvāhana Coins* will reveal that the present volume lists many more coin-types and contains considerable new material not noticed by earlier writers on the subject.

However, there are a number of problems relating to Sātavāhana numismatics which still await sustained study. One of them concerns terminology. Many of the symbols on Sātavāhana coins have yet to be satisfactorily identified and designated, the names now in common use being either descriptive or convenient in the absence of better designations. And some of these nomenclatures have become so firmly rooted by constant use that they continue to be used even when better names are available resulting in a great deal of confusion. To cite only one example, it is now generally agreed that the device called *caitya* by some early numismatists is actually a hill symbol. But a perusal of some of the articles included in the present volume will show that some scholars, though aware of the correct position, still persist in the use of the wrong nomenclature, while some others employ both the designations indiscriminately. Still others use the correct name, but describe its peaks as arches. The value of a uniform and properly defined numismatic terminology can hardly be overemphasised. Another problem centres round typology and attribution of coins. It will be seen that many of the suggested attributions are based purely on typological grounds. It is still a question if typological considerations by themselves are enough to decide the attribution of a coin to one or the other member of the dynasty. Our knowledge about the metrology of the Sātavāhana issues in cheap metals is also very meagre. Let us hope that these and other problems of Sātavāhana numismatics will receive the attention they deserve.

IV

It is well-known that coins are often encountered in course of archaeological excavations, and a scientifically recorded stratigraphic condition of their discovery is of great value for studying the relative chronology of the various series of coins as well as political history and historical

*The published paper is a revised and somewhat abridged version of the original paper.

geography. It was, therefore, hoped that a stock-taking of the different series of early Indian coins discovered in stratified excavations would help unravel some of the mysteries shrouding the ruling families, localities or peoples responsible for issuing them.

The Seminar was held on November 12, 1970, and the deliberations were conducted by PROFESSOR K. D. BAJPAI. In all, four papers were presented, and they form Section II of the present volume.

The Tribal and Local Coins of Northern India found in excavations are studied by DR. BELA LAHIRI in her paper with which the Section opens (II : 1 : 115). It will be seen that in a majority of cases excavated evidence supports the findings of ALLAN who was the first to study these series of coins in a systematic manner.

The next paper by SHRI SAHI is devoted to a study of the bearing of the coin data discovered in the Rupar excavations on the history of the Audumbaras. It is suggested that although the Audumbaras became independent after the downfall of the Mauryas, they rose to prominence about the end of the second or early first century B. C. as indicated by the discovery of their coins in the mid-levels of Period IV datable to pre-Kuṣāṇa period (II : 2 : 125).

DR. GUPTA (II : 3 : 128) discusses the Sātavāhana coins from excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur), Chandravalli and Nevasa and concludes that at Brahmapuri the Kuras were supplanted by the Sātavāhanas and that Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi probably flourished in the first century A. D. The existence of more than one early king bearing each of the names Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana is also suggested. It has also been pointed out that at Nevasa Period IV began about the 1st century A. D. and ended in the 2nd century A. D. and Period V should be dated from the 2nd to the 3rd–4th century A. D.

PROF. BAJPAI (II : 4 : 141) takes stock of the Gupta coins from some recent excavations. The historicity of the Gupta King Rāmagupta known from literary tradition, he points out, is vouched for not only by the discovery of his copper coins in stratified excavations at Eran and Vidiśa but also by the three recently discovered Jaina image inscriptions referring to *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta.

It will thus be seen that the papers included in this section, like those in the previous section, give some food for thought. Other series of early Indian coins also deserve to be studied from this point of view. Such a study is, however, hampered by the fact that a major portion of the numismatic material recovered from excavations is still lying unpublished and is not available to numismatists for study. The publication of this material is bound to add substantially to our knowledge of early Indian coinage and history.

V

A few words are called for about the editorial policy and the arrangement of the contents. The editor has confined his efforts to making the papers presentable. In some cases the language had to be slightly altered, but while doing so care has been taken to retain the ideas intended to be communicated by the contributors, the responsibility for the views expressed in individual papers resting with their respective authors. At a few places references have also been checked, but it was not possible, and perhaps not necessary, to do so in respect of all

the papers. Some of the papers reveal a wide divergence of opinion on one and the same question. In many such cases cross-references have been made in the editorial notes inserted in the references. It is regretted that the discussion on the papers could not be incorporated for some unavoidable reasons. In Section I, papers have been arranged serially under the authors' names in an alphabetical order. It could be possible as no chronological problem was involved. In Section II, however, papers have been arranged in a chronological order, for the arrangement according the names of the authors would have landed us in a serious anachronism.

Although the inaugural address by DR. V. B. KOLTE, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, did not form part of the numismatic seminars, it has been included in the present volume as it marked the beginning of the 59th Session of the Numismatic Society of India, as also of the 4th Archaeological Congress, on which occasion the seminars took place. The same is the case with DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM'S Presidential Address.

VI

In the end, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who contributed to the success of the seminars. First and foremost, the Department is obliged to DR. V. B. KOLTE, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, who took keen interest in holding the seminars and made necessary funds available. The success of the seminars is, in a large measure, due to his patronage and personal interest.

I must also thank the office-bearers of the Numismatic Society of India for accepting the invitation of the Nagpur University to hold the 59th Session at Nagpur. Grateful thanks are also due to the participants of the seminars.

I am grateful to PROF. S. B. DEO, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, for taking personal interest in the organisation of the seminars and the publication of the present volume, and to PROF. K. D. BAJPAI, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugar, for conducting, at my request, the deliberations of Seminar II, as its Convener, DR. DEO, was busy with the 4th Archaeological Congress which was in session simultaneously. I must also record my appreciation of the ungrudging co-operation of my colleagues, students and the technical and administrative staff of the Department in making necessary arrangements for the seminars.

Last but not the least, my sincere thanks are due to SHRI S. L. TURILE, Superintendent, Nagpur University Press, and his assistants for their willing co-operation in seeing the volume through the press.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Nagpur :
April 12, 1972.

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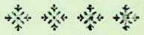


59TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

and

4TH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, NAGPUR.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

By

Dr. V. B. Kolte
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University.

Professor Sankalia, Professor Mahalingam, Distinguished Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a hearty welcome to this historic city of Nagpur. I am particularly happy that the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India and the 4th Annual Congress of the Indian Archaeological Society are being held here under the auspices of the Nagpur University. I am beholden to them for accepting our invitation. I am delighted to observe that these two eminent Societies are meeting here in the wake of the archaeological excavations conducted by the Post-graduate Teaching Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of this University, at Pauni, which has, surprisingly enough, yielded one of the biggest stupas in India. Archaeologically, therefore, the region of Vidarbha, and for that matter, the University of Nagpur, has rightly earned itself a venue for such scholarly deliberations that you are going to have for the next two days.

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture is not a very old Department of this University. It had its origin in 1955 when the ex-Chief Justice Dr. M. B. Niyogi bequeathed to this University a munificent donation of his imposing residential building — Ambā Vihār — for starting this Department. Since then the Department has been making steady progress under the guidance of eminent scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. V. Mirashi.

A new dimension to the Department, however, was given by Prof. S. B. Deo, who has delved deep into the archaeological mysteries of this region of Vidarbha, and has put Vidarbha on the archaeological map of India. I compliment the Archaeological Society of India for electing him as President of the 4th Annual Congress of the Indian Archaeological Society to preside over its deliberations and offer him my heartiest congratulations. Within four years of his assumption as Professor, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of this University has excavated at Paunār (Wardha District) in 1967, Tākalghāṭ (Nagpur District) in 1968 and Pauni (Bhandara District) in 1969-70. The latter site was excavated in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India, and the excavations were held for two consecutive seasons. I feel proud of the fact that the Paunar Report was published within one year, the Takalghat Report is just out and the Pauni Report is under processing. It is indeed a unique achievement for this University.

It is but proper that you have chosen this place for your deliberations. For Vidarbha is rich archaeologically and fruitful from the point of view of numismatic data. The Kingdom of Vidarbha was well-known in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. Bhīma, the King of Vidarbha, is mentioned in the *Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa* as having received instructions regarding the Soma juice. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* mentions the sage Kauṇḍinya of Vidarbha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells the story of King Daṇḍa, son of Ikṣvāku and grandson of Manu, who led a voluptuous life. On account of a curse of sage Bhārgava, his entire kingdom was destroyed by a terrible dust storm. Subsequently the entire region lying between the Vindhyas and the Śaivala mountains came to be known as Daṇḍakāraṇya.

The royal house of Vidarbha was matrimonially related to several princely families of North India. The Vidarbha princesses Damayantī, Indumatī and Rukmiṇī, who were married to Nala, Aja and Kṛṣṇa respectively, are well-known figures of classical Indian literature. Similarly in the historical period, the matrimonial relations between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas are also well-known. Several great Sanskrit and Marathi poets from Kālidāsa onwards have drawn the themes of their works from the romantic lives of these epic heroes.

The first excavation in Vidarbha was conducted by the late lamented DR. M. G. DIKSHIT under the auspices of the Government of Maharashtra. The Kauṇḍinyapura Report, which was published by the Government of Maharashtra, has shown how the site of Kauṇḍinyapura was occupied as far back as the pre-historic period. DR. DIKSHIT showed promise of fresh archaeological discoveries. It is a pity that such a promising career was cut short prematurely.

Paunār was the first site selected by the Nagpur University. Paunār, as you are well aware, has been identified with ancient Pravarapura, the capital of the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Vidarbha and adjoining territories from the 3rd to 6th century A. D. Paunār, along with other parts of Vidarbha, was included in the Aśokan Empire in the 3rd century B. C. This is eloquently borne out by the existence of a fragmentary edict of the Mauryan Emperor at Deoṭek in Chāndā district. The results of the excavations at Paunār have shown that the antiquity of Paunār can be stretched back to the first millennium B. C. when it must have been a tiny fishing hamlet. In this proto-historic period, the site was occupied by the first farmers of Vidarbha. They subsisted on fishing, farming and hunting. They were possibly assisted in hunting by ferocious dogs which have been praised in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* as being superior even to tigers whom they would kill in combat.

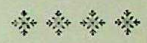
Tākalghāṭ in Nagpur district is a megalithic site. Here the vestiges of human habitation are furnished by Stone Circles. These sepulchral monuments contained copper and bronze weapons, iron tools and earthen pots and a large number of beads of various types and shapes, all going back to 8th century B. C.

Paunī has proved to be the most spectacular of all the sites of Vidarbha excavated so far. It contains several large stupas. One of them has proved to be the biggest stupa of India — almost double the size of Sanchi, — equipped with a number of sculptures which can approach only Bharhut in their stylistic conception. Indeed the findings of Paunī are dazzling. While one stupa is rich in sculptures, the other abounds in coins of the Sātavāhana period. The discoveries at Paunī have abundantly proved the existence of a well laid-out and large Buddhist establishment. More than that, it has given us an important landmark in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist Art.

I fervently believe that Paunī will inspire archaeologists to make further discoveries in this region of Vidarbha and thus will help us in reconstructing the history of India in general and of Vidarbha in particular. It is high time that archaeology, with all its modern techniques and implements, comes to the rescue of historians to fill up the unexplained gaps of Indian history.

In this task, the role of Numismatists is also formidable. You are aware that this region has so far yielded quite a variety of coins. The most notable of such evidence is the hoard of Tarhāḷā. Subsequently also, coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Kṣatrapas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins have been found. I would, therefore, appeal to the Numismatists assembled here to give a dynamism to the study of numismatic data from this region as well as elsewhere.

I hope the archaeologists and the numismatists of this august gathering will deliberate over these problems along with various other connected issues. I wish them all success. Once again I extend to them a most hearty welcome and assure them our warmest hospitality.



59TH ANNUAL SESSION
OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
NAGPUR
10th November, 1970.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M. A., D. LITT.
Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Distinguished Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply beholden to the Executive Committee of the Numismatic Society of India for the signal honour it has done me by electing me its President for the current year. Please do not think that I am conventional when I say that I feel very much embarrassed on account of my limitations to hold this high office. My contributions to Indian numismatic studies are very little. I have neither attended any of the sessions of the Numismatic Society of India nor helped it in any manner in its organisation and work. But I value the honour greatly and take my election as an opportunity given to me to meet here many distinguished scholars whose contributions to Indological studies have served as a model and source of great inspiration to me in my work in the University of Madras. I hope that with your indulgence and co-operation I shall be able to discharge my duties here and maintain the high standard of work achieved by the Society under the guidance of eminent scholars who have preceded me in this office.

The recent years have witnessed a growing awareness of the cultural heritage of the country and the need for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge on different aspects of Indian culture. The importance of the study of subjects like art and archaeology at the university level is gaining due recognition. A number of universities in India have started new departments which are called Department of Ancient History and Archaeology or Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology or Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture or simply Department of Archaeology, and organised post-graduate M. A. degree courses in which numismatics necessarily finds a place. Most of the States in the country have organised Archaeological Departments. The Archaeological Survey of India which is running a School of Archaeology is giving training to students in archaeological work and studies. All these have created greater interest in the study of numismatics; and this is well evidenced by the increase in the number of scholars engaged in the study of

the subject. Such studies have helped in bridging to some extent certain gaps that existed in our knowledge of the numismatic history of the country and in finding probable solutions to questions that were previously eluding scholars. But there are still many problems which are difficult of solution largely on account of the non-availability or inadequacy of necessary evidence for the proper identification of coins, the determination of their dates and their place in the economic history of India I propose to consider in the course of this address some of the problems relating to South Indian numismatics.

It has been said that the coinage of South India "presents greater difficulties to the student and offers less reward for his labours than that of the North". It is probably on account of that reason that studies made so far on South Indian coins are strikingly inadequate in relation to the available material. Studies on South Indian coins were commenced in 1858 by SIR WALTER ELLIOT who published two papers entitled "Numismatic Gleanings", in one of which he described the punch-marked and Sātavāhana coins and in the other Puri Kuṣāṇa coins of Orissa. In 1886 he brought out his *Coins of Southern India*, an indispensable publication for a study of South Indian coinage. Two other early numismatic scholars who deserve mention here are G. BIDIE and R. H. C. TUFNELL. The first of them wrote in 1883 a paper on Pagoda or *Varāha*, and two years later, the second described thirty-five coins and wrote his *Hints to Coin Collectors in South India*. In 1882 J. GIBBS brought to light the Rāmaṭaṅkis and in 1887–88 J. E. TRACY discussed fifteen copper coins of the Pāṇḍyas. Mention should also be made here of LAVENTHOL's *Coins of Tinnevelly* which was also published in the last century. Among other notable names to be mentioned in this connection are those of CODRINGTON, the author of *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, RAPSON, the author of *Indian Coins*, SMITH, the author of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* and E. HULTZSCH, who has contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*. Indian scholars began to write from the beginning of the present century and among the earliest of them was R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, who brought to light some Coḷa, Cālukya, Yādava and Vijayanagar coins. T. DESIKACHARI was another notable numismatist who was the author of three works (1) *South Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, (2) *South Indian Coins* and (3) *The Pāṇḍyas and Choḷas and Their Coinage*. M. H. KRISHNA contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to journals and also presented a thesis on Deccan Numismatics for the London University (unpublished). D. R. BHANDARKAR and R. SRINIVAS brought to light some Western Cālukya coins while J. F. FLEET has described the Eastern Cālukya issues in a number of papers. Rev. HERAS has written some articles on a few Vijayanagar coins, while the Andhra Pradesh Government have published a catalogue of the Vijayanagar coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum prepared by A. RAMESAN. In recent years C. H. BIDDULPH brought out two monographs, one on the coins of the Pāṇḍyas and the other on those of the Coḷas. To this list may be added the late VIDYA PRAKASH, the author of *Coinage of South India — An Introductory Survey*. T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, formerly Curator for Numismatics in the Government Museum, Madras, and the author of a monograph on *The Venetian Coins in the Madras Museum* (published by that Museum) was a numismatist of repute and has written many articles. In his recent demise South Indian numismatics has lost a dedicated scholar. The above bibliographical survey is neither exhaustive nor selective. There are also others, who through their work and writings have shown interest in the study of South Indian numismatics and contributed to our knowledge of the same.

Some of the conclusions arrived at by the pioneering scholars mentioned above may require reconsideration in the light of fresh discoveries and recent researches; but the credit of initiating studies on an almost neglected and difficult branch of Indian numismatics goes to them only. In

recent years the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* has published a number of informative papers on the subject; but still certain fundamental questions remain for consideration, as I shall presently attempt to show.

Though a considerable number of punch-marked coins have been found from different parts of Tamil Nadu, particularly in the southern districts of the State, it is difficult to say anything definite about their chronology; and in the absence of a solid chronological basis, these coins cannot be easily fitted into the numismatic frame of the country. However, a tentative suggestion may be made regarding a possible line of approach to make a relative assessment of their period. The silver *denarius* of Augustus is found in association with punch-marked coins at Pennar in the Coimbatore District and other Roman coins assignable to the middle of the first century A. D. have been found from the hoards of punch-marked coins at Toṇḍamānattam in the South Arcot District and Mambalam in the Madras City, indicating thereby that punch-marked coins were in circulation during that period, at least in the regions in which they have been found in association with the above-mentioned foreign coins. This surmise is strengthened by the occurrence of a coin of the Sātavāhana period (first century A. D.) along with punch-marked coins in the excavations at Chandravalli in Mysore. But the chronological extent of their circulation in different parts of South India still remains vague. A bulk of these coins in the collection of the Government Museum, Madras, had been found in different places in the Pāṇḍya country and archaeological excavations at chosen sites in the region may throw further light on the period when these coins were in circulation in the area.

The punch-marked coins discovered in the North have been classified as Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Post-Mauryan issues. But though many of the symbols of the South Indian issues may be similar to those in the North, it is doubtful if the same chronological denominations will have any relevance in the South Indian context. The political factors and local conditions prevailing in the region are to be kept in mind. As an example, I may mention that the peacock-on-mount symbol is generally assigned to the Mauryan period, since it was one of the symbols of the Mauryan dynasty. But coins bearing the same symbol have been obtained from the Madurai district in the extreme south which, we know for certain, was outside the Mauryan Empire, and hence these coins cannot be fitted into that chronological frame.

The question of the upper and lower limits of the period of the punch-marked coins in the South may probably be advantageously considered with the help of the numerous *graffiti* symbols found on potsherds belonging to the early period and brought to light by archaeological excavations. The pottery which bears these *graffiti* marks are the Black-and-Red Ware, the Russet-coated-painted Ware and the Red-slipped Ware which are ascribable in South India to a period from *c.* 5th century B. C. to *c.* 4th century A. D. The symbols like the Sun, crescent Moon, Mount, *Triśūla*, ladder, conventionalised fish, trees, human figurines and other symbols like plus marks, cross marks, etc. are found occurring both on the potsherds and on many punch-marked coins of South India. On the basis of the similarity of these symbols found on both of them it may possibly be postulated that the lower time limit for the punch-marked issues of the South was *c.* 500 B. C. As to the upper time limit for the coins we have noticed above that they were in circulation in the first century A. D. The similarity of the *graffiti* marks like human figurines and conventionalised fish found on the pottery from Arikamedu datable to the first century A. D. confirms this. It may be pointed out here that silver punch-marked coins of the Bodināyakanūr hoard have invariably fish as their reverse symbol. Since the find spot is near Madurai and in the Pāṇḍya country these coins were probably issued by the Pāṇḍya rulers who had the fish as their emblem.

An allied question is the authorship of the coins. This question has been studied in detail with reference to the North Indian issues. But in the South it still remains to be tackled. Not all the issues could have been made by the rulers. Likewise the symbols on the coins. Though some of them may have some religious significance, some may have other and yet unknown meaning. It is not difficult to trace a few of them to as remote a period as the Harappan times.

The latter half of the period when punch-marked coins were in currency in South India synchronised with what is known as the Sangam age in South Indian history, a period characterised by remarkable literary activity when most of the earliest Tamil works are believed to have been composed. In these works are found stray references to gold coins. The *Padiṟṟuppattu*, for instance, states that the Cēra king Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai gave to the poet Ariśil Kiḷār a present of 9,00,000 gold *Kāṇams*. Aḍukōṭpaṭṭu Cēralātan gave a gift of 1,00,000 gold *Kāṇams* to the poetess Kākkaippāḍiṇiyār and Karikāla presented 16,00,000 *Poṇs* (gold coins) to the poet Rudran Kaṇṇaṇar for his work *Paṭṭiṇappālai*. Presumably *Kāṇam* was a small gold coin. The *Padiṟṟutuppatu* also mentions *Kāp-Pon*, obviously meaning quarter of a *poṇ*, a gold coin. A study of the coins mentioned in the Sangam works and their value and their identification or comparison with the coins of the period obtained from excavations will be interesting and useful.

Till recently there was a gap in our knowledge of the history of South Indian numismatics between the period of the punch-marked coins and that of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya issues. The recent discovery of a hoard of over hundred lead coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends from Āṇḍippaṭṭi in the Chengam taluk in the North Arcot District helps us considerably in bridging this gap. The coins which are in the collections of the Government Museum, Madras, have not yet been published in detail. The legend on them reads *Aṭiṇam Etirāṇ Śēndan*, from which it may be deduced that they were issued by a Śēndan. Considering the palaeography of the legend on the coins, they are assignable to the second century A. D. and the symbols usually seen on Sātavāhana coins like mount, wavy line, etc. are seen on them. This numismatic discovery is of considerable palaeographical significance because the letter *E* in Etirāṇ has a dot inside it. In *Sūtra* 16 of the *Tolkāppiyar*, its author Tolkappiyar, the earliest known Tamil grammarian, states that *E* and *O* have dots added to them (*Ekara Okarat tiyarkaiyum arre*), i. e. the letter *e* with dot should be pronounced as short *e*. The Aṇḍippaṭṭi hoard has conclusively demonstrated that the old Tamil letter *è* did have a dot as laid down by Tolkāppiyanar. It is of interest that the letters in the Drāviḍī inscriptions in the Tamil country exhibit the same characteristics.

Along with these coins in the Tamil-Brāhmī characters mention should be made of the recent view that one of the languages in the bilingual silver issues of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi is Tamil. These coins were studied by RAPSON, ALTEKAR, SIRCAR and DINKAR RAO. SIRCAR who read the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Arahanaṣa Vāhiṭṭi Makanaṣa Tiru Hatakaniṣa* (i. e. of the king Sātakarṇi the son of Vāsiṣṭhī) took the language of the inscription as Telugu of the ancient Dravidian dialect as may be seen from the use of such words as *arahana*, *makana* and *tiru*. Since the letter read as *ha* by SIRCAR, does not appear to have the bottom curve turned to the right and as it resembles *ca* of the early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, NAGASWAMY reads *arahan* as *araśan* and postulates that the language of the legend is Tamil. Following the method adopted by BUHLER in deciphering the Bhattiprolu script he reads *mākan as makan* and feels that the whole legend should be read as *aracanaṣa Vacitti makanaṣa tiru Catakaṇiṣa*. Here also as in the Aṇḍippaṭṭi coins one finds the practice of marking the *pure consonant* with a dot (*puḷḷi*). The discovery that Tamil was employed along with Prākṛit as an additional language in some of the Sātavāhana coins outside Tamil Nadu is of considerable significance.

Mention may also be made here of the find of a few coins in Tamil Nadu which have been assigned to what are known as the Kaḷabhras. Though the problem of the Kaḷabhras is still a "mystery" in South Indian history, the coins assigned to them are of more than ordinary interest.

The next stage in the history of South Indian numismatics is represented by the Pallava coins. It is now generally agreed that the coins with the lion motif which were previously supposed to be Pallava issues really seem to belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, and that coins bearing the relief of a bull may be safely attributed to the Pallavas. A considerable number of coins of this type found inside and outside the area of the Pallava dominions have been published. Among them are a few which were recovered from Mamallapuram. One of them with a star on the reverse reads *Śrībhara* and another with a fish on the reverse reads *Śrīnidhi*. *Śrībhara* and *Śrīnidhi* were *birudas* of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II (691–728). But special reference must be made here to seven thin lead coins unearthed during the excavations at Kāñchīpuram by Dr. R. SUBRAHMANYAN in 1963. In all the coins the relief of the bull is artistic, and interestingly enough no legend is seen on them unlike in the coins of a similar type of the Sātavāhanas. Stratigraphically these coins have been assigned to sub-period I B, which corresponds to the early Pallava period beginning from about the commencement of the third century A. D. Likewise in the excavations recently conducted by me in the same town was found a mould for minting coins with the symbol of a bull which looks very much like a few ones illustrated in ELLIOT's *Coins of Southern India* (Pl. Nos. 32, 33, 34 and 37). It is also assignable to the early Pallava period. These numismatic discoveries are of particular interest because they have some bearing on the contention of some scholars that the earlier capital of the Pallavas was not the present Kāñchīpuram which they occupied only in the sixth century, but the Periya-Chinna Ganjam complex in lower coastal Andhra. This view rests mainly on the argument that the earlier copper-plates of the Pallavas were issued only in the present day Andhra Pradesh and not in or near about Kāñchīpuram. But the discovery of coins with the Pallava *lāñchana* at Kāñchīpuram itself in a vertical excavation where date is being convincingly determined by stratigraphy should, I think, be taken into account in the consideration of the question of the original capital of the Pallavas. The value of the find of coins for fixing the chronology of a site can hardly be exaggerated, particularly in vertical excavations where the importance of stratigraphy is well recognised and this is borne out by a number of other excavations in the country among which may be mentioned those at Rupar, Ahichchhatra, Nasik, Brahmagiri, Elleswaram, etc.

Another aspect of South Indian numismatics that deserves greater attention than it has received so far relates to Pāṇḍyan coinage. C. H. BIDDULPH in his recent monograph on Pāṇḍyan coins has brought together all the available data on the subject, but there are still many problems in it. Though Paṇḍya inscriptions refer to *tiramam* (*dramma*), *kasu*, *panam*, etc., the specific attribution of extant specimens of these to particular kings still remains problematic. The early Pāṇḍyan issues are copper coins and have the fish emblem along with devices associated with Cōḷa and Cāḷukya coins. Some of them bear the legend *Sundara* or *Sundara Pāṇḍya* or just the first letter *Su* in the name. The Pāṇḍyan pedigree consists of more than one Sundara Pāṇḍya and the attribution of these coins to any one among them is difficult. There are some coins which are supposed to bear the legend *Vīra Pāṇḍya*, though the reading has been doubted by some. Some other Pāṇḍya coins bear legends which are titles like *Kōdaṇḍarāma*, *Kaccialangum Perumāḷ*, *Bhūtala Ellāntalāiyaṇan*, *Parāśurāma*, *Kulaśēkhara*, *Samarakolāhalan*, *Bhuvanaikavīra*, *Kōnērirāyan*, *Kaliyugarāman*, etc. For the attribution of these coins to particular kings one has to look for the different titles of the kings in their inscriptions and find out which king bore which title. This itself is a problem because medieval

Pāṇḍyan genealogy bristles with problems at almost every stage of our pursuit of the subject. From the available evidence the genealogy and dates of the kings have been generally arranged as follows :—

Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1162 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1190 A. D.
Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1216 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1237 A. D.
Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1238 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1251 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya	acc.	1253 A. D.
Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1268 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1276 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya	acc.	1296 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1303 A. D.

It is also known that at least a few Pāṇḍya kings were ruling simultaneously in different parts of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Further titles like *Ellāntalaiyaṇan*, *Kōdaṇḍarāman*, etc. that are found on the Pāṇḍya coins are also mentioned in some of the inscriptions of these rulers. But that does not help us much since there are more than one ruler with the same name. Let us take for instance the title *Ellāntalaiyaṇan*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others have ascribed the title to Jaṭāvaram Sundara Pāṇḍya acc. 1251 A. D. who also had the titles *Kōyil Ponmeynda Perumāḷ*, *Seranai veṇṛān*, etc. But this identification does not lend itself to easy acceptance since the inscriptions with the title *Ellāntalaiyanan* reveal that they form a group and stand apart from others. If we classify the medieval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions on the basis of royal *praśastis* it may not be difficult to recognise that the title *Kōdaṇḍarāman* was borne by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya acc. 1303 A. D. and hence coins bearing that title can more convincingly be attributed to him. But such clues are not available for most of the titles and hence the problem of their correct attribution still remains unsettled.

The Cōḷa coins have been dealt with in a short compass by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and next to him by C. H. Biddulph. The monograph on the *Dowlaiswaram* (*East Godavari*) *Hoard of Eastern Chālukya and Chola Coins* by T. Balakrishnan Nayar shows that two groups of the much-discussed Cōḷa coins in them contain the legends *Kaṭṭaikoṇḍa Cōḷaṇ* and *Malaināḍu—Koṇḍa Cōḷaṇ*. He attributes them probably on surer grounds to Kulōttuṅga I, while K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has read the legends as *Kaṅgaikoṇḍa-Cōḷaṇ* and *Malaināḍukoṇḍa Cōḷaṇ* and attributted them respectively to Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa and Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja I. It should, however, be said that the problem of Cōḷa coins is not as complicated as that of the Pāṇḍya coins, though much work remains to be done on them also.

It may be mentioned that such coins as *kāṇam* and *kāśu* so frequently mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions are referred to in a few later Pallava inscriptions belonging to the period of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅgavarman. This shows that some coins were in continuous circulation in certain areas in spite of dynastic changes, though their value could have differed from region to region.

A point of interest and significance in South Indian numismatics is the striking nature of the variations one noti ces in the value of the *kāśu* in different regions in the same period. A comparative study of Pāṇḍya inscriptions in chosen period in the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries would reveal that

the value of the *kāśu* was several times more in the Pāṇḍya area proper than what it was in the Cōḷa area even though both the areas were under Pāṇḍya overlordship. For instance, inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyan, identifiable with Varaguṇa II (752-780) have been found in many places in the Cōḷa territory; one of them from Kumbhakōnam records the gift of 138 cows and 100 *kāśus* for two lamps in the temple of Nāgēśvarasvāmī at the place and another from Lālguḍi in the Tiruchirapalli district refers to the gift of 120 *kāśus* for the provision of one lamp. But an inscription of the same king from Tiruppattur in the Pāṇḍya country records the gift of only ten *kāśus* for a lamp. In Pāṇḍya inscriptions one hears very often of *paḻaṅkāśu* which means old *kāśu*. In fact the *paḻaṅkāśu* appears to have been current as late as the period of the later Cōḷas. We learn from a few of their inscriptions that for endowing a lamp two or three *paḻaṅkāśus* were enough, while, in one instance, as many as 1100 current *kāśus* were required for the same purpose. Even when the Pāṇḍya country was brought under Cōḷa hegemony the value of the coins does not appear to have changed. An inscription of a Cōḷa viceroy from Ambāsamudram in the Pāṇḍya country mentions only ten *kāśus* in connection with a lamp.

The above references naturally lead us to a consideration of the value of inscriptions for a study of the currency systems in medieval South India. The Tamil inscriptions alone from the Tamil country and the adjoining areas and belonging to the period roughly from the ninth to the fourteenth century contain references to as many as eighty kinds of coins in gold, silver, copper, etc. current in the Cōḷa empire. The *kaḻañju* and *mañjāḍi* so frequently mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions were units of bullion weight. The *pon* was a gold coin which was of the weight of a *kaḻañju*. The *māḍai* was a standard coin, half of which was the *kāśu*. There were local issues of the *māḍai* too, to which there are numerous references in inscriptions, showing that each area in the empire had its own local currency. In the later Cōḷa period there were copper *kāśus* too, whose value must have been low as gleaned from the evidence of an inscription which says that a *kaḻañju* of gold was equal to $411\frac{7}{8}$ *kāśus*. To add to these there appear to have been current in the Cōḷa empire some types of coins from Ceylon which were known as *Iḷakkāśu* or *Iḷakkaruṅkāśu*. Similarly the inscriptions in the Karnāṭaka and Andhra areas belonging to the same period mention a number of coins. Though some of such issues from the Tamil country contain the names of the kings who issued them, a good many of them bear only their titles. Many of the titles can be traced to the kings or provincial rulers, who bore them, and the issuers of the coins can be identified. Taking into account the names of the issuers of the coins and the general provenance of the coins themselves, questions like the imperial or provincial nature of the issues, their date, the metal of their make, their fineness, etc. may be studied. The ratio between the value of one type of coin and another is also mentioned in some of the issues. If the study of coins should include also a consideration of their usefulness for a study of the economic history of the period and the area to which they belong, as I think it should, one has necessarily to take the help of inscriptions for it. A beginning was made in this direction by K. G. KRISHNAN now Superintendent in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It deserves to be pursued.

The discovery of a large number of Roman and other foreign coins from different places in South India adds a new dimension to South Indian numismatics. Though a number of such Roman coins belonging to the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa periods have been found at different sites in North-West and North India also, on account of the political and cultural relationship between the Kuṣāṇa Empire and the Roman Empire including North Africa, their provenance in the South is of considerable significance. They seem to have been in circulation or at least in use in places which had Roman contacts during the period from about the 1st century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D.

Roman contacts with South India during the period as also in the succeeding centuries are also borne out by archaeological evidence like Roman pottery, amphorae jars, dyeing watt, etc. Recent excavations at places like Arikamēḍu, Uraiyūr, Kāñchīpuram and Vasavasamudram in the Tamil area and Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in Mysore have established beyond doubt the cultural and trade contacts between South India and the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. Hence the find of Roman coins as also other indications of Roman contact bear out the extent to which and the period during which Roman cultural traits found their way into the South Indian coastal and inland areas. In the consideration of Roman coins in South India one is faced with problems like :

(1) Were the Roman *dinarii* accepted as regular currency or only as bullion weights as WHEELER thinks ?

(2) Did they influence the local currency?

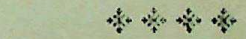
(3) Were the punch-marked coins coeval with the Roman *dinarii*? If so, what was the relation between them?

These are problems to which categorical answers may not be possible in our present state of knowledge. For an examination of such questions there is need for more reliable data about the coins with reference to their find spots, weights, legends, etc. and the provenance and nature of indigenous coins obtained from such places. The association of foreign and indigenous coins found in a few places in the country may suggest that both of them were approximated. Inscriptions are also of some help in the consideration of these questions. An inscription of Māṛañjaḍaiyan from Tiruppattūr mentions the *dīnāra* which was probably equal to an indigenous *kāśu*. From another inscription it is learnt that the coin *Drachma* (*diramam*) was current in the country and an old *kāśu* fetched $1\frac{1}{2}$ *diramam* as interest, showing thereby that the old *kāśu* was of 'higher value than the *diramam*'. The mention of a coin called *dīnāri māṣaka* in a few Ikṣvāku inscriptions may suggest the influence of Roman coins on Ikṣvāku coinage. A few Ikṣvāku coins seem to have been imitations of Roman issues. Likewise the currencies of some foreign countries were in circulation in the Vijayanagar Empire, particularly in places where foreign merchants had settled. Among them were the *cruzado* (Portuguese), *dinar* (Egyptian), *florin* (Florentine), *ducate* (Venetian), etc.

Questions like these emphasise the need for a proper study of the foreign coins in the country through the ages. Mention was made earlier that the Government Museum, Madras, has brought out a publication on the Venetian coins in the Museum, written by the late T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. The Roman coins in the Museum are now being studied. Chinese coins have been found in a few hoards collected by the same Museum. An interesting inscription of the time of Rājēndra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa dated in his seventh regnal year (1019 A. D.) from Nāgapattinam in the Tanjore District makes reference to one Śrī Kuruttan Kēśavan *alias* Agralekai who consecrated an image of Ardhanārigal in the temple called Tirukkārōṇam at the place, to which he made three endowments namely, (1) $87\frac{3}{4}$ *kaḷañju* of *cīnakanakam* for worship on the occasion of *avibali* (*havirbali*), (2) another equal amount of the same *cīnakanakam* for feeding devotees and (3) still another amount of 60 *kaḷañju* of *undigai pon*, probably a particular type of coin. There is thus evidence to prove the currency of Chinese coins in South India, as in some other parts of the country. The subject requires careful study. It may be of considerable interest that a few excavations in South India have yielded pottery of Chinese origin. Also a bilingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese has been found in China.

Friends, one word more, and I shall have finished. The points I have tried to raise above in the study of South Indian numismatics would, I am sure, show that there is need for a lot of planned work to be done in the subject. One of the difficulties in such work is the want of reliable and classified descriptive catalogues of the coins stored in many of the museums in the area. Occasional notices of the finds of hoards of coins from one place or another raise rather than solve problems in the subject. The find of Kuṣāṇa coins in a hoard from Petlurivaripalem in the Guntur District and Pūri Kuṣāṇa coins from Salihuṇḍam in the Visakhapatnam District, both in Andhra Pradesh, far away from the Kuṣāṇa empire is an instance in point. Catalogues for the coins of some of the South Indian dynasties kept in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum have of course been brought out; similar catalogues for the coins of many other dynasties, collected and kept in the Museum, have to be prepared. Likewise useful catalogues have to be made by competent men for the thousands of coins stored in the Government Museums in Tamil Nadu and Mysore. Probably some of the coins in the Museums may be the same as the ones mentioned in the inscriptions referred to earlier. There are a number of enthusiastic collectors of coins in South India who have with them valuable collections. It is highly necessary that such collections are made available to *bona fide* numismatic scholars for study. In recent years the office of the Government Epigraphist for India has collected a good number of coins. Notices of them are being published in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. But a full study of the coins has to be made, which cannot obviously be done in the absence of a qualified and full time Numismatist in the office. There is, besides, good need for a band of knowledgeable young scholars who can devote themselves to a study of Indian numismatics. To my mind it appears that the requisite qualifications for a good numismatist in our country are a sound knowledge of the history of India and the countries with which it came into contact from early historic times, a good knowledge of ancient Indian languages and scripts and real love for the subject.

I feel that there is great necessity for a comprehensive encyclopaedia on Indian numismatics providing detailed information on different types of coins, with particular reference to their denomination, value, metrology, legends, symbols and iconographic motifs on them. This can serve as an easy and useful reference book for the rising numismatists. The task is however difficult, and, therefore, it cannot be undertaken by one single scholar. The work requires the co-operative effort of specialists from different regions. I cannot think of a more competent organisation than the Numismatic Society of India to undertake this stupendous task. I have no doubt that this Society and all the scholars in the field will give this suggestion their most earnest consideration.



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SEMINAR PAPERS

SECTION I

SEMINAR I

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

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SEMINAR I

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

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2. *Bajpai, K. D.* .. New Sātavāhana Coins and Consideration of Some Problems.
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I : 1

ATTRIBUTION AND TYPOLOGY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINS

By

NISAR AHMAD

I

The Sātavāhana coins which are attributed differently or vaguely are dealt with here[1].

Sātakarṇi I

Coins with the legends *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* or *Raño Sātakaṇisa* are found from Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra and Gujarat. As more than one king in the Sātavāhana dynasty had this name, scholars are not unanimous on the attribution of these coins.

RAPSON thinks that coin Nos. 5, 6 and 7 of *BMC*[2] which bear the name of *Sātakarṇi*[3], on the basis of 'certain characteristic features', appear to have belonged to East Malwa whose ancient name was Ākara and which was included in the "Andhra dominions in the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who is called king of Ākara". After him it was lost to Rudradāman and therefore this Sātakarṇi 'may be either Gautamīputra or some earlier king'[4]. TRIVEDI says that these coins were issued by Sātavāhana, the originator of the Sātavāhana house[5]. But these coins are typologically dissimilar from the definitely known coins of king Sātavāhana. Further, two of them, Nos. 5 and 6, clearly bear the legend *--ṇisa* and as all the three coins are typologically related with each other[6], probably all had the same legend. Hence these coins cannot be attributed to king Sātavāhana and the legend suggests them to have been issued by a king named Sātakarṇi. The crude representation of the elephant on these coins leads us to identify this king as Sātakarṇi I.

The lion type coins Nos. 8-12 of *BMC*[7] are taken by RAPSON to have been issued either by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or some earlier king[8]. GOPALACHARI assigns them to Sātakarṇi II[9]. RAMA RAO also lists them as the coins of Sātakarṇi II[10]. But the reverse type of these coins is similar to the earlier ones. Hence these coins may be attributed to Sātakarṇi I. A lion type coin discovered at Nasik[11], though ascribed by TRIVEDI and GUPTA to Gautamīputra[12], is similar to these coins of the lion type, and may also be assigned to this Sātakarṇi. A few lion type coins found by GADRE from Kāmrej and Kārvān in Gujarat[13] resemble in type and fabric the said coins of *BMC*. The lion type coin published by DIKSHIT[14] may also be attributed to this king on the typological considerations. A lion type coin reported by ALTEKAR[15] is also similar to the coins of *BMC*.

About the homo type coin obtained from Nasik[16] DIKSHIT writes : 'There is, however, no uncertainty about the reading and the coin is attributed to one of the three Sātakarṇis of the Sātavāhana dynasty, very probably the third'. ALTEKAR rightly observes that the human figure appears more like the figure of Kārttikeya occurring on Ujjain coins[17]. Further, this coin has the incuse marks as on the Ujjain coins. This coin bearing the name of Sata(kaṇi) is imitated from the coins of Ujjain and may well be ascribed to the money-introducer of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The Ujjain type coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṁṇisa* found from Kāmrej in Gujarat[18] typologically falls into the earlier Sātavāhana coinage. But among the earlier rulers only the coins of Sātakarṇi I are found from this region. Hence this coin can also be assigned to this ruler.

Sāti Śri

Nearly a dozen coins with the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* or *Raño Siri Sātisa* and *Raño Sātasa* are discovered so far. They are in five types namely : Homo[19], Elephant[20], Ujjain[21], five symbols[22] and Bull[23].

RAPSON writes that 'the oldest coins of the Andhra Dynasty seem undoubtedly to be those with the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*'[24] (Nos. 1 and 2 of *BMC*). He attributes them to West Malwa and takes them to be issued by Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghat relievo inscription and of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela[25]. KATARE assigns these coins to Sātakarṇi I[26]. DIKSHIT is inclined to ascribe them to Sātakarṇi I or Sātakarṇi II[27]. GUPTA feels that 'he may have been either a predecessor or successor of Sātakarṇi, as the types of the coins of Sāti and Sātakarṇi, published by KATARE, are similar in all respects but the legend'[28]. MIRASHI once thought that these coins were issued by King Sātavāhana, the originator of the family[29], but later on rightly suggested that the coins with the legend *Sātisa* were issued by Sāti of the Nānāghat inscription of Nāyanikā[30]. This is supported by the typological similarities of the coins of Sāti with those of Sātakarṇis I and II.

Sātakarṇi II

A good number of coins with the name of the King Sātakarṇi are found, but strangely enough RAMA RAO in the latest list of the published Sātavāhana Coins assigns all coins to Sātakarṇi I except four which he ascribes to Sātakarṇi II[31]. While the *Matsya Purāṇa* assigns 10 years and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 18 years for the reign period of Sātakarṇi I, all the Purāṇas speak with one voice that Sātakarṇi II ruled for 56 years[32]. Hence it is reasonable to hold that majority of the coins bearing the name of Sātakarṇi in all probability were minted by Sātakarṇi II.

The coins with the name of Sātakarṇi found from the Nevasa excavations, though attributed by the excavators to Sātakarṇi I[33], seem to have belonged to Sātakarṇi II. These coins have the tree symbol with solid leaves[34]. We can also trace a link between the coins of Sātakarṇi I and this prince. The leaves on the coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I are shown in the outlines[35]. On coin No. 59 of *BMC*, ascribed to Sātakarṇi II by RAMA RAO, the leaves of the tree are represented with the outer and a central line[36]. Hence the coins with the name Sātakarṇi, having solid-leafed tree, in all probability may be assigned to Sātakarṇi II who had a long reign.

MIRASHI published a coin of bull type from the collection of Hurmuz Kaus[37]. He identifies the symbol to the left of the tree as *triratna* but it is *yya*-like symbol. Further, 'a spherical object on either side of the top of the tree' is probably taurine. It may also be noted that the tree has

five branches of solid leaves. He identifies this king with the son of Simuka Sātavāhana and the husband of Nāganikā, i. e. the third king mentioned in the Puranic list. But the solid leaves of the tree on this coin lead us to take it to have been issued by Sātakarṇi II. Another coin of bull type from the same collection published by him[38], though without legend, appears to have been issued by this ruler as suggested by the *yya*-like symbol. TRIVEDI also reports a coin of bull type[39]. This specimen too has the solid five-leafed tree and hence it can also be ascribed to this king. The bull type coins published by RAMA RAO are attributed by him to Sātakarṇi I[40], but the form of the bull suggests that they belong to Sātakarṇi II. The bull type coins of Nevasa bearing the name Sātakarṇi, though ascribed to Sātakarṇi I[41], may, judging from associated finds, be assigned to Sātakarṇi II.

Similarly, the elephant type coins of Nevasa which bear the name of Sātakarṇi[42] may also be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. A coin of elephant and lion type published by TRIVEDI[43] can also be assigned to this king as the lion is represented well on it. The coins of elephant and Ujjain symbol type, published by RAMA RAO[44], though ascribed by him to Sātakarṇi I, may well be taken to have been issued by this monarch. A coin of Ujjain symbol type reported by KATARE and assigned to Sātakarṇi I[45] has the solid-leafed tree and may be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. A coin of bull and Ujjain symbol type published by RAMA RAO is ascribed to Sātakarṇi I[46], but the form of the bull on this coin suggests that it was probably issued by Sātakarṇi II. The tree type coins catalogued by RAMA RAO and attributed to Sātakarṇi I[47] have the tree with solid leaves and can also be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. An animal and six-arched hill type coin is published and attributed to Sātakarṇi I by RAMA RAO[48]. The animal is identified by him as bull, but it seems to be camel. The elaborate form of the hill suggests that the coin was issued by Sātakarṇi II.

Successors of Sātakarṇi II

So far eight coins bearing the name of King Sātavāhana are found from Warangal[49], Aurangabad[50] and Ahmadnagar districts[51]. They belong to two types : elephant and bull.

Regarding the identification of this prince, MIRASHI first pointed out that the characters of the coins with the legend *Raño Siri Sadavahanasa* are somewhat earlier than those of Nānāghat inscription[52] and later on observed that "these characters leave no doubt that the coins belong to about the same age as the Nānāghat inscription"[53]; but he holds that "both Simuka and Kṛṣṇa were probably descended from a king named Sātavāhana who preceded them"[54]. KATARE suggests that "he was the successor of Śrī Sāta or Sātakarṇi and, as such, may be identified with prince Sātavāhana of the Nānāghat cave relievo inscription."[55] SIRCAR writes that these coins were issued by Simuka Sātavāhana[56]. DEO writes at one place that the rectangular bull type coin found at Nevasa on palaeographical ground belongs to 2nd-3rd century B. C. and that the rest "to a later period", and that "we have at hand an evidence which points out the existence of several kings bearing the name Sātavāhana who can be placed between a span of nearly three hundred years, i. e. from 3rd century B. C. to about the first century B. C."[57] He holds that coin Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 7 of Plate VIII, "which have remarkable affinity to the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi I which occur in slightly upper levels at Nevasa, may be tentatively assigned to that Sātavāhana who was the son of Kaṇha and the father of Sātakarṇi I"[58]. Elsewhere he says that this Sātavāhana of Nevasa coins was Sātavāhana of Nānāghat record who succeeded his father Sātakarṇi[59]. The Nevasa coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I may preferably be assigned to Sātakarṇi II. As the coins of King Sātavāhana occur in the top level of Period IV and the coins of Sātakarṇi come from the

lower level, this prince may be taken as the successor of Sātakarṇi II. GOPALACHARI also feels that these coins were issued by the successor of Sātakarṇi II, but he identifies this prince with Lambodara of the Puranic list[60].

Only one coin of the elephant type with the legend *Raño Siva Sirasāpīlaka* and the blank reverse is found[61]. It reminds us of the repousse (struck on one side) coins of South Kosala. It seems that the family of Āpīlaka was put in charge of this region with the expansion of the Sātavāhana territories and this prince declared himself independent when the central Sātavāhana power weakened.

RAMAYYA publishes a coin of elephant type with the obverse legend *Hatamakasa*[62]. He also notices a legend, *ma* and *tha* clear and the other letters indistinct, on the reverse. The illustration is bad and hence nothing can be said with certainty regarding the reverse legend. This coin can be attributed to Meghasvāti.

An elephant type coin with the legend *Satasa* is published by MIRASHI who thinks that it was issued by a later king[63]. RAMA RAO[64] attributes the coins of the Caitya and Horseman types which have the legend *Siri Sa(tasa)* or *Raño Sātasa* to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[65]. These coins may be attributed to Svāti, No. 10 of the Puranic list.

The coins of three-arched hill and Ujjain symbol type with the legend *Raño Vasiṭhiputasa Siri Cada Satisa* are recorded by RAPSON[66]. He restores the name as Śrī Candra Sāti. RAMA RAO takes the name to be Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi. We prefer to restore it as Candra Svāti[67]. He seems to have flourished before Vijaya Sātakarṇi.

The three-arched hill and Ujjain type coin published by MIRASHI[68] was attributed to king Hāla[69], but now it is ascribed rightly to Puḷamāvi I. DINKAR RAO reports[70] another coin of this king in this type. A coin of bull type published by DEO[71] can well be attributed to this king.

The three-arched and ten-arched hill type coins with the legend *Sadasa* are catalogued by RAMA RAO[72]. He attributes them to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but we prefer to call them as the issues of Śiva Svāti, the predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The elephant type coins with the legend *Kosikipu (tasa) Sa.....*[73] are tentatively assigned by MIRASHI to the Sātavāhana dynasty. He also holds that 'the complete legend may, in that case, have been *Raṁño Kosikiputasa Sātakaṇisa*'. He further says that the palaeography of these coins suggests that "this Sātakarṇi was probably one of the later kings of the dynasty and may have been one of the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Several of them are known to have borne the name of Sātakarṇi and issued coins, *viz.*, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi, but except in the case of Yajña, Caṇḍa and Śaka, we do not know the names of their queen mothers. Kauśikīputra may have been the metronymic of one of these later Sātakarṇis"[74]. SIRCAR refutes : "There is, however, really no valid reason to believe that all the coins referred to were issued by a peculiar king styled Kauśikīputra. The suggestion that his name was Sātakarṇi is only imaginary and, therefore, extremely doubtful, not to speak of his ascription to the Sātavāhana family"[75]. It is certain that not a single specimen contains the proper name of the issuers, perhaps *sa* following Kauśikīputra is the first letter of *Siri*. Further, these coins cannot be assigned to any of the successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi. But the typological features, seven-leafed tree and four connected circles on the obverse of these coins, take Kauśikīputra near Sātakarṇi III.

GADRE published three elephant type coins from Kāmrej and Kārvān in Gujarat bearing the legend —*miputasa* and attributed them to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[76]. ALTEKAR in the editor's note writes : "We can definitely read Gotami on some coins and the issuer may well have been Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. But Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi is also known to have conquered Southern Gujarat and it is not impossible that some of the indistinct coins may have been his issues"[77]. However, the figure of the animal represented on these coins is similar to that occurring on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and not Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi. Hence, they may be attributed to the former.

TRIVEDI describes two coins of the collection of Shri N. R. Advani as follows[78] :—

Coin No. 1 :

Obverse : Elephant, with trunk upraised, standing; above Ujjain symbol, some indistinct fragmentary symbols on either side of the animal.

Reverse : Eight-armed symbol (not spoked).

ALTEKAR thinks that the symbol on the reverse 'is probably tree with large leaves'[79]. GUPTA claims to have examined the coin personally and, therefore, he is 'sure that the symbol is an eight-armed *cakra* composed of eight arrows, without any central disc'[80]. But actually it is tree with seven solid leaves. ALTEKAR also observes on its obverse that 'the first letter seems to be *ka*; it is perhaps followed by a *na*'. Hence he thinks them to be the part of the name of Sātakarṇi[81]. The tree with seven solid leaves occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. And, therefore, this coin can be attributed to this monarch.

Coin No. 2 :

Obverse : Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging and the legend.

Reverse : Four straight lines crossing one another at a central point and ending on both sides in what look like petals[82].

GUPTA thinks that 'the symbol on the reverse of both the coins is similar'. Hence he takes it as 'eight-armed *cakra* composed of eight arrows, without any central disc'[83]. But this symbol looks as a palm tree.

TRIVEDI writes : "The legend is blurred and the upper portions of its letters are truncated, but it is very probable that in all it contained eight or nine letters. Near the upper part of the tail of the animal, there is a letter clearly to be read as *ta* and following it, there are traces of what looks like *ma*". Hence he is 'inclined to complete the name in the legend as Gotamīputa'[84]. But still the proper name is absent and hence it is difficult to attribute it with certainty as two rulers with this metronymic existed in this family.

However, on the similarity of the representation of the elephant on this coin with that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi it may be ascribed to this ruler.

The silver caitya type coins with the legend *Raño Gotami*--are taken by ALTEKAR to have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi[85], but CHINMULGUND[86] and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI[87] attribute it to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The second suggestion seems to be correct.

Puḷumāvi II

RAMA RAO describes a coin, found along with other coins in a broken pot at the village of Padagupada, as follows[88] :—

Obverse : Caitya of three arches surmounted by crescent, faint traces of letters.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol of four thick pellets and a thin cross.

RAMA RAO does not attribute it to any king[89]. SIDDIQUI writes that this coin is similar to that published by him which he ascribes to Sātakarṇi IV[90]. But no coin of this ruler with crescented three-arched hill is found. Perhaps Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was the last ruler to issue the coins with this device[91]. RAMA RAO writes that the coins of this hoard 'cover the period from Sātakarṇi IV to Śrī Yajña'[92]. As the present coin comes from the hoard, we may assign it to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the predecessor of Sātakarṇi IV.

The coins of Rudra Sātakarṇi are placed by RAMA RAO after Puḷumāvi IV[93], the last King of the Puranic list. Perhaps the last king to issue the coins with the crescent on three-arched hill was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Hence he may be placed after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[94].

Sātakarṇi IV and His Successors

The coin Nos. 1968 and 1462 found from the Nevasa excavations are regarded as the coins of 'Later Sātakarṇis'[95]. But the legend *Siri Sātakaṇi(sa)* suggests them to have been issued by Sātakarṇi IV.

ALTEKAR describes the obverse of a coin as follows[96] :—

'To left, tree in railing; at the bottom, elephant with trunk upraised; above the elephant to r., *svastika* symbol.'

ALTEKAR writes : "What looks like a letter in the extreme left is really a portion of the tree. In front of the elephant is railing and above the railing is not tree but the letter *jña*". RAMA RAO attributes it to Sātakarṇi I[97] and I for the time being place it in the coinage of this king.

Of the two coins of elephant type published by ALTEKAR[98], one is ascribed to Sātakarṇi I by RAMA RAO[99], but it can tentatively be assigned at present to Sātakarṇi IV. The attribution of the large number of coins of the Tarhala hoard to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by MIRASHI[100] has no justification and hence they should be assigned to Sātakarṇi IV. The legend on a coin deciphered by DINKAR RAO as (*Rajño*) *Cakora Sātakarṇi(sa)*[101] is correctly read as (*Rā*) *jño Sātaka(ṇisa)* by MIRASHI[102] who says that 'it was issued by one of the several Sātakarṇis who belonged to the family'. This coin can be attributed to Sātakarṇi IV. An elephant type coin attributed by RAMA RAO to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[103] may be ascribed to Sātakarṇi IV. The bull type coin with the legend (*Sa*)*takaṇi*(*sa*)[104] and the lion type with the legend *Raṇño Sarisa*[105] of the Nevasa excavation can also be placed in the coinage of this king. Two coins of ten-arched hill type kept under the heading of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[106] may also be ascribed to this ruler.

The legend *Saka Sa*(*da*)*sa* on the lion type coins[107] is restored by RAMA RAO as Śaka Sātakarṇi[108]. We think that the name of this Sātavāhana King was perhaps Śaka Svāti and place him after Sātakarṇi IV. MIRASHI published four coins of the elephant type of the Tarhala hoard

as the issues of Śaka Sātakarṇi[109]. But the last letter *ka* is read only on one specimen[110] and there, too, it does not look like that. Hence this coin can also be attributed to this king.

On four coins of three-arched-hill type RAPSON reads the legend as *Raño Vasiṭhipu(ta..) ra Puḷamāvisa* and attributes them to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi. We feel that these coins also had the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputra Siva Siri Puḷamāvisa* and hence we attribute them to Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi and His Successors

Some of the coins of the solid caitya or hill type which bear only the metronymic legend are also attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but we feel that there is no sound justification for this and hence we have kept all the coins of this type with only the metronymic legend *Gautamīputra*[111] in the coinage of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

The name of the king whose coins have the legend *Raño Siri Caḍa Sātisa* is sanskritized as Candra Śāti[112]. This name should be taken as Caṇḍa Svāti. The coins of Kumbha Sātakarṇi are placed by RAMA RAO after Puḷumāvi IV[113]. But the representation of the elephant on these coins shows that he preceded Puḷumāvi IV. Similarly, coins of Karṇa Sātakarṇi are placed by RAMA RAO after Puḷumāvi[114], but he appears to have preceded the latter. The coins published by DEO[115] and HURMUZ KAUS[116] with the legend-*māvisa* because of the degeneration in the representation of the elephant should be attributed to Puḷumāvi IV. The coins with the legend *Siri Khada* (or *Caḍa*) *Sataka(ṇisa)* are attributed by MIRASHI to Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi whom the Purāṇas call as the son and successor of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi. This king of the Puranic list flourished before Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi[117] whereas the representation of the elephant on the coins of this ruler resembles that on the coins of Puḷumāvi IV. Hence this ruler cannot be identified with the said king of the Purāṇas.

II

Sātakarṇi I

I. Elephant Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant with trunk upraised walking left[118].
(ii) Elephant with trunk upraised walking r.[119]
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk cut off[120].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika*[121].
(ii) Triangle-headed standard[122], sometimes in railing[123].
(iii) Fishes and *svastika* within double square line border[124].
(iv) Ujjain symbol[125], sometimes crescented[126].
(v) A river with fishes and tortoise[127].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* — Tree in railing and Ujjain symbol[128], sometimes crescented[129].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Nandipada*[130].

(ii) Rayed symbol[131].

II. Lion Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Lion springing l.[132]

(ii) Lion springing r.[133]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Nandipada*[134].

(ii) Fishes in double square line border[135].

(iii) *Svastika*[136].

Reverse : *Characteristic Features* — Tree within railing and Ujjain symbol surmounted by *nandipada*[137].

III. Bull Type

Obverse : Humped bull facing r.[138]

Reverse : Tree in railing[139].

IV. Homo Type

Obverse : (i) Man standing facing with a long staff in r. hand, l. hand hanging.

(ii) Defaced symbol in field[140].

Reverse : (i) Elephant walking r.

(ii) Indistinct symbol at top[141].

V. Ujjain Symbol Type

Obverse : Ujjain symbol[142].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant facing r.[143]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Tree[144].

(ii) River[145].

(iii) Crescent between hind and forelegs[146].

Sāti Śri

I. Elephant Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) Elephant with hanging trunk facing down[147].
- (ii) Elephant standing r[148].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Ujjain symbol, lower arm crescented[149].
- (ii) Triangle-headed standard in railing[150].
- (iii) River with fishes[151].

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol[152].

II. Homo Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Man standing[153].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Ujjain symbol[154].
- (ii) *Svastika*[155].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant standing r[156].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Tree in railing.
- (ii) Three-arched hill.
- (iii) River with fishes.
- (iv) Ujjain symbol[157].

III. Ujjain Symbol Type[158]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Homo sign.

Reverse : From l. to r.
- (i) Three-arched hill.
- (ii) Tree in railing.
- (iii) River with fishes.
- (iv) Three-arched hill.

IV. Bull Type[159]

Obverse : Bull facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. Five Symbol Type[160]

Obverse : (i) Triangle-headed standard in railing.
(ii) *Svastika.*
(iii) *Yya*-like symbol.
(iv), (v) } Two indistinct symbols.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Bull to r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) *Svastika.*
(ii) Ujjain symbol.

Sātakarṇi II

I. Elephant Type[161]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(ii) Elephant with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Four unconnected circles capped by crescent.
(ii) *Svastika.*
(iii) Taurine.
(iv) Ujjain symbol.
(v) Glass-shaped symbol.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
(i) Solid five-leafed tree.
(ii) Lion with raised and curled tail.
(iii) Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Triangle-headed standard.
(ii) Tree within railing.

II. Bull Type[162]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Humped bull facing r.
(ii) Animal facing l.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Triangle-headed standard.
(ii) *Svastika.*
(iii) *Yya symbol.*

(iv) *Nāga* symbol.
(v) Taurine.
(vi) Tree in railing.
(vii) Three-arched hill.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Tree in railing.
(ii) Ujjain symbol sometimes crescented with a pellet in each circle inside a square border.
(iii) Six-arched hill with a cross at top.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Yya*-like symbol.
(ii) Triangle-headed standard.
(iii) Taurines.
(iv) *Triratna*.
(v) Ujjain symbol.
(vi) *Svastika*.
(vii) *Nandipada*.
(viii) River with fishes.

III. Ujjain Symbol Type [163]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Crescented Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Homo sign.

Reverse : From l. to r.

(*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

(i) Three-arched hill.
(ii) River with fishes.
(iii) Tree in railing.
(iv) Three-arched hill.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — bull.

IV. Camel Type[164]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Camel facing r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Crescent over head.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Hill of six arches.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Tree.
(ii) *Svastika*.
(iii) Glass-shaped symbol.

V. Tree Type[165]

Obverse : Thick-leafed tree in railing.

Reverse : (a) Lion facing r.
(b) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent with a pellet.
(c) Ujjain symbol.
(d) Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent.

Sātavāhana

I. Elephant Type[166]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Elephant standing r. with upraised trunk.
(ii) Elephant walking with upraised trunk.
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Two flattened circles on a vertical line.
(ii) A symbol of four empty circles, one capped by crescent.
(iii) Triangle-headed standard with a cross-bar.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
(i) Ujjain symbol, generally surmounted by *nandipada*.
(ii) Tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Two circles on a vertical line.
(ii) *Svastika*.

II. Bull Type[167]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Bull facing.
(ii) Bull walking.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Three-arched hill.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Solid-branched tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Triangle-headed standard.
(ii) An empty circle.
(iii) River with fishes.
(iv) *Triratna*.
(v) *Nāga* or *nandipada* symbol.

Āpīlaka[168]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant walking r. with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Goad.
(ii) Taurine.

Reverse : Blank.

Megha Svāti

I. Horse Type[169]

Obverse : Horse facing l.

II. Elephant Type[170]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika.*
(ii) *Yya-like* symbol.
(iii) One small indistinct mark.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Between two orbs *ya* figure.
(ii) Between the lower orbs a symbol now indistinct.

Svāti

I. Caitya Type[171]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

II. Horse Type[172]

Obverse : Animal facing l.

Reverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

III. Elephant Type[173]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant walking r. with uplifted trunk.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — A wavy line with a pellet in each curve.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb, surmounted by a crescent.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — *Svastika* between the orbs.

Candra Svāti[174]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches; beneath waved line.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with two surrounding circles.

Puḷumāvi I

I. Caitya Type[175]

Obverse : Three-arched hill with two horizontal lines below.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with solid balls encircled by an outer ring.

II. Bull Type[176]

Obverse : Humped bull facing l.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in the centre of each orb.

Śiva Svati

I. Three-arched Hill Type[177]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

Reverse : *Caitya* and traces of wavy line.

II. Ten-arched Hill Type[178]

Obverse : *Caitya* of ten arches with tree in railing to r.

Reverse : Worn out.

Kauśikīputra

I. Elephant Type[179]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant facing r. with trunk uplifted.

(ii) Elephant walking r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Four connected circles cut by a vertical rod.

(ii) *Svastika.*

(iii) Four circles not connected by any rod.

(iv) *Triratna.*

(v) Triangle-headed standard.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

(i) Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet within a double circle.

(ii) Tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Four connected circles cut by a vertical bar in the upper r. and l. corners.

II. Svastika Type[180]

Obverse : *Svastika.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Sātakarṇi III

I. Elephant Type[181]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
(ii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iii) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(iv) Elephant walking r., trunk cut off.
(v) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(vi) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.
(vii) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika.*
(ii) A group of four empty circles, the rightmost capped by a crescent.
(iii) *Yya*-like symbol.
(iv) Two connected circles.
(v) Ujjain symbol.
(vi) conch shell (?).
(vii) Goad.
(viii) *Triratna.*

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

(i) Tree.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with balls in circles, sometimes crescented.
(iii) Tree in railing.
(iv) Six close and radiating branches of a tree in a circle with thick dots at intervals.
(v) Palm tree.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Taurine.

II. Lion Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Animal facing r. with mouth open and coiled[182].

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Tree.

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches with a pellet in each arch in a square surmounted by a semi-circle of dots.

III. Horse Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Animal facing r.[183]
(ii) Animal facing l.[184]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Absent.
(ii) Crescent above.
(iii) Objects behind and before.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Svastika Type

Obverse : *Svastika*[185].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. Three-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* with wavy line below[186].
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[187].
(iii) *Caitya* of three thick arches[188].

Reverse : Ujjain Symbol.

VI. Six-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Crescented *Caitya*.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) *Caitya alone*[189].
(ii) *Svastika* on either side[190].
(iii) *Svastika* to left and another symbol to r.[191]

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Ten-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[192].
(ii) *Caitya* of thick arches surmounted by a crescent[193].

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Conch to left and lotus to right.

Reverse : Ujjain Symbol.

VIII. Restruck Silver Coins[194]

Obverse : (*a*) (i) *Caitya* of three Arches.
(ii) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent.
(iii) *Caitya* of three arches with *svastika* in the arches.
(iv) *Caitya* of three arches with a pellet in each of the arches.
(v) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch.

(*b*) (vi) *Caitya* of six arches.
(vii) *Caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent.
(viii) *Caitya* of six arches with pellet between arches.
(ix) *Caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch.

Reverse :
(i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with a crescent on the upper orb.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.
(iv) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb and a crescent on the upper orb.
(v) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.
(vi) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb and a crescent on the upper orb.

IX. Silver Caitya Type [195]

Obverse : Six-arched hill with dots in each arch on platform, below a wavy line.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

I. Elephant Type[196]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Animal facing r. with trunk upraised.
(ii) Animal facing r. with trunk hanging.
(iii) Animal facing l. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Animal facing l. with trunk hanging.
(v) Animal facing r., trunk cut.
(vi) Animal facing l., trunk cut.
(vii) Animal running to l. with trunk hanging[197].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Bow and arrow (rarely).
(ii) Glass-shaped symbol.
(iii) *Svastika.*

Reverse :
(i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.
(iv) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a *svastika* between arms.
(v) Ujjain symbol with a *svastika* between arms surmounted by a crescent.
(vi) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa.*

II. Svastika Type[198]

Obverse : *Svastika.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

III. Lion Type[199]

Obverse : Animal facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Horse Type[200]

Obverse : Animal facing r. with *yya* symbol above and a spherical object below mouth.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — *Caitya* of six arches with a pellet in each arch.
(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Tree to left.

V. Ship Type[201]

Obverse : Ship with two masts.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VI. Three-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (i) *Caitya*[202].
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[203].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Caitya of Ten Arches Type

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[204].
(ii) *Caitya* of pellet-like arches surmounted by a crescent[205].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VIII. Bust Type

Obverse : King facing r. with crown[206].

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches with Ujjain symbol to r. surmounted by a crescent and sun symbol in between.

IX. Wheel Type[207]

Obverse : A wheel with twelve spokes in the centre.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Rudra Sātakarṇi

I. Three-Arched Caitya Type[208]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent, wavy line beneath.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

II. Elephant Type[209]

Obverse : Animal facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Sātakarṇi IV

I. Elephant Type[210]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(ii) Elephant with upraised trunk facing r.
(iii) Elephant with trunk upraised facing l.
(iv) Elephant with trunk upraised walking l.
(v) Elephant facing r., with trunk hanging.
(vi) Elephant facing l., with trunk hanging.
(vii) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
(viii) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Railing.
(ii) *Svastika.*
(iii) Glass-shaped symbol.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

(i) Seven-branched tree in railing.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.
(iii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
(iv) Ujjain symbol with a *svastika* between arms.
(v) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with a *svastika* between arms.
(vi) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa.*
(vii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa* with a *svastika* between arms.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Single orb of Ujjain symbol with a pellet.
(ii) Six-arched hill and undulating lines.
(iii) Homo sign.

II. Bull Type[211]

Obverse : Humped bull facing r.

Reverse : Tree.

III. Lion Type[212]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Animal facing r.
(ii) Animal facing l.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Tree.
(ii) *Svastika.*

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol and tree in railing.
(iii) *Caitya* of six arches in a double line square surmounted by a line of dots and crescent.

IV. Three-Arched Caitya Type[213]

Obverse : Crescented three-arched hill.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. Caitya of Ten Arches Type[214]

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent.
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with lotus to l. and conch to r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VI. Bust Type[215]

Obverse : Bust of king facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent, *caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent and a circle between two crescents.

Śaka Svāti

I. Lion Type[216]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Lion standing to r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Tree in railing.
(ii) Square pedestal having a vertical line with cross-bars.

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches, crescent or part of a circle with dots.

II. Elephant Type[217]

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi

I. Elephant Type[218]

Obverse : (i) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(ii) Elephant facing l. with trunk upraised.
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.

(v) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.
(vi) Elephant running l. with trunk hanging.
(vii) Elephant running l., trunk cut off.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.
(iii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with *svastika* between arms.

II. Three-Arched Caitya Type[219]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches with a wavy line below.

Revesre : Ujjain symbol.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi

I. Elephant Type[220]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(ii) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.
(v) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
(vi) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Glass-shaped symbol before the animal.

Reverse : (i) Tree.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.

II. Caitya of Three Arches Type[221]

Obverse : *Caitya.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

III. Caitya of Six Arches Type[222]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Caitya of Ten Arches Type[223]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crscent with conch to left and lotus to right.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.

V. Solid Caitya Type[224]

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with lotus and conch on either side.
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch and *svastika* to l. and *triratna to* r.

(iii) *Caitya* with *svastika* to l. and conch to r.
(iv) *Caitya* with symbol to r.
(v) *Caitya* with *svastika* to l.
(vi) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with a wavy line below.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.

VI. Horse Type[225]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Animal facing r.
(ii) Animal facing l.
(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Crescent above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Lion Type[226]

Obverse : Animal facing l.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VIII. Ship Type[227]

Obverse : Ship with double mast and wrigging with fish to right and conch to left below.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IX. Bust Type[228]

Obverse : King facing r. with jewel on forehead.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with *caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent to left and sun symbol between crescents.
(ii) *Caitya* with Ujjain symbol to r. and sun and moon over it[229].

Caṇḍa Svāti

Obverse : (i) Horse standing r.[230]
(ii) Horse standing with altar before.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain Symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with two surrounding circles.
(ii) The orbs of Ujjain symbol are represented by plain circles.

Kumbha Sātakarṇi

Obverse : Elephant standing to r. with trunk upraised[231].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Karṇa Sātakarṇi

Obverse : As above[232].

Reverse : As above.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi[233]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Puḷumāyi IV[234]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Khada Sātakarṇi[235]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Stuta[236]

Obverse : As above; legend : *Raño Siri Thutasa*; Sanskrit rendering : *Rājnaḥ Śrī-Stutasya.*

Reverse : As above.

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42. *Ibid.*
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I : 2

NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COINS AND CONSIDERATION OF SOME PROBLEMS

By

K. D. BAJPAI

Recently six Sātavāhana coins of unusual significance have been identified by me. Of these, Nos. 1 to 5 are of copper and No. 6 is a silver coin.

Coins No. 1 and 2 have recently been acquired by me at Vidiśā. They are said to have been discovered in the bed of the river Betwā, near the old mounds of Besnagar (Vidiśā). Coins No. 3 and 4 are from Ujjain. Number 5 is from Kauśāmbī and is now in the possession of Sri R. C. TANDAN of Allahabad. The last coin is of silver and is in the collection of Sri KUNJ BIHARI LAL of Meerut. He has informed me that the coin was purchased by him at Meerut.

I am thankful to Sri R. C. TANDAN and Shri K. B. LAL for kindly permitting me to study their coins and to publish them. The coins are described below.

Coin No. 1 : (Pl. I. 1)

Copper; Square; 1.85 cm.; 72.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : The centre has three symbols :

(i) three-arched hill,

(ii) *vajra* (the so-called Ujjain symbol),

(iii) tree-in-railing.

Below is shown river with fish, etc. At top is the Brāhmī legend (*ra*)*ño siri Sātakaṇi*(*sa*).

Reverse : Blank.

It is remarkable that the technique used in the preparation of this coin is the punching device found in the punch-marked Eran-Vidiśā coins of the Kārṣāpaṇa type. The provenance of the coin is significant in this case.

RAMA RAO in his *Catalogue of the Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, has described 24 coins (No. 2-25)[1] as the issues of Sātakarṇi I. These coins are, however, different from the coin described above.

I find a close similarity between the Brāhmī characters on the present coin and those of the Sanchi inscription of king Sātakarṇi and of the Nāneghāṭ inscriptions. The present coin can be attributed to Sātakarṇi I of the Sātavāhana dynasty (No. 3 of the Purāṇic list). On palaeographic grounds the issuer of this coin can be assigned to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., if not a little earlier. He cannot be placed in the latter half of the 1st century B. C. or in the beginning of the 1st century A. D., the dates suggested for Sātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription by CUNNINGHAM, MARSHALL and some other scholars. I think that BUHLER was right in suggesting a date in the 2nd century B. C. for king Sātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription[2]. The type of the coin also is archaic, similar to the type of the punch-marked Kārṣāpaṇas of Eran-Vidiśā.

The discovery of this new coin from Vidiśā may lend support to the theory that eastern Malwa was occupied by the Sātavāhanas in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. This Sātakarṇi I, known from the Sanchi and Nāneghāṭ inscriptions and from coins, may rightly be taken to be the contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The recent excavations conducted under my direction at Tripurī (near Jabalpur) have indicated that the hegemony of the Sātavāhanas was spread upto the Tripurī region during the 2nd--1st centuries B. C.

Coin No. 2 : (Pl. I. 2)

Copper cast; Circular; 2.20 cm.; 100 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : In the centre, a female figure stands on a circular floral platform. She stands erect facing with the hands held down straight. To her right is the *vajra* (Ujjain symbol) having a crescent on top. The Brāhmī legend starting at 10 O'clock reads *raña(o)sa(si)ri Sātasa.*

Reverse : Elephant walking to right between two arched hills, behind the tail of the animal is a long arch. Over the elephant is a flowering tree within railing.

A few Sātavāhana coins resembling this type have previously been published[3]. On two of them, a standing deity appearing to be a male figure is seen. On none of the Sātavāhana coins, published so far, do we notice a distinct female deity. On the coin from Nasik, published by M. G. DIKSHIT[4], the male figure is seen holding a staff in the right hand.

Another coin of this type, published by M. C. CHAUBE[5], was acquired from Bherāghāṭ near Jabalpur. The standing figure on that coin is apparently a crude male standing on a circular platform. The hands of the figure on the Bherāghāṭ coin are held straight. On the new coin from Vidiśā the figure is clearly that of a female, as is evident from her breasts and slender waist. Her arms fall down straight, but the palms are held horizontally. This figure can be identified with that of Lakṣmī.

But for the figure, there is a good deal of similarity between the present coin and the coin of CHAUBE. The details on CHAUBE's coin are blurred and the symbols and the legend are not complete, whereas on the present coin the symbols and the legend are very clear. The legend, written in bold Brāhmī characters, occupies the major portion of the obverse.

Another coin bearing the name of King Sāta was published by S. L. KATARE[6]. It was obtained from Jamunia, a village in the Hoshangabad district of Madhya Pradesh. The shape of the coin is square. KATARE has read the legend on the coin as *(Ra) ño siri Sātasa.*

Recently the excavations at Tripurī have yielded two more coins with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* with the male figure.

Palaeographically all the coins referred to above with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* can be assigned to a later period than that of king Sātakarṇi I (Coin No. 1 described above).

It is not possible for me to agree with the suggestion that these coins of king Sāta were issued by king Sātavāhana, whose coins are known from Hyderabad, Kondāpur and Nevāsā[7]. Nor can they be assigned to Sātakarṇi I or to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. On the grounds of typology and palaeography the coins of these three rulers are different from the coins bearing the legend *Raña siri Sātasa* (or *Sātisa*).

The problem of the attribution of these later coins has not so far been solved. Various suggestions in this regard have been put forth[8]. In my opinion these coins may be assigned either to Śaktiśrī or to the Sātavāhana ruler mentioned as No. 6 in the Purāṇic lists, who is credited with the reign of a fairly long period.

Coin No. 3 : (Pl.I.3)

Copper; Rectangular; 2.30 × 1.85 cm.; 113.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : In centre, standing elephant to left with trunk raised. Border legend at top *raña (Si)ri Sātasa*. Below *cakra* and a wavy line.

Reverse : *Vajra*, *nandipada* and other symbols. The coin is slightly worn out.

This coin can be assigned to the issuer of Coin No. 2.

It may be mentioned here that the number of square coins with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* (*or Sātisa*) is much smaller as compared to the circular coins of this ruler. The square coins may have been issued earlier than the circular ones.

The recent excavations at Tripurī have brought to light two interesting coins of this ruler. The stratified evidence shows that the coins can be assigned to the 1st century B. C.

Coin No. 4 : (Pl.I.4)

Copper; Circular; 1.85 cm.; 69.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : Elephant with trunk raised walking to right. Over its back is Ujjain symbol. Legend in front of the animal is *Sātakani*. There is a *vajra* symbol of a peculiar variety.

Reverse : Inside a semi-circle, decorated with *vajra* symbols, is *kalpavṛkṣa* shown in a criss-cross manner.

The interesting device on the reverse is noteworthy. The double three-pronged symbol represents *vajra* and not *śrīvatsa*, as has generally been supposed.

In the absence of any clear indication it is not possible to assign this coin with certainty to any particular Sātavāhana ruler.

Coin No. 5 : (Pl.I.5)

Copper; Oval-shaped; 2.35 × 1.40 cm.; 188.05 grains (Sri R. C. TANDAN's Collection).

Obverse : Wide-mouthed lion standing to left before *Indradhvaja* with raised long tail. Below the mouth is a small *svastika* symbol. At top is the Brāhmī legend *raño siri Sāta*....

Reverse : Ujjain symbol occupying almost the entire space. Inside the four circles are miniature *svastika* symbols. In between the two circles is a taurine symbol.

This is a very interesting coin cut out of a twin cast. Occurrence of the lion figure on Sātavāhana coins is rather rare. In the present case the animal is depicted in a life-like manner.

The legend on the obverse does not appear to be complete. It seems that the last three letters *kanisa* are missing. The complete legend thus was *raño siri Sātakanisa*.

On the basis of its type and the early Brāhmī characters, this coin can be assinged to *Sātakarṇi* I.

Coin No. 6 : (Pl.I.6)

Silver; Round; 1.4 cm.; 24.50 grains.

Obverse : Head of the king facing right; a floral ornamentation over the forehead. Brāhmī legend beginning at 12 O'clock reads : *raño Gotamiputasa siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse : In the centre is *vajra* (Ujjain) symbol surmounted by taurines (four crescents around a circle). To the right of the *vajra* is a five-arched hill surmounted by a crescent and with a wavy line under it. The incomplete Brāhmī legend starting about 7 O'clock reads *Yaña Hātakaṇi ku(?)*..

The coin was evidently issued by Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The protrait silver coins of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, so far published, are quite few[9], although their number is much more than the known silver coins of the other three Sātavāhana rulers. The present coin is a welcome addition to the small number of their silver coins. It is well-preserved and the symbols and the Brāhmī legend on it are quite clear.

REFERENCES

1. Hyderabad (1961), pp. 31–3.

2. *EI*, II, pp. 88–89. *See* also Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 271 ff. (Inscription No. 190); *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 197–8.

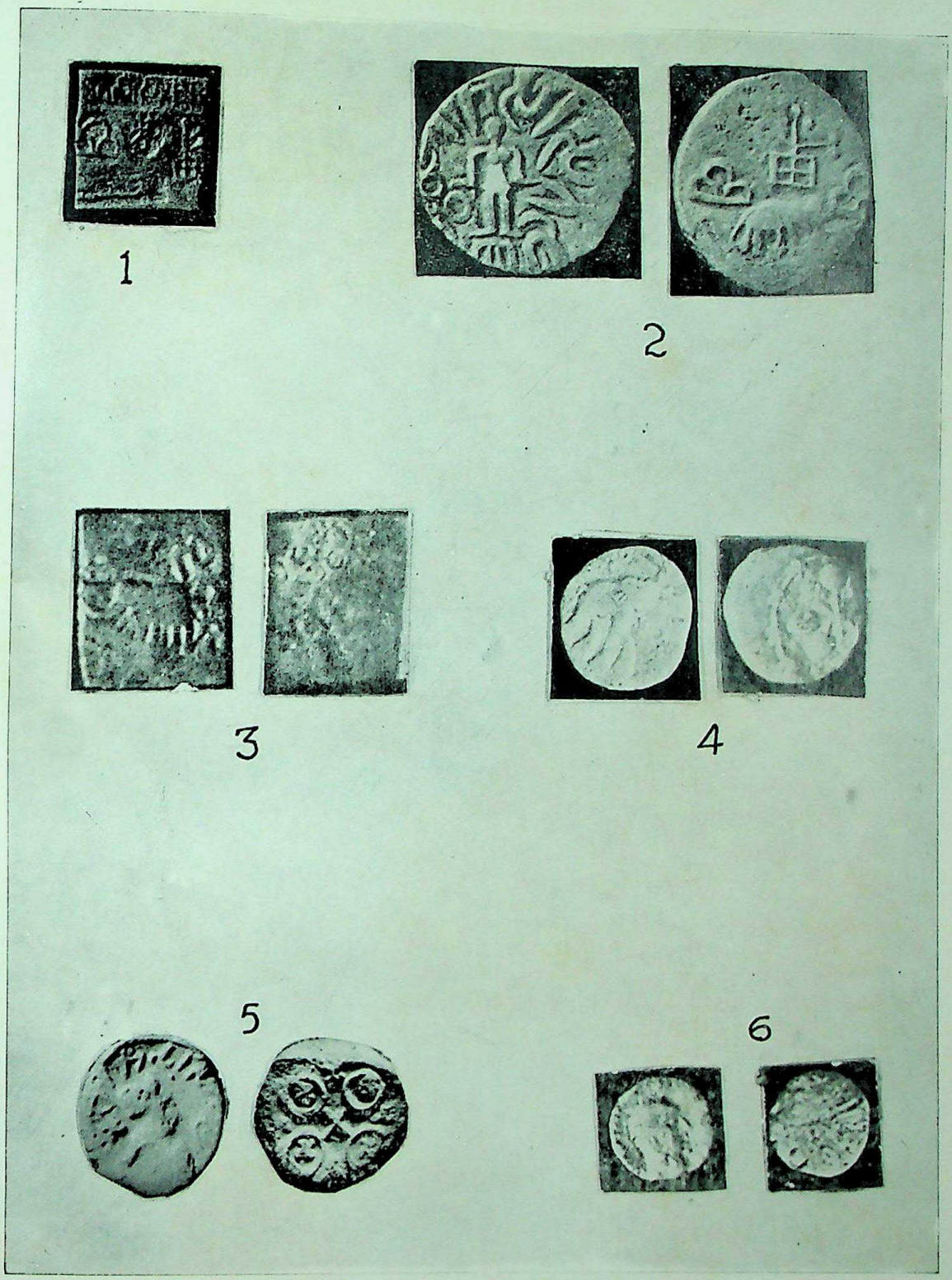
3. See Rama Rao, List of Published Sātavāhana Coins, *JNSI*, XX, pp. 2–6; Rapson, *BMC*, *AWK* (1908), p. 1 and plate; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 94–7; Pl. X, 11; XIII, p. 33, Pl. II, 11; XV, pp. 95–6, Pl. V, 3; XVI, p. 70, Pl. II, 22 and pp. 95–6 (Pl.V, 3).

4. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 33. 5. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 95–6, Pl. V.3. 6. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 94–7, Pl. X, 11.

7. See *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 1–4, Pl. II. 1; VIII, p. 19, fn. 3 and pp. 22–3; XXII, pp. 138–45, Pl. VIII; Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, p.1.

8. For the views of Rapson, Mirashi, Altekar, Rama Rao, Dikshit, Katare and P. L. Gupta, see *BMC*, *AWK*, Intro., p. XCIII; *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35–39; XVI, pp. 77–96.

9. For a detailed discussion on these coins see Ramayya, *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 32–35.



Pl. I : New Sātavāhana Coins.

I : 3

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

by

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

The Sātavāhana rulers became predominant in trans-Vindhyan India after the fall of the Mauryan monarchy. The members of this family, who styled themselves as the 'Lord of Dakṣināpatha', ruled probably from the first half of the first century B. C. down to the first quarter of the third century A. D. The capital of the Sātavāhana empire was Pratiṣṭhāna which has been identified with Paithan on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District, Maharashtra.

The origin of the Sātavāhanas is still shrouded in obscurity. Their original home, family and chronology are moot problems for historians. In the reconstruction of Sātavāhana history, along with the inscriptional and literary sources the coinage of the family has a lion's share.

Scholars like ELLIOT[1], THOMAS[2], BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI[3] and SCOTT[4] studied coins of the Sātavāhanas. But the Sātavāhana coinage was systematically studied by the late E. J. RAPSON in his unique work[5]. In the last two decades scholars like ALTEKAR and MIRASHI have sumptuously contributed valuable articles on the Sātavāhana coinage mostly in the pages of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

After the publication of RAPSON's *Catalogue* considerable evidence has come to light. In last sixty-two years various excavations have unearthed new coin-types and patient explorations have added coins with new symbols. Hence, an attempt has been made to study the social and religious aspects of the Sātavāhana history as revealed by their coinage. Of course, the scope is, however, limited for the simple reason that it is restricted only to the numismatic evidence. RAPSON[6] did not make any distinction in types and symbols of coins because of their common origin and use. Symbols and types are both meaningful because of their immediate appeal and greater realism and thus coins with their types, symbols and legends throw light on socio-religious ideas. They signify the influence of vedic rituals, religious practices, tree and animal worship and popularity of certain cults and sectarian deities.

Coins are not primarily concerned with society and its organization; nevertheless they cannot avoid reflections of social order and life. Sometimes the royal names on the coins record ancient *gotras*. They indicate pattern of society and position of women. Language is a social system and thus coin legends throw considerable light on the articulation of society. Execution of symbols and the minting art suggest contemporary technical achievement. Portrait coins give us an idea

about ancient head-dresses, ornaments and hair styles, etc. The evidence of ear-ornaments, beads and pendants comes from the portrait coins.

The Sātavāhana coins are purely native in character with the exception of a few portrait coins. So far as the symbols are concerned, most of them occur on the punch-marked coins and they have been interpreted by DURGAPRASAD[7], KOSAMBI[8] and many other scholars.

The study of types and symbols of the Sātavāhana coins shows that their scope is very wide. RAPSON[9] has already pointed out that some symbols seem to be the common property of diverse sects. Certain symbols should be regarded as national symbols as they are unanimously accepted by three main theologies, *viz.*, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Their adoption indicates liberal religious attitude of the Sātavāhana kings. The Sātavāhana sovereigns accepted such common symbols on their lead, potin and copper coins which thus linked up the cultural life of the country.

Symbols and types with their significance may be discussed as follows. Sometimes significance of individual symbols can be ascertained, but it is difficult to interpret different combinations and groups of symbols.

Celestial Gods

Sun

The sun, as it stands for light and life, is universally sacred to man. In the Ṛgvedic polytheism, it occupied a high position. It was an important aspect of Brahmanism. Its importance in the Sātavāhana period is reflected in the Naneghat inscription as it begins with salutation to Sūrya[10].

Its spherical representation occurs on the coins of Sātakarṇi II[11] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[12] while the rayed Sun occurs on the portrait coins of Yajña[13]. The solar symbols are also found on the coins of the Mālavas[14].

Moon

The moon is another universal deity. It is a common symbol on the Sātavāhana coins. It occurs in association with the *caitya* symbol and on the orbs of the Ujjain symbol. Its association with the *caitya*, which is otherwise known as the hill symbol, may be justified as it rises from behind the mountains. If the Ujjain symbol denotes four directions and signifies the idea of circumambulation of the Sun, then the combination of the moon with the Ujjain symbol is quite feasible. Along with the Sun, adoration to the moon has also been recorded in the Naneghat inscription[15].

Animal Worship

Representations of bull, horse and elephant frequently occur on the coins of the Sātavāhanas. Bull, the vehicle of Śiva, is guardian of the east.

Bull is represented on the coins of king Sātavāhana[16] and Mahāraṭhi coins[17]. It occurs on the coins of the Mālavas, the Rājanyas and the Nāgas[18].

The symbolism of Nandin has been rightly interpreted by the late Dr. AGRAWALA[19]. Nandin represents the fecundating energy of Kāma. Śiva, the lord of Yoga, conquered the god of love and thus naturally became the lord or rider of the bull. Anthropomorphic representation of Śiva with his

bull is found on the coins of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers like Maues and Gondophernes and those of the Kuṣāṇa kings like Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva.

Bull is greatly honoured in India. It occurs on the Harappan seals[20].

Bull motif is carved on the pillars at Karla[21], Nasik and Pitalkhora, and it also appears in the Amaravati reliefs[22].

In Jainism it is the symbol of the 1st Arhat Ṛṣabhanātha.

Elephant

Elephant is an emblem of royalty. It is supposed to be the guardian of the south. It seems to be a popular device of the Sātavāhana coinage. It is shown facing left and right, trunk upraised or hanging with a jewelled neck. Elephant also appears on the Mālava coins[23].

The Indus seals supply the earliest known representations of elephant in India. The majesticity of elephant has been delineated in a dignified manner on the pillar capitals at Karla, Bedsa and also in the sculptures at Barhut, Bhaja, Sanchi and Amaravati. A white elephant appears in the dream of Māyā and it also appears in hundreds of Jātakas.

Horse

Horse, like bull and elephant, does not seem to be so popular. It occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra[24] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī[25]. Horse-type was current during the reign of Yajña Śrī[26]. It has been depicted on a platform on a coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[27]. Two horses are found on a legendless Sātavāhana coin[28].

Horse is the guardian of the west and also a symbol of sovereignty. It is greatly honoured in the sacrificial institution. It appears on the pillar-capitals at Bedsa and Karla. In Buddhist sculptures it is usually depicted in the departure scene of Siddhārtha.

Lion

Lion again is a symbol of sovereignty. It is supposed to be the guardian of the north. It appears on the coins of Sātakarṇi II[29], Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[30], Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[31], Sātakarṇi IV[32], Śaka Sātakarṇi[33] and Yajña Śrī[34].

In Buddhist sculptures at Barhut, Sanchi, Karla, Bedsa and Amaravati it appears on pillar capitals and in different scenes.

Nāga Cult

Nāga symbol appears on the coins of Sātakarṇi III[35].

In Mythology, sectarian cults and even in sculptures at Barhut, Sanchi, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati the Nāga cult occupies a prominent place. Buddhism, Jainism and even sectarian cults had to admit serpent, although in a subordinate capacity in their religious systems.

Ahi, the serpent, is the form taken by the demon Vṛtra, the enemy of Indra. Of course, there it stands for the evil spirit. In sectarian cults Śeṣa serves as the bed of Viṣṇu and it adorns the neck of Śiva.

The Nāga cult in Buddhism is also noteworthy. Nāga Erāpatra, Mucalinda and Campeya had great reverence for the Master. In sculptures at Amaravati[36] the Nāgas are represented as protecting the *stūpa*. At Nāgarjunakonda[37] Buddha is represented as seated on a Nāga.

Nāga is the symbol of the 23rd Arhat.

The great Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā with her epithet Nāgavaradāyinī was named after Nāga.

Tree Worship

RAPSON[38] has already pointed out that tree in railing is found only on the Āndhra coinage of western or southern India. It is the chief feature of the reverse type of Mahārāṭhi coins. Tree device occurs on the coins of Sātakarṇi I[39], Sātakarṇi II[40], Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[41] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[42]. The tree in railing is found not only on the punch-marked coins but also on the coins of the Kuṇindas, Audumbaras, Yaudheyas and the Mālavas[43].

Tree-cult was very common in India. Plant-forms are portrayed on Harappan seals[44].

Lord Buddha attained enlightenment under a *Pipal* tree at Uruvela. Each Buddha had his own tree. In the *Bhagavadgītā*[45] Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with the *Pipal* tree :

अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणां देवर्षीणां च नारदः

Sectarian Gods

Śiva

In the list of gods and Lokapālas in the Naneghat inscription Śiva is not mentioned. But the names of the Sātavāhana rulers after Śiva and Rudra, of course, suggest Śiva-worship.

Kṛṣṇa

The name of the great Sātavāhana ruler Kṛṣṇa indicates the existence of Kṛṣṇa-worship. In the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[46] the Kṛṣṇa-legend occurs where Kṛṣṇa is called Madhumathana and Dāmodara. Two heroes of Pañcharātra system, *viz.*, Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa, are mentioned in the Naneghat inscription.

Skanda and Lakṣmi

Skanda and Lakṣmī type coins suggest the existence of Skanda and Lakṣmī worship[47].

Auspicious Symbols

Svastika

Svastika is an auspicious symbol. Even at present no Hindu ceremony is performed without depicting this symbol.

It appears on the coins of Sātavāhana[48] and Sātakarṇi I[49]. It is found on the coins of Kauśikīputra[50]. It occurs on the coins of the Aśvakas, Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas[51].

It is a solar symbol and the arms of the *svastika* suggest the movement of the sun. It is related with the spiritual and artistic life of man and is an auspicious symbol in all faiths. It constitutes the symbol of Supārśva, the 7th Jina.

The *svastika* is found on Harappan seals[52] and it decorated vessels of Chalcolithic period from Inamgaon (Maharashtra) and occurs on pottery from Shah Tump.

Pāṇini informs us that the owners of cattle in his time were in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears in order to make them recognized and *svastika* was one of those marks[53].

Svastika occurs in the Jaugaḍa[54] inscription of Aśoka and in the inscriptions in western Indian caves[55] and in the inscriptions of Khāravela[56] and Nahapāna[57].

Caitya[58]

The *caitya*, which is otherwise known as the hill symbol, is a common feature of the coinage of the Sātavāhanas. *Caitya* with three, six and ten arches and a solid type occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[59]. It is found on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Śivaśrī[60] and Śrīyajña.

It appears on punch-marked and tribal coins. On the Kulūta coins the *caitya* symbol is composed of ten semi-circles surmounted by an elaborate *nandipada*[61].

Kosambi[62] took crescent on arches as a sort of monogram used by Candragupta Maurya. It was further interpreted that the arches would signify descents.

Nandipada

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji first mentioned it as *nandipada*. It was so named as it is represented on a rock in the Padan hill along with the name *nandipaam*[63]. It appears on the coins of Viḷivāyakura[64] and Sātakarṇi[65]. It also occurs on the punch-marked coins and on the coins of the Kulūtas, Kuṇindas[66] and Yaudheyas.

Rapson has already pointed out that the symbol is associated with the figures of Śiva and his bull on the coins of Kadphises II. It is not exclusively a Brahmanical symbol as it appears in a more elaborate form in Buddhist[67] and Jain sculptures[68]. Sewell made an ingenious attempt to connect it with Egyptian scarab[69]. It appears in Western Indian caves[70].

Lotus

Lotus appears as a decorative motif in sculptures. It is an attribute of Viṣṇu and is the abode of Lakṣmī. It serves as a seat of Buddha and Prajñāpāramitā. Buddha is shown seated on a lotus at Karla, Kanheri and Ajanta. It is a symbol of the 6th Arhat.

Lotus occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra[71].

Conch-shell

It is another attribute in the hands of Viṣṇu. It occurs on the coins of the Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas and Mālavas. It appears on the coins of Gautamīputra[72] and Yajña Sātakarṇi[73].

River with Fish

Rivers are always invoked as deities. This symbol occurs on the coins of king Sātavāhana[74] and Śri Sātakarṇi[75]. The *vrata* of water is mentioned in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[76].

Astronomical Symbols

Ujjain Symbol

The Ujjain symbol was so named by CUNNINGHAM because of its frequent occurrence on coins found at Ujjain. RAPSON[77] has already remarked that the designation is, however, not sufficiently distinctive since the symbol appears in many other districts of India. The symbol consists of a cross having each of its arms terminated by a ball. The four balls may represent four directions. Gautamīputra might have selected this symbol to signify his sovereignty[78]. Its occurrence on the Ujjain coins may indicate the central position of Ujjayinī. Ujjain is situated on the astronomical line named *madhyamarekhā* which goes through Vatsagulma and Kāñcī. At Ujjain the Cancer line and *madhyamarekhā* intersect each other.

Taurine Symbol

It is so called because it is identical in form with the zodiacal sign of Taurus. BUHLER has pointed out that it is a curious coincidence that the cuneiform sign for taurus should prove so similar in its general outline to its rounded form met with in India[79]. It is found on silver sigloi of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia of the 6th and 7th[80] centuries B. C. and occurs on the coins from Taxila and on the coins of the Aśvaka[81].

Cakra

Symbolism of *cakra* has been interpreted by the late V. S. AGRAWALA[82]. *Cakra* is the perfect symbol of the cosmos and of human life. A frequent description of *Kālacakra* or time-wheel gives an elastic account of the number of spokes as three, five, six and twelve :

द्वादशारं न हि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य ।

R. V. I. 164.11.

AGRAWALA has said that Buddhists have borrowed this description of the *Kālacakra* or *Brahmacakra* almost verbatim for the *Dharma-cakra*.

A wheel with twelve spokes occurs on a coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[83]. NARAIN, who has described the coin, has interpreted that there are twelve *nidānas* of the Buddhist doctrine of *Pāṭiccasamuppāda*, cycle of birth and death, as long as man is in the bondage of ignorance. The writer has further concluded that Puḷumāvi might have embraced Buddhism or at least suggests his leanings towards Buddhism.

Triratna

Triratna symbol is basically a Buddhist symbol which stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. It occurs on the lead coins of Sātakarṇi[84], Mahāraṭhi coins of Andhra Pradesh[85] and on the coins of Kauśikīputra[86].

The Sātavāhana period is a period of an upheaval of new religious ideas. In this period there is an assimilation of Vedic pantheon, sectarian cults and non-Aryan elements. The names of the sectarian gods suggest that the monotheistic movement accepted the path of devotion and that the sectarian gods were superimposed over the sacrificial rituals mentioned in the Nanaghat inscription.

Nowhere Indra occurs in the Sātavāhana coinage, though this Vedic hero-god is adored in the Nanaghat inscription.

The Lokapālas, *viz.*, Vāsava, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama, are mentioned in the Nanaghat inscription[87]. They are absent in the Sātavāhana coinage. The four quadrupeds-lion, elephant, bull and horse — owe their selection primarily to the fact that they were regarded as the guardians of the four quarters.

It is noteworthy that most of the Sātavāhana symbols are the common property of diverse sects. The sun, the moon, tree, hill and river are the symbols of universal appeal. The meaning of such symbols can be understood by people at all places and times. Selection of such symbols indicates the religious eclecticism of the Sātavāhana rulers.

The symbols such as tree-in-railing, *triratna* and *cakra* with twelve spokes[88] may suggest the Sātavāhana leanings towards Buddhism, but the *gotra* names and the names of sectarian gods definitely indicate the main stream of Brahmanism.

Social Aspects

Social Status :

RAPSON has already pointed out that the use of metronymics is characteristic of the Sātavāhana coinage[89]. The Āndhra metronymics are peculiar as they are all derived from the names of Vedic *gotras*. BUHLER[90] explained these as distinctively priestly titles and mentioned that the religious surnames were borne by Āndhra queens in addition to their personal names to honour the royal *purohitas*. But in the Nasik inscription Gautamīputra calls himself *ekabrāhmaṇa*[91].

It may further be stated that the Vedic *gotras*, *viz.*, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Kauśika occurring in the names of Sātavāhana rulers signify their high social status. AGRAWALA[92] has pointed out the practical value of *gotra* names. 'The *gotra* name in ancient time was of great importance to determine the true position of an individual in the democratic social assemblies.' He further interpreted the political character of the *gotras* and mentioned that the descendants of Sāvitrī and Satyavān multiplied as so many families, whose clan developed into the Sāvitrī-putra *Saṅgha* of the Punjab. This spirit to follow the *Saṅgha* model was prevalent in the Punjab in Pāṇini's time. So far we have no evidence of such *Saṅghas* in South. If their feasibility is admitted then it may be interpreted that the Sātavāhana rulers had matrimonial alliances with Gautama and Vasiṣṭha clans. The great Sātavāhana queen was named as Gautamī Balaśrī. It indicates her *gotra* and probably her clan. The names Śivaśrī and Yajñaśrī, glory of Śiva and glory of *Yajña* respectively help to determine the highest social status of the Sātavāhana sovereigns. The suffix *śrī* would be a worthy honorific for a learned Brahmin when it is coupled with '*yajña*'. The solitary instance of Meghasvāti reminds us of the popularity of *nakṣatra* names. Karṇa Sātakarṇi was named after the epic hero Karṇa and Kumbha is the symbol of the 19th Arhat.

Position of Women :

High status of women in the Sātavāhana society has been clearly indicated by the metronymics Gautamī, Vāsiṣṭhī, Kauśikī and Māḍharī. The name of Nāganikā, who performed sacrifices and made donations to Brahmins and acted as a regent during the minority of her son, does not occur on the Sātavāhana coins. Metronymics are altogether absent on the Sātavāhana coins from Vidarbha. Diligent application of metronymics indicates the influence of matriarchal society.

Śaka Relations :

The name Śaka Sātakarṇi[93] suggests close relationship with the Śaka family. The matrimonial alliances with Kṣatrapa family have been explained by the Kanheri inscription[94]. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, co-uterine younger brother and successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, was the husband of a daughter of the great Kṣatrapa Rudra. Another Kṣatrapa influence is suggested by the title *sama* which stands for *svāmī*. This title was borne by the Kṣatrapa rulers and was borrowed by Yajña Sātakarṇi on his ship type[95].

Education :

The Sātavāhana coinage, though crude and rather monotonous, provides copious evidence of the then language. The Sātavāhana rulers used Prakrit language in their coin-legends. The use of *ṣa* for the sixth case ending *sya*, interchange of *sa* and *ha* in the names Sāta = Hāla—Vāhiṭhi for Vāsiṣṭhī suggest conscious awareness for the uplift of Prakrit. SIRCAR has pointed out[96] that the word *tiru* is written as *hiru* in the reverse legend of Yajña Sātakarṇi's coin. *Tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *Śrī* and Prakrit *siri*. The words *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively and indicate regional stamps.

It is obvious that the Sātavāhana rulers supported local technicians and encouraged local craftsmen. Though the coinage is rather crude, it indicates a substantial degree of specialization in technical knowledge.

The Sātavāhana coins showing a single and double mast[97] ship testify that a certain class was engaged in maritime trade and commerce on the eastern coast.

Hair Style and Ornaments :

The evidence entirely comes from the portrait coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[98] and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[99]. The peculiarities of the Bust type of the Sātavāhana coinage have been interpreted by SOHONI[100]. The Dravidian features as reflected in the portrait coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi help us to determine the ethnic origin of the Sātavāhanas. On these coins the king is shown with frizzled hair tied by a diadem with a crest-jewel above the centre of the forehead and ear-rings with long pendants are reaching the shoulders. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* uses *Śekhara* and *kaustubha*[101] for crest jewel. SOHONI has further interpreted that Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī's bust shows the *kākapakṣa* style and the hair-style of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi may be compared with the style mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as प्रलंबकुटिलपल्लवघटितललाटजूटक[102]. It is the style of a foot soldier as described by Bāṇa. A comparison may be made with the foot soldiers' hair style shown in the Ajanta paintings.

Material concerning social aspects as reflected in the coinage is comparatively very meagre, but still the portrait coins definitely add some new evidence.

Lastly, it may be said that the Sātavāhana coinage provides some salient features of social and religious life. The significance of individual symbols may be interpreted, but at present it is rather difficult to interpret the mystic meaning of their combinations; otherwise the language of symbols tells much more than the words.

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I : 4

THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS : TYPES AND THEIR REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

By

PARAMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

This paper is meant only to bring together all the numismatic material relating to the Sātavāhanas, also called the 'Āndhras', that has been receiving attention from the very beginning of the Indian numismatic studies. No serious attempt was ever made to study these coins in their proper context. Some sixty years back RAPSON had published his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc. in the British Museum* and had tried to put together what was known then; but it was no more than an inventory. His observations, in the introduction of the *Catalogue*, were quite all right at the time they were made; but now what he had said has almost become obsolete and needs a fresh assessment. Here I propose to bring together the coin-types and indicate the probable area of their circulation and at the same time to place my own comments in brief, as and when necessary.

I. Vidiśā – Inscribed Punch-Marked Coins :

Some copper coins, square in shape and having five punches, have come to light from Madhya Pradesh. Four of the punches bear the symbols :—

(i) Triangle-headed standard within a railing;

(ii) Ujjain symbol with a crescent over one of the orbs;

(iii) Elephant;

and (iv) River shown by two parallel lines with a row of fishes.

The fifth punch on these coins bears a legend in place of the symbol. The legend in this fifth punch is either *Raño Siri Sātasa* or *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*. Such coins were seen by me in the collection of INDRA KUMAR SINGH of Jamunia, Hoshangabad district, who had picked them from ancient ruins near his village. A coin from his collection was published by KATARE (S. L.); it has the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*[1]. Another coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* was published by CHAUBE (M. C.), who had picked it from the ruins of Tripurī[2]. Recently BAJPAI (K. D.) has published a third coin bearing the latter legend, which he obtained at Vidiśā and is said to have been found in the bed of the river Betwa, near the old mounds of Besnagar[3]. BAJPAI on his coin has identified the symbols a little differently.

The punch-marked nature of their coins was not identified by KATARE and CHAUBE; but BAJPAI rightly realised that his coin was akin to the Eraṇ-Vidiśā punch-marked coins of the Kārṣāpaṇa type. In fact, these coins are in the continued tradition of the square copper punch-marked coins, which are profusely found in Eraṇ-Vidiśā region and are described by ALLAN in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*[4]. These coins are not only extra-ordinary in their fabric but also most important of all the Sātavāhana coins.

The Eraṇ-Vidiśā square copper punch-marked coins have so far not been attributed to any ruler or dynasty; but if they are viewed along with the tradition that the Śuṅgas did not stay long in Magadha after they exterminated the Mauryas and soon shifted to Vidiśā, they may well be attributed to the Śuṅga and Kāṇva rulers; and then in turn, it may be said that the Sātavāhanas issued these coins in the Vidiśā region when they ousted the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas. Thus these coins provide for the first time a firm evidence to corroborate the statements of the *Purāṇas*. The coins of Simuka, whom the *Purāṇas* attribute the destruction of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, might be the anonymous copper punch-marked coins of Eraṇ-Vidiśā.

II. Tripurī – Standing Man (Homo) Type :

Copper and lead coins bearing a standing figure of man and Ujjain symbol with crescent and the legend on one side with two different motifs on the other may be placed in this group. One of the reverses bears four symbols :—

(i) Three-arched hill;

(ii) Tree-in-railing;

(iii) River with fishes, placed vertically;

and (iv) Three-arched hill.

The second reverse bears an elephant in the centre and the four symbols of the first type are placed around it.

The coins of the first type are known exclusively from Tripurī. Two of them were published by KATARE (S. L.); one of them was of lead and had the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* and the other was of copper and had the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*[5]. DIKSHIT (M. G.) had discovered three coins of lead bearing the first legend in the archaeological excavations at Tripurī[6]. The coins of the second type are known exclusively in copper and have the legends *Raño Siri Sātisa*. Only three coins of the type are known. One belonged to the collection of BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI; its provenance is not known[7]. The second coin was published by CHAUBE (M. C.) which he had found at Tripurī[8]. A third coin has recently been obtained by BAJPAI (K. D.) from Vidiśā[9]. Since most of the coins come from Tripuri, I think they were the coins of that region.

III. North Maharashtra – Bull Type :

The Archaeological excavations at Nevasa (35 miles north-east of Ahmadnagar) in North Maharashtra have brought to light a type of coins which bear a bull to right with an auxiliary symbol (which differs with the difference in the legend) and the legend on the obverse, and the reverse, which is not clear on most of the coins, has a tree in railing with or without some symbols on its right and left. The coins are known in lead and copper both; the lead coins are round and the copper ones are square.

The lead coins bear two legends :

(i) *Raṇo Sĩri Sātavāhanasa* with three-arched hill above the bull[10];

(ii) *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* with a triangle-headed standard before the bull[11].

The copper coins are also known as having two legends :

(i) *(Sā)tavāhanasa* without any auxiliary symbol on the obverse[12];

(ii) *Raño Kochi(putasa) Sātakaṇisa* without any auxiliary symbols on the obverse[13].

The coins are distinct not only in their metal and shape but also in other respects. While the lead coins have a symbol on the obverse, the same is missing on the copper ones. Then the coins in lead bear the title *Raño* for *Sātavāhana* which is missing on the copper ones. Similarly, the lead coin bears the name simply as *Siri Sātakaṇi*; the copper coins omit *Siri* and add the matronymic *Kochiputa*. As such, it is unlikely that the lead and copper coins belong to one and the same Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi.

IV. North Maharashtra – Elephant Type (Group A) :

Largest number of the Sātavāhana coins are known as having an elephant on the obverse. They may be classified into two distinct groups, A and B, according to their reverse devices. The coins of Group A have tree as the prominent reverse symbol; the coins of Group B invariably have the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The coins of the two groups belong to two distinct regions.

The coins of Group A, which may be attributed to North Maharashtra and adjoining region, have the elephant on the obverse with some auxiliary symbol and the legend; its reverse has tree in railing with some auxiliary symbols. The reverse of these coins appears to associate them with the coins of Type III. I have distinguished this type in 12 varieties; but in most cases, the coins bear only traces of the legend which cannot be fully deciphered. They may be described as follows :—

1. Copper; rectangular.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; *svastika* and Ujjain symbol surmounted by *triratna* (*nandipada*) placed side by side. Legend at the top *(si)ri Sāta*.

Reverse : Triangle-headed standard in railing in centre; to left *nandipada* above and Ujjain symbol below; to right *śrīvatsa* above and *svastika* below.

A coin of this variety was published by Altekar (A. S.) from B. M. Vyas collection, of which the provenance is not known[14]. The reverse of this type may well be compared with the reverse of Type III. The close similarity places the coin very close to them and most likely they belonged to one and the same region.

2. Round; lead and copper.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk to right; triangle-headed standard in front; above four circles and a crescent. Legend—

(i) *Raño Sātavāhanasa*;

(ii) *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing with symbols to its right and left as found on the coins of Type III.

The coins are known from the excavations at Nevasa[15].

3. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised; below river (deep wavy line) with three fishes. Legend above — defaced.

Reverse : Tree with seven pointed leaves with probably railing below; to left some blurred symbol.

One coin was discovered in Nevasa excavations[16].

4. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to right; four circles with a crescent on some coins; on some *svastika* and one or two other symbols; on some others a *nandipada*. On the basis of these auxiliary symbols, the coins may be distinguished into a number of sub-varieties. Legend conjecturally restored : *Raño Gotamiputasa*.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing with seven leaves, boldly executed; the leaves are arranged in the form of a *cakra*; all the stems meet at the top of the trunk. On some coins the central trunk has a leaf and two horizontal branches have three leaves each.

RAPSON has published a number of coins of this variety[17]; but most of them do not have the distinct traces of the legend. Legend on the basis of the survivals on some coins has been restored here as *Raño Gotamiputasa*; but the auxiliary symbols on the obverse, if seen in the light of the coins of Type III, meant different kings; as such these coins might belong to more than one king.

5. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; above conch and Ujjain symbol. Traces of legend .

Reverse : Tree-in-railing. Tree is shown with long broad open leaves and the railing is compartmented diagonally into lozenge-shaped sections having a dot within each section.

One coin of this variety is mentioned in the *British Museum Catalogue*[18].

6. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; Ujjain symbol above; legend indistinct.

Reverse : Within an enclosure of a line, Ujjain symbol and tree-in-railing placed side by side.

A coin of this type was discovered in the archaeological excavations at Nasik (Mātīcī Gaḍhi mound) by SANKALIA (H. D.)[19]. A similar coin was earlier published by RAPSON[20].

7. Square; copper.

Obverse : Within a double-line border with fishes and *svastika* alternately placed, elephant with upraised trunk; *svastika* and triangle-headed standard placed in front.

Reverse : Within a double-line square border, tree-in-railing with open leaves and Ujjain symbol with a crescent placed side by side; sun symbol on the top right corner and *nandipada* in upper left corner.

Two coins of this variety are described by RAPSON on which the legend is fragmentary[21].

8. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to left. *Svastika* above and tree-in-railing in front. Legend above *Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing and six-arched hill placed side by side, a wavy line below.

A coin of this variety of an unknown provenance is published by ALTEKAR (A. S.) from B. M. VYAS Collection[22].

9 Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to left with trunk upraised. Legend *Sātakaṇi.*

Reverse : Traces of tree-in-railing.

A coin of unknown provenance is published by ALTEKAR (A. S.) from B. M. VYAS Collection[23]. Perhaps a coin published by GADRE (A. S.) from Kamrej (Gujarat) also belongs to this variety[24].

10. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down; river symbol (irregular enclosure with three fishes). Legend above *Raño Siri Sātasa.*

Reverse : Defaced.

It is published in *British Museum Catalogue* from BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI Collection[25]. This is very much similar to the coin of variety 3, with the difference that the trunk of the elephant is upraised there.

11. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down; some symbol above; a goad or dagger-like object in front. Legend indistinct.

Reverse : A standing female figure between two trees-in-railing.

This coin belongs to Indian Museum, Calcutta, and is published by SMITH[26]. The female figure on the reverse reminds of the female figures seen on the early coins of the Gangetic valley.

V. Deccan–Elephant Type (Group B) :

The coins with elephant on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Group B of Elephant type) are generally found in Deccan and are almost unknown in the northern part of the country. They may be distinguished into 10 varieties as follows :—

1. Square; copper.

   Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; in front a symbol made of two flattened circles crossed by a vertical line; above triangle-headed standard vertically placed. Legend above *Raño Siri Sātavāha(nasa)*.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; *śrīvatsa*-like symbol on either side of the upper orb and *svastika* on either side of the lower orb. Above the top orb a big *nandipada* is horizontally placed.

Two coins of this type are known so far; one was published by MIRASHI (V. V.)[27] and the other by DIKSHIT (M. G.) and JOGALEKAR[28]. Both these coins were obtained in the market at Hyderabad. They appear to have circulated in Hyderabad region.

2. Square; copper.

   Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to right; above an arched hill with crescent, *svastika* and *śrīvatsa* placed in a row; legend above.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; *śrīvatsa*-like symbol on either side of the upper orb; symbol on either side of the lower orb is not clear.

A coin of this type is published by RAMAYYA (S.), which he had obtained in Hyderabad market[29]. The coin is well connected with variety 1 by its reverse and may be placed with it. He who issued it was undoubtedly different from Siri Sātavāhana of variety 1; but his name is not clear on the coin. RAMAYYA has tried to identify the legend on both the sides, a feature which is exclusively known in the silver coins. A careful examination of the illustration does not reveal any trace of any letter on the reverse. He has identified *Ha ta me ka sa* on the obverse and suggests that this legend stands for Hatamegha, i. e. Śatamegha and takes him to be Meghasvāti of the Purāṇas. While it is difficult to agree with his identification, it can be said that the coin reveals a new name.

3. Square; copper.

   Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk to right; two flattened circles crossed with a vertical line above. Legend above *Kosakapu(tasa) sa*.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; on either side of the upper orb a symbol similar to that seen on the obverse above the elephant; perhaps similar symbol on either side of the lower orb.

A coin of this variety is published by MIRASHI (V. V.) from KAUS Collection[30]. He has suggested the restoration of the legend as *Raño Kosikiputasa Sātakaṇisa*. But that *sa* after the matronymic stands only for Sātakarṇi cannot be said with any amount of certainty. It may stand for *Siri* or *Sātavāhana* also. The coin is placed very close to coins of Type 1 by the auxiliary

symbol on the obverse. So, it can only be said that the issuer of the coin might be the successor of the issuer of Type 1.

4. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right; trunk-position indeterminable; above *triratna* (*nandipada*), triangle-headed standard and *svastika*. The legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double orbs. Auxiliary symbols not visible. They may or may not exist.

This coin from KAUS collection was published by MIRASHI (V. V.). The legend is fragmentary[31]. MIRASHI has read only *Raño*; but *siri* may also be made out on the coin. MIRASHI has attributed this coin to Kauśikīputra. He thinks that the legend would have been *Raño Siri Kosikiputasa*. But he missed to realise that on the Sātavāhana coins *siri* always follows the matronymic and goes with the name and never precedes the matronymics. The coin belongs to some ruler other than those who issued the coins of the above three varieties.

5. Oval; lead.

Obverse : Elephant standing to right, trunk hanging down. Legend above (*Raño*) *Siri Sādavāha*(*nasa*)

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double orbs and a crescent over one of the orbs. A pellet between each of the two orbs.

A coin of this type was found in the Kondapur excavations and is published by MIRASHI (V. V.)[32]. This coin differs from the coins of king Sātavāhana of the variety 1 described above in not having auxiliary symbol on the obverse; and the auxiliary symbols on the reverse are replaced by pellets. Here a crescent is seen over one of the orbs, which is unknown on the other variety. These most likely suggest that the coin belongs to another ruler named Sādavāhana.

6. Round; copper[33].

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of a single circle; crescent above one of the orbs.

The coins have been found in quite a large number and in several hoards, *viz.*, Chanda Hoard[34], Tarhala hoard[35], Brahmapuri hoard No. 1[36], Kondapur excavations[37] and Bidar hoard[38]. They bear the legends as follows :—

1. *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa*
2. *Raña Siri Puḷumāvisa*
3. *Raña Sātakaṇisa*
4. *Raña Siva Siri Sātakaṇisa*
5. *Raña Siri Khada Sātakaṇisa*
6. *Raña Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*
7. *Raña Siri Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*
8. *Raña Siri Kubha Sātakaṇisa*
9. *Raña Siri Saka Sātakaṇisa*

10. *Raña Siri Pulahamāvisa*

11. (*Raña*) *Kana Sātakaṇi*

12. (*Raño*) *Siri Ruda Sātakaṇisa*

13. (*Raño*) *Siri Sātasa.*

Besides these legends, MIRASHI (V. V.) has read a legend *Raño thutasa* on a coin in KAUS Collection[39]. He read this name with some difficulty. The reading to me is doubtful; but if it is there, it brings a new name. DINKAR RAO has suggested the existence of a coin of this type with the legend (*Raño*) *Cakora Sātakaṇi*(*sa*)[40]; but a careful examination shows that the legend on the coin is simply *Raño Sātakaṇisa.*

7. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to left with trunk upraised; legend *Raño Siri Kana Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Same as on variety 6.

The coins of this variety are exclusively known from the Tarhala hoard and bear only one legend[41].

8. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol as on variety 6.

This type is different from variety 6 not only in shape but also in having the elephant with trunk hanging down. Two coins of this variety from Karvan (Gujarat) were published by GADRE, who doubtfully read the legend as *Gotamīputa*[42]. But the illustrations of the coins are not good and nothing can be said about the reading of the legend; but if the reading is correct, it shows that it had a big legend with matronymic. This is thus a type quite different from variety 6.

9. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down. Legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

The coins of the type, known so far, bear the following legends :—

1. *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.* RAMA RAO (M.) has published a coin with this legend from Chebrolu in Guntur district[43].

2. (*Raño Gotamiputasa*) *Siri Yaña Sātaka*(*ṇisa*). A coin with this legend is published by ELLIOT[44] and the same is catalogued by RAPSON[45]. It hails from the Krishna district.

These coins suggest that they are the issues of the eastern part of Andhradeśa. It appears that Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi were contemporary and one succeeded the other. But the Purāṇas do not mention any Sātakarṇi preceding or succeeding Yajña Sātakarṇi.

10. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to right; legend above.

Reverse : Same as variety 9.

The coins of this variety are known bearing the following legends :—

1. *Siri Ruda* (*Sātakaṇisa*). Three coins are described in the *British Museum Catalogue* from Pearse Collection[46].

2. *Siri Caḍa* (*Sātisa*). Among the large number of coins of this type, described by RAPSON in his *Catalogue* as the unknown coins, a few show the word *siri* and a few others read *Caḍa*[47] and thereby indicate that some coins had *Siri Caḍa Sāti* as the part of their legend. *Śrī Caḍa Sātakarṇi's* coins of Horse type are well-known.

The coins hail from Krishna-Godavari districts and suggest that like the coins of variety 9 they were issued in the eastern part of Andhradeśa.

11. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk hanging down to right; above a symbol, which is not distinct but is identified as a triangle with an angular pan above; a goad or dagger in front. Legend above : *Raño Siva Siri Sāpilakasa.*

Reverse : Blank.

Only one coin of this variety is known so far. It was found in the sands of the Mahanadi at Balpur in the Bilaspur district (M. P.) and was published by DIKSHIT (K. N.)[48]. The coin very much resembles the coins of variety 7, but differs in having the trunk hanging down. The object above the elephant is not known elsewhere on the Sātavāhana coins; but the object before the elephant is the same as is seen on the Elephant type coins of Group A, variety 11. This latter peculiarity places the coin very close to it; but there is nothing to help in dating the coin.

The legend on the coin is perfect and is read by DIKSHIT as *Siva Sirisāpilakasa*. So, the coin is generally attributed to Āpilaka, who is 6th in the list of the Andhra Kings in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. But DIKSHIT had rightly pointed out that the issue of the coin cannot be ascribed to any early Sātavāhana ruler on numismatic ground. He placed the coin with the eastern issues of the later rulers like Śrī Rudra or Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and assigned a date at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A. D. While attributing the coin to Āpilaka, scholars ignored what DIKSHIT had said and at the same time they also overlooked the fact that the name on the coin can be suggested only if *sa* is taken as genitive for the epithet *siri*; but nowhere in the Sātavāhana numismatics *siri* is used in genitive. So the name on the coin is Sāpilaka and not Āpilaka.

VI. Gujarat – Lion Type (*Group A*) :

A few coins are known as having lion as the prominent symbol on the obverse. They may be classified into three distinct Groups — A, B and C on the basis of the auxiliary symbols on the obverse and the devices on the reverse. The coins of Group A are chiefly known from Gujarat and the adjoining territories of north Maharashtra. They may be described as follows :—

1. Square; copper.

Obverse : Within a square border of dots, a lion to right with tail curved and upraised; a bold *svastika*; legend.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted with *nandipada* and tree-in-railing, placed side by side, within a square border of dots.

The coins are known as having the legends as follows :—

(*i*) *Raño Sātakaṇisa* (letters reversed and blundered). RAPSON has described a few coins of this variety which originally belonged to BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI Collection[49]. GADRE has published coins from Kamrej and Karvan (both in Gujarat)[50].

DIKSHIT (M. G.) has also published a coin from Nasik[51].

(*ii*) *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa*. A coin, published by ALTEKAR from VYAS Collection[52], is similar to the above coins; but here the legend is different and it is neither reversed nor blundered. Perhaps, the issuer of this coin was not the same as that of the earlier variety.

2. Square; lead.

Obverse : Same as variety 1; legend *Raña Siri sa*.....

Reverse : Same as variety 1; but the place of the two symbols is interchanged.

A coin of this type was discovered in the excavations at Nevasa[53] and another at Nasik[54]. The Nevasa coin has the legend portion *Raña Siri* very clear on the left side of the obverse. It is followed by a partly seen letter, which has been identified in the Reports as *sa*. The legend on the Nasik coin is completely blurred. SANKALIA (H. D.) had read *puta* on the top right corner. TRIVEDI (H. V.) and I had examined[55] the coin and in our enthusiasm, we had tried to see too much in it and had tried to restore the legend as *Gotamiputa* and had also imaginingly seen a few other letters on the bottom of the left side. We thus had conjecturally restored the legend as *Gotamiputasa Raña Sātakaṇisa*. But now after careful examination of the illustration of this coin along with the Nevasa coin, I am convinced that the legend begins from the lower end of the left side and ends near the *svastika*. As such the coin does not have a long legend. What we had taken as *puta* was *Sāta*; after that there is not much space to cover three letters, *kaṇisa*. So, most likely, these coins have the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*. But this is a tentative suggestion.

3. Square; copper.

Obverse : Lion to left with curved tail upraised. *Nandipada* above; all placed within a double line square border with fishes.

Reverse : Within a double line square border, tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol surmounted by a *nandipada* placed side by side.

RAPSON has mentioned a coin of this variety from BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI Collection[56]. In execution, fabric and symbology, the coin closely resembles the coins of varieties 1 and 2 and differs only in the facing of the lion and the replacing of *svastika* by *nandipada*. The reverse resembles that of variety 2. As such this was issued in continuation of the above two varieties; but it must have been issued by some other king than those who issued the above two varieties. The name of the issuer is off the flan; only *nasa* can be seen on the top corner and it may be presumed that it formed part of *Sātakaṇisa*.

VII. Eastern Deccan – Lion Type (Group B) :

The following coins found in the region of Krishna and Godavari districts and the adjoining territories come under this group.

1. Square and Round; lead.

Obverse : Lion standing right, tree-in-railing in front; legend above.

Reverse : Six-arched hill within a double-line square enclosure; above the top of the enclosure, a broad crescent made of a line surrounded by dots.

RAPSON has published a number of coins of this variety, round as well as square[57]. He has read *Raña* on one coin, *Sakasa(da)sa* on the second and *Sakasa(--)sa* on the third and has restored the name as Saka Sāta or Sakasena and identified him in the latter form with Māḍharīputra Svāmī Śakasena of the Kanheri Inscription[58]. RAMA RAO (M.) has published two similar coins, one from Dharanikota (Guntur District)[59] and another from Amaravati[60]. On the former he reads the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* and on the latter only *puta* with restoration of *mi* before and *sa* after it. But in all probability the legend on all these coins is *Raño Siri Sātasa*.

VIII. Eastern Deccan – Lion Type (Group C) :

The following coins found in the districts of Krishna and Godavari may be described under this group :—

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Lion standing to right; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. Crescent over any orb is not visible.

The following legends are attributed to this variety :—

(i) *Sāmisa Siri Puḷumāvisa*. RAPSON has published two coins from Pearse Collection[61]. On both the legend is incomplete.

(ii) *Sāmisa (si) ri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*. Some coins in the Madras Museum have been described by RAMA RAO (M.) as having this legend[62]. On one of them he reads *Sātakaṇisa*; on the other *Sāmisa* and *r(i) yaña* on the third. Taking all the fragments, he has completed the legend.

2. Square; tiny; lead.

Obverse : Lion to left with tail upraised; legend above.

Reverse : Uncertain.

RAPSON has published a coin of this variety from Pearse Collection. Only four letters of the legend are seen on the coin, which have been read as *(gha)sadasa*[63]. RAPSON places the coin in the first or second century B. C. and identifies the issuer with Meghasvāti, the ninth ruler according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*. But the coin seems to have come from Eastern Deccan, which does not seem to have been under the early Sātavāhana rulers; and the type itself suggests that the coin belongs to some later ruler.

IX. Deccan – Arched Hill Type (Group A) :

Arched hill is another symbol which, like elephant, is seen on many coins. They are found in three distinct forms — three-arched, six-arched and ten-arched and, as such, they form three Groups- A, B and C.

The coins of Group A having three-arched hill may be identified in the following varieties:—

1. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Three-arched hill with two horizontal lines below, one thick and another thin. The arches are thick-lined and separated. Legend around.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs; *nandipada* on all the four sides between each set of two orbs, but a little away.

MIRASHI (V. V.) had published a coin of this variety from KAUS Collection. On it only two letters, *tisa*, appeared below the horizontal lines. MIRASHI restored it as *Sātisa*[64]. He also took the *nandipada* that appeared on the reverse as letters and read it as *Sala*. Later, I noticed that the legend on this coin is to be read from outside, that it begins from about IV and goes round the hill and that three letters, *Raña sa*, also appear on it. The legend was then conjecturally restored by me as *Raña sā(liputasa) Siri Sātisa*[65]. Another coin was then published by DINKAR RAO, where the *nandipada* on the reverse was quite clear on the top and its traces on the left and right were also visible[66]. This showed that there were no letters on the reverse. On the obverse, the letters *ḷumavi* were quite clear. It showed that what was taken to be *ti* on Kaus' coin was *vi*. Both the coins belong to one ruler and bear the same legend which may be restored as *Raña Siri Puḷumāvisa*. A third coin of this variety is in Madras Museum on which *visa* is quite clear[67].

2. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Three-arched hill with a crescent at the top: the basic line below is extended a little on either side; and a line below it. Legend *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a crescent over an orb. Nāga symbol between each set of two orbs.

A well-preserved specimen of the coin of this variety is published by SIDDIQUI (A. H.)[68]. Earlier a coin was published by MIRASHI (V. V.) with the legend truncated[69]. Another coin was published by DINKAR RAO; but there he read the legend partly outwardly and partly inwardly and thus tried to read on it *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*[70]. A similar coin is also known from Nevasa excavations; but on it the legend is blurred[71].

3. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Three-arched hill; below a wavy line; legend around.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

The coins of this variety bear the following legends :—

(1) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa*. Four coins are published by RAPSON. Two of them are from Gudivada[72]. Madras Museum also has some similar coins[73].

(2) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siva Siri Puḷumāyisa.* RAPSON has mentioned three coins in his *Catalogue*; but they do not show the last word. RAPSON has, without giving any reason, conjecturally restored it as *Sātakaṇisa*[74]. But MARTIN has published a coin which bears a complete legend[75]. RAMA RAO has also read the complete legend on a coin in Madras Museum[76].

(3) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Caḍa Sātasa.* This legend has been read as-*vaḍa Sāta* by CUNNINGHAM[77] and *vaḍa Sātaka(ṇi)* by SMITH[78]. But RAPSON maintains that the first letter is undoubtedly *ca*, whenever it can be seen distinctly[79]. Madras Museum also has a coin with this legend according to RAMA RAO.[80]

(4) *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.* Many coins having this legend are catalogued by RAPSON and on some of them the legend may be read distinctly[81].

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with crescent; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

RAPSON has published a coin from Pearse Collection where *Sātakaṇisa* is legible and the restoration of *Ruda* before it seems probable[82]. However, a coin published by MARTIN bears distinctly....*putasa Siri Ruda Sā(takaṇisa)*[83].

5. Square; copper.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with a crescent; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of a single circle.

MIRASHI (V. V.) has publsihed a coin of this type from Kaus Collection, where only two letters of the legend are available on the lower left side[84]. He has read it from inside as *ṇaka* and taken it to mean *Nāga* and attributed the coin to some feudatory of the early Sātavāhanas. But the legend is to be read from outside as *kaṇa* and forms part of *Sātakaṇi*. A similar coin is known from the Brahmapuri excavations, on which *putasa Sara Sāta(kaṇisa)* is read; but it is not clear[85].

X. Deccan – Arched Hill Type (Group B) :

In this group may be placed those coins which have six-arched hill. They are :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Six-arched hill with crescent at the top; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

RAPSON has attributed all the coins of this type that he knew to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and has suggested the legend *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* on them[86]. But all his coins, except one, have only the matronymic portion of the legend; only one coin has (*sa*) *ra Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[87]. RAMA RAO is of opinion that the coins which do not show *Yaña* should be ascribed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[88]. But while it may be said that some coins belong to Yajña Sātakarṇi, evidence is yet to be found that coins of this type also belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

2. Round; lead.

Obverse : Six-arched hill with crescent; a wavy line below; triangle-headed standard with base on left and *svastika* on right.

Reverse : Same as variety 1.

The legend on two coins published by RAPSON has been restored as *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[89]; but none of them has the complete legend and the name portion is missing on them; but a few coins in the Madras Museum show the latter part of the legend and indicate that the coins were issued by Yajña Sātakarṇi[90]. RAMA RAO has published a coin of this type in his list under Gautamīputra Sātakarni[91]; but on it only the fragment *Raña Gota* is available, which is not enough for the attribution.

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Same as variety 2, but *svastika* on either side of the hill.

Reverse : Same as varieties 1 and 2.

RAMA RAO (M.) has listed a coin of this type under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[92]; but it bears incomplete legend *Raña Gotamiputasa*. In view of the earlier two types, it is more likely that this also belongs to Yajña Sātakarṇi. But without better specimen, no proper attribution is possible.

RAMA RAO has also mentioned a coin in the Madras Museum having six arches with the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhi(putasa)*; but he does not say if the hill has a crescent. If it has a crescent then it belongs to this variety and was issued by some ruler having the matronymic *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*.

XI. Deccan – Arched-Hill Type (Group C) :

In this group may be placed those coins which have ten-arched hill on the obverse. They may be described as follows :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

This variety is known with the following legends :

(1) *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri....* The coins with this legend are known exclusively from the Madras Museum and published by RAMA RAO[93]. Since on them the legend is fragmentary, the coins cannot be properly attributed; but it is not unlikely that it relates to Yajña Sātakarṇi.

(2) *Sāmisa Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri....* These coins are also known in the Madras Museum[94]. A coin of the variety with this legend is also published by RAMA RAO from Nalakondapalli[95]; there too the name of the issuer is missing. Quite likely the coins belong to Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvī.

2. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; triangle-headed standard with base to left and *svastika* to the right of the hill; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

A few coins of this type are known in the Madras Museum; on them RAMA RAO has read *Raño Gotamiputasa*[96]; a coin has the legend (*Sata*)*kaṇisa*. It is quite likely that the coin belonged to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; *svastika* to left and lotus to the right of the hill; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Madras Museum has a coin with the legend partly visible as *Yaña Sātakaṇi*[97]. In this case, it may well be said that the complete legend might have been *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* and that the coin belonged to Yajña Sātakarṇi.

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; the hill is broad on the sides and squatting in the height; at times the arches are closed; to left lotus bud; to right conch-shell; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs and crescent over one of the orbs.

RAPSON has published two such coins[98]; their arches are closed. But a coin in the Madras Museum has the arches open[99]. The legend on them is *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*.

A Madras Museum coin is described as having ten arches of the squatting type without crescent and the side symbols, i. e. the hill is plain[100]. But the illustration is not enough to enable us to know if the device was really plain. However, interest lies in the fact that it bears the legend *Satasa* below the hill, which means that it was issued by some other ruler than Yajña Sātakarṇi.

XII. Deccan – Horse Type :

A large number of lead coins bearing horse on one side are known from the Krishna and Godavari districts; but most of them do not disclose legend. They cannot be attributed properly nor much can be made out of them for history. Those few, which have some legend, may be described as follows :—

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing to right; a *śrīvatsa* symbol above and a spherical object in front; legend around.

Reverse : Six-arched hill with crescent and a tree in railing placed side by side over a rectangular platform which is ornamented with a wavy line and dots.

The following legends have been identified so far :—

(1) *Ha*(*riti*....) *ta ma ma sa*. RAPSON has read this legend on a coin found at Bhathapalli in Anantapur district and published by him[101].

(2) *Raña Vāsiṭhiputasa Sātakaṇisa*. GUPTE (Y. R.) has described a few coins from Bhathapalli with this legend and obverse of this variety[102]. He, however, does not describe the reverse.

(3) *Raño*.....*Puḷumāvisa*. RAMA RAO (M.) has described a coin from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay[103]; but I am not sure of this coin.

2. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse to right; *śriyatsa* symbol above; some object which looks like a truncated human figure; legend around.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing and ten-arched hill with crescent above and dots in arches placed side by side over a platform ornamented with wavy line and dots.

ALTEKAR (PADMA) has published a coin of this type from Amaravati[104]. The legend on the coin is uncertain.

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; crescent above; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

Both the types with the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* have been attributed by RAPSON to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi[105].

5. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; some indistinct object (altar identified by RAPSON) before it; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

6. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

Both these varieties have the legend *Siri Caḍa Sātakaṇisa*[106]. They are published by RAPSON. SMITH reads *ya* in place of *ca* in the name *Caḍa*[107].

7. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing left; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

The variety is published by RAPSON with the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[108].

XIII. Deccan – Wheel Type :

A perfect and beautiful coin from the collection of Kaus published by NARAIN (A. K.)[109] is as follows :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : A wheel of twelve spokes; legend around. *Raña Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.

XIV. Coromandal Coaste – Ship Type :

A few coins having a ship on the obverse are known from various places on the Coromandal coast; but most of them do not reveal the legend. Those few, which bear some legend, may be described as follows :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : A ship of two masts with a fish and a conch indicating the sea; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with crescent over one orb.

The legends on these coins are identified as follows :

(1) *(sā)m(i)sa S(i)ri Pu(ḷumāvisa)*. RAPSON has read *Siri Pu (ḷumā)visa* on a coin[110]; but what he has read as *visa* is really the part of the title *Sāmisa*. The full legend has been restored by MIRASHI (V. V.)[111].

(2) *Raña Sāmisa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*. MIRASHI has published a coin with this legend from Chebrol in Guntur district[112] and another coin was obtained at a scrap dealer's shop at Poona[113].

XV. Tamiladeśa – Silver Portrait Type :

A few silver coins are known as follows :—

Obverse : The head of the king to right with a circular legend in Brāhmī-Prakrit.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with crescent on an orb and six-arched hill placed side by side; sun symbol between the two; a wavy line below; a circular legend around in Brāhmī-Támil, meaning the same as the legend on the obverse.

These coins are known of the four rulers as follows :

(1) *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi*. Only four coins are known[114]. They bear the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa* on the obverse and *Aracanaku Vācittimākuṇaku thiru Cātakaṇiku*[115] on the reverse.

(2) *Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi*. Seven coins are known[116]. They bear the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* on the obverse. The reverse legend is not yet fully read; but perhaps it is *Aracaṇaku Gotamiputaku thiru Yaña Cātakaṇiku*[117].

(3) *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi*. Only one coin is known so far[118]. The legend on this coin is not clear; but in its truncated form, it might be *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa*. On the analogy of the above coins, the reverse Tamil-Brāhmī legend would be *Aracaṇaku Vāsiṭhiputaku* (or *Vācittimākuṇaku*) *thiru Puḷumāviku*.

(4) *An unnamed king*. A coin found in the river Madha, a tributary of Mahānadi, at Balpur in Raigarh district (M. P.) is in extremely poor condition[119]. Legend on it cannot be made out.

The most important fact that deserves our attention is the bi-lingualism of these coins. All the other coin-types of the Sātavāhanas are uni-lingual and bear uniformly Prākrit legends. If these coins were meant for the same region, where other coin-types were current, the Prākrit legend on these coins too would have served the purpose well. But if these coins have the legend on the other side in a different dialect, it undoubtedly meant that they were issued for an area, where the Prakrit was not known or at least was not popular. Since the dialect of the reverse side is identified as Tamil, it may well be said that they were meant for Tamiladeśa. It may then also be postulated that these coins were most likely inspired by the Roman *denarius*, which were then inflowing in the country through trade and were known in quite a large number in the South.

XVI. North Maharashtra – Silver Counterstriking Type :

A big hoard of some 13,220 silver coins was discovered in 1906 near the village Jogalthambi in the Nasik district[120]. It contained exclusively the coins of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna; of them 9,270 were restruck with the devices and the name of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Only a few coins of the hoard are now available in the museums for study; rest were melted at the mint. They show the re-striking devices as follows :—

One side : Arched hill; a wavy line beneath; legend around *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*. The hill symbol is distinguishable in two forms :

(i) three-arched;
and (ii) six-arched.

Each of the two varieties has four forms :

(i) simple hill;
(ii) with pellet in each arch;
(iii) with crescent above;
(iv) with crescent above and pellet in each arch.

Other side : Ujjain symbol with orbs of one circle. This is distinguishable in six forms :

(i) plain;
(ii) with crescent over one of the orbs;
(iii) with pellets in each orb;
(iv) with crescent over one orb and pellets in orbs;
(v) with pellets in each orb and round centre;
and (vi) with crescent over an orb, pellets in orbs and round centre.

On the basis of the forms of the obverse and reverse devices TRIVEDI (H. V.) had noticed thirteen pairs of striking devices[121]. A few more pairs were noticed by me amongst the coins of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

It is also noteworthy that the counterstruck coins of Nahapāna are not known outside the Jogalthambi hoard. But it is difficult to believe that so many devices were introduced only to punch a few thousand coins of the vanquished opponent. Their purpose undoubtedly would have been originally to strike Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's own coins. That coins with the three-arched hill and Ujjain symbol in lead were being struck in the period of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is suggested by the Nevasa excavations, where a lead coin of the type has been found in the layer which yielded

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's coins of other types[122]. Unfortunately this coin is fragmentary and the legend is missing; otherwise, something could have been said with authenticity.

That these devices were actually used for issuing silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is borne out by the coin, said to have come from Ujjain and published by ALTEKAR (A. S.)[123]. It may be described as follows :

Obverse : Six-arched hill with pellets in each arch; below a wavy line; legend around *Raña Gotami*.....

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb.

Legend being incomplete on the coin, ALTEKAR attributed this coin of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He relied upon RAPSON, who had remarked that the change from three-arched hill to six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi[124]. But we now know that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi did use six-arched hill device for counterstriking Nahapāna's coins. Moreover, the coins issued by Yajña Sātakarṇi in lead have the six-arched hill with crescent and Ujjain symbol of double-circled orbs. Both these features are lacking in the above coin. So it could not be attributed to Yajña Sātakarṇi. It can only be the coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[125].

Besides these types, RAPSON has attributed a few more types and varieties to the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories. But that they do not belong to the Sātavāhanas is now well-known from a number of excavations and they need not be discussed here.

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2. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 110–11, Pl. VI.2.
3. *INC*, VI, pp. 43–44.
4. *BMC, AI*, pp. 141–144.
5. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35–36, Pl. II.13–14.
6. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 70–71, Pl. II.21.
7. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 615, fig. 2; *BMC, AK*, p. 1, Coin 2, Pl. I.
8. *JNSI*, XVI, p. 95, Pl. V.3.
9. *INC*, VI, pp. 43–44.
10. H. D. Sankalia and others, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa (Nevasa)*, pp. 171–72; coins 1175, 1981, Pls. 74.1, 75.1; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139, Pl. VIII.3.
11. *Nevasa*, p. 179; Coins 1810, 6710, 6659, 1369, 1712, 4695. Two others are not described.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 171, Coin 2184, Pl. 74.3.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–189, coins 1195, 942, Pl. 81.4-5. The legend on the coins has been restored by me after carefully examining the coin.
14. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 26–27, Pl. II.6.
15. *Nevasa*, p. 172; coins 6490, 3640, Pls. 75.1, 76.1; pp. 180–81, coins 6863, 6544, Pl. 78.2.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 198, coin 1573; Pl. 82–6.
17. *BMC, AK*, p. 17, coins 60–86, Pl. IV.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17, coin 59, Pl. IV.
19. *JNSI*, XV, p. 205, Pl. VII.2.
20. *BMC, AK*, p. 3, coins 2–3; Pl. I.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 3, coins 5–6; Pl. I.
22. *JNSI*, IV, p. 25, Pl. II.4.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 27, Pl. II.7.
24. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 27, Pl. II.1.
25. *BMC, AK*, p. 1, coin 1; Pl. I.
26. *IMC*, I, p. 212; Pl. XXIII.21.
27. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1–2, Pl. II.1.
28. *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 5–6; *JNSI*, VII, p. 113.
29. *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 91–93; Pl. II.7.
30. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 116–7; Pl. VIIIA.1.
31. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 134; Pl. VI.6.
32. *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 5–6, Pl. II.11.

33. Rapson has taken these coins to be made of an alloy of copper which he has termed as potin (*BMC, AK*, intro., p. lxxx). This term is now in vogue for these coins amongst the scholars. But an analysis of the coins shows that they contain only copper (*NS*, XLII, p. 31).

34. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1892, p. 117 ff. 35. *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–94; Pl. VIII.

36. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, No. 5 (1955–57), pp. 62–64.

37. *Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1940–41, p. 16 ff.; *Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1941, p. 21 ff.; *ABORI*, XII, p. 180 ff.; *Kondapur* (Monograph published by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department).

38. *JNSI*, XV, p. 76. 39. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 334; Pl. III.13, 13A. 40. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 18–19; Pl. I.3.

41. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91. 42. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 27–28, coins 2–3; Pl. II.2–3.

43. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 75, Pl. I.20. 44. *CSI*, p. 152B, Pl. II.43. 45. *BMC, AK*, p. 41, coin 164; Pl. VI.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 46, Pl. VII G. P. 2–4. 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. 48. *NS*, XLVII, pp. 93–94.

49. *BMC, AK*, p. 4, coins 9–12; Pl. I. 50. *JNSI*, XII, p. 28, coins 5, 9, 10. 51. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 33–34; Pl. II.12.

52. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 28, Pl. II.8.

53. *Nevasa*, p. 182; coin 3007; Pl. 79.3.

54. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 54–55; Pl. II.19. 55. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 90–91; Pl. V.4. 56. *BMC, AK*, p. 4, coin 8, Pl. I.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12, coins 33-46, Pl. III. 58. *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxv.

59. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 74–75, Pl. I.19.

60. *JDHC*, II, p. 84, coin 43; Cf. Monograph, p. 10, coin 49. 61. *BMC, AK*, p. 24, coins G. P. 2–3; Pl. V.

62. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Government Museum*, Madras, (Bulletin of the Museum), pp. 5, 17.

63. *BMC, AK*, p. 28, coin GP4, Pl V. 64. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 132, Pl. VI.3. 65. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 180.

66. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 147–49; Pl. VIII.10. 67. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 1.

68. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 54–55, Pl. III.1. 69. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 133; Pl. VI.4.

70. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 68–69; Pl.I.5. 71. *Nevasa*, p. 206; coin 4106; Pl. 83.6.

72. *BMC, AK*, p. 20, coins 88–89, Pl. VI.GP1.

73. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 10.

74. *BMC, AK*, p. 29, coins 115–16; Pl. V. 75. *NS*, XLV, p. 61, coin 2.

76. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 12.

77. *CAI*, p. 110. 78. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 623.

79. *BMC, AK*, intro., p. lxxii; p. 30, coins 117–34; Pl. VI.

80. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 13.

81. *BMC, AK*, intro., p. 35, coins 135–38; Pl. VI. 82. *Ibid.*, p. 47, Pl. VII.GP5.

83. *NS*, LXV, p. 61, coin 3. 84. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 172–74, Pl. X.3.

85. *BDCRI*, XXI, pp. 49, 72, coin 110. 86. *BMC, AK*, p. 36, coins 139–45; Pl. VI.

87. *Ibid.*, coin 140. 88. *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 45. 89. *BMC,AK*, p. 37, coins 146–47; Pl. VI.

90. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 15–16, coin 28.

91. *JDHC*, II, p. 82, coin 14; cf. Monograph No. 34. 92. *Ibid.*, p. 82, coin 13; cf. Monograph No. 33.

93. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 16, coin 44.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 47. 95. *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 44, coin 15; Pl. V.16.

96. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum.*, p. 16, coins 37, 39.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 42. 98. *BMC, AK*, p. 34, coins 133–134.

99. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 16, coin 48.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 45. 101. *BMC, AK*, p. 25, coin 105, Pl. V. 102. *IA*, XI, p. 173.

103. *JDHC*, II, p. 88, No. 76; cf. Monograph No. 70. 104. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 17 ff., Pl. I.18.

105. *BMC, AK*, pp. 38–39, coins 148–54; Pl. VI. 106. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, coins 125–131; Pl. VI.

107. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 623. 108. *BMC, AK*, p. 39, coin 161; Pl. VII.

109. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 178–79; Pl. IX.19. 110. *BMC, AK*, intro., pp. lxxxi–lxxxii, pp. 22–23, Pl. V.

111. *JNSI*, III, p. 44. 112. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44. 113. *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 174–75.

114. (i) Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Gopalachari, *Early History of the Āndhradeśa*; Pl. I; *JNSI*, XI, pp. 59–63.
(ii) *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 9–12.

(iii) *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 32–35.
(iv) S. M. Shukla Collection. Noticed in *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 107 (Coin is now reported lost.).

115. This is the final reading by Ramayya (*Ibid.*, XXX, p. 75). [For a different reading, see I : 6 below – Ed.].

116. (i) Discovered in the Stūpa at Sopara. *JBBRAS*, XV, p. 305; *BMC, AK*, intro., pp. xc, 45.
(ii) From Amreli in Kathiawar in the British Museum, *BMC, AK*, intro., xc, p. 45.
(iii) From Baroda, *BMC, AK*, Pl. VII.
(iv) Found in the excavations at Besnagar. *ASI, AR*, 1913–14, p. 208, Pl. LXV.22.
(v) From Tripurī, *JNSI, XII*, p. 127.
(vi) In the Collection of Bala Sahib Patil of Paithan *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 98.
(vii) Recently shown to me by M. C. Chaube, Jabalpur.
[For another silver coin of Yajña Sātakarni, see above I. 2, Coin No. 6–Ed.].

117. This is my suggestion on the basis of a comparative study of the legends on these coins and on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

118. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1–4.

119. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 107 ff.

120. *JBBRAS*, 1907.

121. *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–99.

122. *Nevasa*, p. 166; coin 4363; Pl. 74.3.

123. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 111–12, Pl. VII.3.

124. *BMC, AK*, intro., p. lxxiii.

125. [That, this coin actually belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and not Yajña Sātakarṇi, has been shown earlier by P. J. Chinmulgund (*JNSI*, IX, pp. 93–94; X, pp. 22–23) and myself *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. – D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1920), pp. 113–119 – Ed.].

I : 5

CONTACTS AND INFLUENCES AS REVEALED BY THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

By

A. N. LAHIRI

Some older scholars thought that the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas are placed by the Purāṇas amongst the rulers of Magadha[1]. But there is no evidence to show that they had anything to do with that region. As far as we know, they were predominantly a South Indian power and were, for all practical purposes, the first known ruling dynasty of the Deccan, even though the question of their actual homeland is far from settled.

However, the Sātavāhanas introduced a characteristic coinage which was evidently the earliest 'universal' currency of the region. It consists mainly of coins of minor metals, *viz.*, copper, potin (an alloy of copper and tin) and lead. While there is no record of a gold coin, unique or rare silver pieces are known of three or four Sātavāhana kings.

Motifs depicted on Sātavāhana coins of minor metals include certain broad devices like the figure of elephant, lion or horse and some traditional Indian symbols such as the tree-in-railing, the so-called Ujjain symbol, hill symbol, river symbol, etc. It is only the rare silver coins that depict on the obverse the issuer's head, but even there the reverse depicts a group of indigenous symbols like the crescent-topped hill, wavy line (or river), star, etc. As it appears, one or more of these devices and symbols probably served as the heraldic stamp or cognizance of the issuing authority.

Sātavāhana issues of minor metals generally bear on one side short or fragmentary Prakrit legends written in early Brāhmī characters. Rare silver pieces, on the contrary, bear somewhat longer legends on both sides. While the obverse legend is in Northern Prakrit and written in early (Northern) Brāhmī, the reverse legend is but a literal rendering of the obverse writing in what appears to be Dravidian Prakrit written in Southern Brāhmī characters.

However, we are here to see —

(a) if a critical study of the Sātavāhana coinage betrays any sign of contact in the form of direct or indirect influence upon itself;

and (b) if the Sātavāhana currency on its part had cast any influence on other contemporary or later coins.

V. A. SMITH made a somewhat sweeping remark regarding the alleged 'northern characteristics' of the coins of the Sātavāhanas, even though, as far as he knew, "there was no reason to suppose

that any part of India to the north of the Narmada ever came under the Andhra sovereignty". SMITH maintained that "the coins of the dynasty are Northern rather than Southern in type, and, in fact, have nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South"[2]. Some later scholars also laid a special stress on the so-called 'northern characteristics' of the Sātavāhana coinage[3]. But it may be pointed out *in a general way* that 'the peculiar coinage of the South', to which SMITH refers, is evidently of a date later than the times of the Sātavāhanas, and, naturally, therefore, should not be contrasted with the Sātavāhana issues of ancient times.

However, it must be admitted that some of the prominent devices and symbols which occur on Sātavāhana coins are seen on the most primitive issues of Northern India, specially of Malwa, with which region early Sātavāhana kings appear to have been politically connected[4]. In fact, the somewhat obscure and perhaps the earliest known potin and copper issues of the Sātavāhanas, as illustrated in Plate I (Nos. 5-9) of RAPSON's *British Museum Catalogue of Andhra Coins*, betray a close similarity with the early uninscribed issues of Eran and Ujjain[5]. Besides their shape which is 'square' like the Eran-Ujjain pieces, they are of the same fabric as the latter issues. Moreover, these obscure square Sātavāhana coins have devices like the Ujjain symbol, the figure of elephant, the tree-in-railing and the solar symbol in common with the latter issues[6]. Of course, it is not easy to determine exactly from which coins the Sātavāhanas derived these symbols, since we find their extensive occurrence on various other archaic issues of Northern India[7]. These symbols were evidently the common property of diverse sects in different parts of ancient India[8]. Then, the use of Prakrit and Brāhmī script of the Northern variety on the part of the Sātavāhanas also indicates their indebtedness to the early coins of Northern India.

So far as the earliest known coins coming from South India are concerned, we do not know how far the *common* 5-symbol 32-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins (which are probably of North Indian origin)[9] exerted an influence on the Sātavāhana issues, which show certain symbols commonly seen on those punch-marked coins and other North Indian archaic coins. But the distinctively *local* 4-symbol 12-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins represented by the Singavaram (Krishna District) hoard[10] may not be void of interest in the present context. It is quite likely that the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings adopted from these primitive coins of their own region the figure of elephant and tree-in-railing which occur extensively on the peculiar silver coins of the Singavaram hoard.

The chief characteristic of the Sātavāhana coinage is the use of unusual metals like potin and lead. Quite a large number of Sātavāhana kings issued potin coins for certain regions of their dominions. Besides them some five Western Satrap rulers and two Kura kings of Kolhapur issued some potin coins[11]. Potin coins of the Western Satraps appear to have been issued for use in Malwa[12].

Lead was used extensively for coining purposes by the Sātavāhanas. Quite a large number of princes of various localities also used lead coins apparently on the analogy of the Sātavāhana issues.

Why the Sātavāhanas chose lead for their coins is not known. Evidently they found it convenient for manufacturing coins, and apparently it had a greater intrinsic value in those days and was available in plenty, specially by import, as is indicated by the statement of the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[13]. It is noteworthy that two foreign rulers of Northern India, *viz.*, Strato II and Rañjuvula[14], used lead for preparing certain types of their coins. It is not unlikely that the Sātavāhana issues inspired them in this respect. Lead was also used for coining purposes by the so-called Kura kings of the Kolhapur region[15], chiefs like Sadakaṇa-kaḷāḷāya Mahāraṭhi of Chitradurga District[16] and Cuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda of Karwar District[17], and the Western

Satrap ruler Rudrasena III[18], besides the princes of the Ikṣvāku dynasty ruling in the Krishna-Guntur-Godavari region[19] and the Bodhi chiefs whose territory probably lay in certain undefined area in Western India[20].

But the rare silver issues of the Sātavāhanas betray unmistakable and direct influence of the silver coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India with whom they would often come into conflict. We do not know if Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who defeated Nahapāna struck any silver coin of his own. He, however, overstruck the normal silver coins of the vanquished Scythian ruler with his own symbols and name. While he put the crescent-topped Ujjain symbol on one side of Nahapāna's coins, on the other side was impressed the crescent-topped three-peaked hill with wavy line below and the circular legend which reads *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*[21].

About a dozen characteristic silver coins of Sātavāhana kings are however known. One of them with indistinct legend, once ascribed by A. S. ALTEKAR to Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[22], has been taken to be an issue of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by P. J. CHINMULGUND[23] and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI[24]. A second coin bearing a blurred legend with two letters of the reverse writing, *pu* and possibly *ḷu* somehow visible, has been tentatively assigned to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi by H. V. TRIVEDI[25].

Besides the two controversial pieces ascribed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and another specimen not attributable to any particular king because of its blurred legend[26], we know of at least three silver pieces of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[27] and some six coins of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[28]. All these known specimens of Sātavāhana silver issues were evidently modelled on the characteristic silver coins of the Scythian Satraps of Western India, since they are of the same weight and fabric as those of the latter rulers.

As we have shown elsewhere, Sātavāhana silver pieces are of the weight of 20 *rattis* like the Western Satrap issues, which were evidently adopted from the light-weight bilingual Indian drachms of the Greek rulers of India[29]. The fabric and design of the Sātavāhana issues are also similar to those of the Scythian princes. The obverse bears the realistic head of the king while the reverse has certain dynastic or personal emblems. The bilingual formula is also adopted[30]. While the obverse has the title and name of the issuer in Northern Prakrit written in Northern Brāhmī characters, the reverse bears its rendering in a sort of Southern, or rather Dravidian, Prakrit inscribed in what may be called Southern Brāhmī letters.

But when studied critically, Sātavāhana silver coins do not betray any sign of slavish copying of Western Satrap prototypes, even though they adopt their general convention in the matter of weight-standard, fabric, device and bilingualism. The artists of the Sātavāhana mints introduced in their issues an amount of originality never before witnessed in Indian coins. And in this respect they far surpass in design and beauty the silver coins of the North Indian tribes which were struck in imitation of the silver coins of the Greek kings of India[31].

Then, a distinct deviation was made in the matter of depicting the portrait of the Indian monarch. A highly realistic head was executed in purely Indian fashion[32]. The typical Western Satrap flat cap was rightly discarded and the capless head of the Sātavāhana king was quite faithfully depicted as wearing a crest-jewel, and in the case of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi the bejewelled royal head was adorned with ear-ornament and the Brāhminical *śikhā*. The utterly corrupt Greek-type obverse legend which virtually served the purpose of a border-decoration around the obverse portrait of the Western Satrap coins, was replaced by a clearly legible Northern Prakrit legend written in (Northern) Brāhmī characters. On the reverse the device of the Western Satrap coins gave place

to the Sātavāhana device consisting of the crescent-topped Ujjain symbol and the six-peaked hill with a wavy line below. And finally was written an interesting circular legend around the reverse device, which is but a faithful Dravidian Prakrit rendering of the obverse (Northern Prakrit) legend in what look like Southern Brāhmī characters.

Then with regard to the impact of Sātavāhana coins on contemporary and somewhat later coins we may cite quite a few instances. The unusual metals, potin and lead, which the Sātavāhanas were the first to use extensively for their coins, were also employed, apparently in imitation of the Sātavāhana issues, by many contemporary and later rulers, as we have already seen. We may, however, study in detail coins which adopted the Sātavāhana types and fabric.

The use of the 'Hill' symbol on the reverse of the coins of Western Satrap princes of the Kārdamaka family appears to have been adopted from the coins of the Sātavāhanas. It does not appear either on those of the Kṣaharāta princes Bhūmaka and Nahapāna nor on the initial issue of Caṣṭana, the first coin-issuing king of the Kārdamaka house. While the 'Arrow and Thunderbolt' were the emblems of the former princes[33], the 'Crescent and Star' were evidently the heraldic stamps of the house of *Ghsamotikaputra* Caṣṭana, for the latter two symbols invariably occur on all coins of Caṣṭana and his successors[34]. But interestingly enough, Caṣṭana's initial coins display *only* the 'Crescent and Star'[35], *not also* the 'Crescent-topped hill with a wavy line below'[36], as are invariably seen on his later issues as well as the issues of his successors. As believed by RAPSON, Caṣṭana appears to have adopted the 'Hill' symbol from the contemporary coins of the Sātavāhanas, probably after annexing certain Sātavāhana territory[37]. The same 'Hill' symbol which occurs on the Traikūṭaka silver issues[38] was apparently adopted from the Western Satrap coins, not from the Sātavāhana issues with which they have practically nothing in common.

Though there is not much outward resemblance between the Sātavāhana coins on the one hand and those of the so-called Cuṭu and Ānanda chiefs of Kolhapur and Karwar as well as of Sadakaṇa-kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi of Chitradurga area on the other hand, one may find some points of interest between them. For, while lead is the metal used by all of them, the shape, size and fabric of the latter non-Sātavāhana issues strangely resemble those of the large round elephant-type lead coins of Śrī Sāta[39].

But quite evident is the stamp of Sātavāhana minor coins on those of the Ikṣvāku kings, who were probably their feudatories in the Krishna-Godavari-Guntur region. The Ikṣvāku coins, which are invariably in lead, generally adopt the devices of the Sātavāhana potin issues, *viz.*, Elephant and Ujjain symbol[40]. There are, however, a large number of Ikṣvāku issues which replace the reverse Ujjain symbol by another rather uncommon symbol composed of 'one small circle surrounded by six similar small circles'[41].

There is yet another series of rather obscure coins with fragmentary Prakrit legend[42], which too appears to have been inspired by certain Sātavāhana lead issues. These coins bear on the obverse the figure of 'a horse standing to right' with *svastika* and a tree-in-railing above its hind part. The reverse has within a rectangular double-border a ten-peaked hill with a pellet in each peak-arch, surrounded by a crescent and two other symbols. While the obverse device has some clear affinity with that of the obverse device of certain coins of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, the reverse device reminds us of the ten-peaked hill of the lead issues of the so-called Kura kings[43].

Finally, the tiny and obscure coins of the princes of the Bodhi family appear to be the lineal descendants of the coins of the Sātavāhanas, since they are in lead and bear the crescent-topped three-peaked hill of the coins of the Sātavāhanas[44].

We thus see that the Sātavāhana coins came into contact with certain earlier, or somewhat contemporary, coins of Western India. But while the sign of contact is not so prominent on coins of minor metals like potin and lead, the silver issues of the Sātavāhanas betray evident influence of the silver issues of the early Western Satrap prince Nahapāna. On the other hand, quite a large number of contemporary and near-contemporary rulers of various regions were more or less influenced by the well-established coins of the Sātavāhanas. This influence relates to the use of unusual metals like lead and potin as well as to the adoption of the types and fabrics of the Sātavāhana issues.

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3. Cf. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp. 20–21.

4. E. J. Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* [=*BMC(A)*], pp. xcii ff.

5. J. Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* [=*BMC (AI)*], pp. 140 ff., Plates XVIII–XIX (Eran coins) and pp. 241 ff., Plates XXXVI–XXXVIII (Ujjain coins).

6. Cf. (1) *BMC(AI)*, Pl. XVIII.16 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (Ujjain symbol); (2) *MBC (AI)*, Pl. XVIII.9 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (elephant); (3) *BMC (AI)*, Pl. XVIII.12 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (tree-in-railing); (4) *MBC (AI)*, Pl. XXXVII.17 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.6 (solar symbol).

7. *BMC (AI)*, Pls. XX.7 (Ujjain symbol on Kauśāmbī coin), XXIV.16 (elephant on Mathurā coin), XV.1 (tree-in-railing on Audumbara coin), X.8 (solar symbol on punch-marked coin).

8. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, Introduction, p. clxxvii.

9. Cf. P. L. Gupta (Seminar Papers on) *The Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 2 ff., where he appears to regard the 5-symbol 32-*ratti* coins as the 'Imperial Series', associated with the Magadhan empire.

10. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 14, Pl. I.13.

11. E. J. Rapson, *BMC(A)*, p. 85, Pl. XI.293 (Jīvadāman); p. 93, Pl. XI.324 (Rudrasiṁha I); p. 105, Pl. XII.374 (Rudrasena I); p. 133; Pl. XIII.403 (dates within the reign of Dāmasena); p. 122,Pl. XIII.462 (without name or date, but assigned to Vīradāman). For the potin coins of the Kura kings see *ibid.*, p. 6, Pl. II.17–18 (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura) and p. 9, Pl. III.31 (Māṭharīputra Sivalakura).

12. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. cxxv and cxxxiii.

13. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Ed. by W. H. Schoff (1912), p. 42 (Sec. 49).

14. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 183, Pl. XXXII.9 (Strato II); *BMC (AI)*, Pl. XXVI.12–13 (Rañjubula).

15. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. 5–9, Plates I–III.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58, Pl. VIII.233–234.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60, Pl. VIII.235 (Cuṭukaḍānanda) and Pl. VIII.236 (Muḍānanda).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 187, Pl. XVII.889–890.

19. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58, *A Review*, p. 9, Plate V.

20. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. 207–211, Pl. XVIII.983–1000 (for coins) and p. clxiv (for the location of their territory). [However, the recent discovery of a large number of coins and seals of the Bodhis in the excavations at Tripurī indicates their location in the Jabalpur region — Ed.]

21. *Ibid.*, p. 68, Pl. IX.256.

22. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 111 ff.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 93 ff. and Vol. X, pp. 22 ff.

24. *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. D. C. Sircar), pp. 113–119.

25. *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1 ff.

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107 ff.

27. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (?) : (1) *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 111; Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (?) : (2) *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 1; Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi : (3) *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 59, (4) *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, (5) *Ibid.* (unpublished), (6) *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 32–35 (and Vol. XXX, p. 74).

28. Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi : (7–9) *BMC (A)*, p. 45, Pl. VII.EI, 178, J. B., (10) *ASI, AR*, 1913–14, p. 213, (11) *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 126 (12 *Ibid.*), Vol. XXVI, pp. 98–99. [For yet another silver coin of this monarch, see I : 2 above — Ed.].

29. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 62.

30. Silver coins of Nahapāna adopted the bilingual formula introduced by the Indo-Greek kings. Nahapāna's coins bear on the obverse a corrupt Greek legend and on the reverse Prakrit legend (written in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī letters).

31. J. Allan, *BMC (AI)*, p. 124, No. 21 (Audumbara Dharaghoṣa); p. 159, No. 1 (Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti); p. 125, No. 23 (Vemaki Rudravarman); p. 281, No. 17 (Vṛṣṇi Rājajñagaṇa); and p. 270, No. 47 (Brahmaṇya Yaudheya).

32. It is *head*, not bust, as seen on Western Satrap silver coins.

33. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, p. 63.

34. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.259 (Caṣṭana) and Plates X-XVIII (successors of Caṣṭana).

35. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.E1.

36. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.259.

37. *Ibid.*, p. clxvii.

38. *Ibid.*, Plate XVIII.

39. *Ibid.*, Pl. I.1.

40. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58, *A Review*, Plate V (Ikṣvāku coins) and *JNSI*, Vol. II, Plate VIII (Sātavāhana Potin coins).

41. Cf. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1957-58, p. 11.

42. V. V. Mirashi, *Some More Coins of the Mahisha Dynasty from Maski and Kondapur* (Hyderabad Museum Numismatic Series, No. 3), Pl. II.a2.

43. Cf. for the obverse E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, Pl. VI.148 [Yajña Sātakarṇi's (lead coin) and for the reverse, Pl. IV.G.P.I.] (Maṭharīputra Sivalakura's coin).

44. Cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII.984 (coin of Vārabodhi) and Pl. V.89 (coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi).

I : 6

SILVER PORTRAIT COINS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

By

P. R. K. PRASAD

I

The Sātavāhanas are the first indigenous monarchs to issue silver coinage with the royal busts. To start with, the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is known to have restruck the silver coins of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna of Western India after exterminating him. This was probably during his 18th regnal year.

The silver coins of the Sātavāhanas are very rare when compared with their base metal series in copper, potin and lead. Besides the well-known Jogalthambi hoard and a few restruck coins from elsewhere, only about a dozen of them have so far come to light[1]. Out of these, six belong to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, three to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and the rest are attributed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The devices of the restruck silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi are similar to those used on his base metal series.

Obverse : Three–or six-arched hill with or without crescent on the top and with or without pellets in the arches. Beneath, a wavy line. A circular legend around the border in Brāhmī characters read as *Raño Gōtamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with or without crescent on the top and with or without pellets in the orbs[2].

A single fresh coin (without any sign of super-imposition) bearing only the above-described devices with an indistinct legend beginning with *Raño Gōtami*.... has been attributed to Yajña Sātakarni by Dr. Altekar[3]. Rapson felt that the six-arched hill symbol was a later introduction by Yajña Sātakarṇi. However, it is now known that the six-arched hill symbol was introduced by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi on his silver and base metal series. His successors, Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi, while issuing their bust type coins, took care to incorporate both the Ujjain and Hill symbols on their reverse. Therefore, it does not appear probable that Yajña Sātakarṇi, while issuing his own bust type, again revived this old type which was discontinued by his two predecessors. Chinmulgund[4] and Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri[5], therefore, hold that this type also was the issue of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and as such he is the first Sātavāhana king who started the independent issues in silver.

Bust Type Coins

While the silver currency was started by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, his successor Puḷumāvi is generally believed to have introduced the royal portrait on the silver issues and this was continued by his two successors, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi during their reigns. This bust type of these three kings is uniform in type but for the names and titles of the issuing kings. In general they are as described below :—

Obverse : Bust of the king to right with prominent crest jewel on the forehead. Prominent nose and punched ears with heavy *karṇa-kuṇḍalas* are the typical features of the bust. Legend around in Brāhmī characters giving the king's name together with his title and metronymic.

Reverse : Crescented six-arched hill on the right and crescented Ujjain symbol on the left with a rayed sun in between the two crescents. A wavy line below. Legend around in Southern variety of Brāhmī characters in Dravidian dialect giving the king's name together with his title and metronymic.

It is apparent that the bust coins of the Kṣaharātas and the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapas influenced Sātavāhana kings to introduce the royal bust on their silver issues. Though it is a foreign impact, the Sātavāhana coins are distinct by themselves in many ways from their Western Indian prototypes and depict the indigenous element in them.

The Sātavāhanas, like their Western contemporaries, issued (1) uniform type, (2) portrait coins, (3) in white metal, (4) with bilingual legends and continued without any change in type upto three generations. Together with these similarities we see that the royal bust is purely in Indian traditional style and the customary metronymics were used unlike the patronymics of the Kārdamakas. While the Śaka Kṣatrapas used the Kharōṣṭhī and the Brāhmī legends on their coins indicating the place of their origin and rule respectively together with that of their masters in the Greek[6], the Sātavāhanas used Prakrit legend in the Brāhmī characters and Dravidian legend in the Southern variety of Brāhmī characters indicating their place of rule and origin respectively.

The royal busts are of special significance. They are the earliest reliable contemporary portraits giving an idea of the physical features of the Sātavāhana rulers who appear to be strong and sturdy with a look of determination and action. Particularly Puḷumāvi with his acquiline nose seems to be a man of assertive nature and resolution. The broad ears with prominent punches, the earrings with long and heavy *karṇa-kuṇḍalas* almost touching the shoulders particularly in the case of Yajña Sātakarṇi, a traditional custom seen even in the present-day *Somayājins* in Āndhradeśa are conspicuous and interesting to note. They are bare-headed with frizzled hair in general. On three of his coins Yajña Sātakarṇi is depicted with clean-shaven head and with a massive ornament at his temples touching the ears. Interestingly he is depicted invariably on all his coins with a tuft (*śikhā*) probably indicating him as an orthodox performer of Vedic sacrifices, a unique Brāhmaṇa (*eka-Brāhmaṇa*). A clear flower-like object, a crest-jewel (*mauli-maṇi*) studded with a central diamond surrounded by eight smaller ones, perhaps a sort of *rāja-lāñchana* or *mukuṭa* is seen on the foreheads of all the kings[7].

There is a coin very much worn out and mutilated, published by Dr. P. L. Gupta[8], which is grouped into the Sātavāhana coins but could not be definitely attributed to any known king (Fig. I. 1-2). It contains on the reverse the crescented Ujjain symbol and six-arched hill symbol with pellets in orbs and arches. On the obverse it has the bust of the king to right, bare-headed with

untied hair turned back. The nose and the ear with its loop are prominent. An indistinct object, perhaps *karṇa-kuṇḍala*, is seen near the loop. The king wears moustache. Partially visible illegible legend reads as ....*tasama*?....on the obverse and *rahaṇasa* on the reverse. It is apparently clear that it belongs to one of the Sātavāhana kings. On stylistic grounds an attempt is made here to trace out its issuer.

We notice a sort of development towards fineness in the depiction of the royal bust on the coins from Puḷumāvi to Yajña Sātakarṇi. The workmanship, in crisp and clean manner, brings out all parts of the bust and outline clearly into relief. Even on the reverse, symbols, legend and the beaded border design around are artistically worked out (Fig. I. 3–10). But this is not seen in the present coin. The bust is depicted in a crude manner. Hair style could not be properly executed. Even the facial expression, chin and eye-ball are not well worked out. The fineness and clarity are lacking in the symbols and legend on the reverse. The artist could not attempt the portrait in well-finished style as those on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi. This indicates its earlier place among the Sātavāhana coins.

Moreover, the moustache on the king's face is a foreign thing to the Sātavāhana kings. Neither Puḷumāvi (Fig. I.3) nor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarni (Fig. I.4–5, 7) nor Yajña Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.8–9) is depicted with moustache. This appears to be a direct influence of the Nahapāna and the Kārdamaka coins wherein the kings are depicted with prominent moustache without a single exception. The modeller of the mint, perhaps, in his first attempt to prepare the king's portrait, keeping a Kṣaharāta coin as model in his mind, tried to bring out the features of the king with prominent nose, ears with loops and frizzled hair. While doing so he brought out the king's moustache also into the portrait which feature is uncommon in Indian art. The Indian artist of earlier, contemporary and immediately later periods somehow felt it untraditional or inauspicious and avoided its depiction even in the case of kings and warriors who are supposed to have had moustache. This feature is seen withdrawn in the coins of Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi.

In the devices on the reverse, we see the pellets in the orbs and arches which feature is noticed on some of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the Jogalthambi hoard but was discontinued by his successors on the silver issues (Fig. I.6–10).

Therefore, from all these facts, this coin has to be assigned an earlier date in the bust coin series and probably belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who initiated the silver currency. In such a case it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that after restriking Nahapāna's coins and issuing his own series with the same symbols and finding them no match to the beautiful bust type coins of his vanquished enemy for whose usage the people of the newly acquired territory were accustomed, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi introduced his bust type also.

Thus, so far as the Sātavāhanas are concerned, the credit of introducing an independent currency and portrait coinage in white metal goes to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

II

Legend on the Reverse of the Portrait Coins

Portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas, like those of their Western Śaka contemporaries, are bilingual. All of them have legends on both the sides. But owing to their illegible and partial

appearance particularly on the reverse, the attempts of many scholars like BHANDARKAR, ALTEKAR and others to decipher them have not been fully successful. However, on the basis of a well-preserved coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.6) DR. SIRCAR[9] gave a satisfactory reading and interpretation and also restored the damaged portion on the coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi published by RAPSON (Fig. I.10).

The obverse as well as the reverse legends on the coins of all the different kings are similar but for the metronymics and names of the issuing kings. Again, as RAPSON points out, the legends on the obverse and reverse of each king's coins differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents[10]. The obverse legend in Brāhmī characters is in Sanskritic Prakrit and is translated on the reverse into a Dravidian dialect in the Dravidian form of Brāhmī script. RAPSON observes, "the reverse inscription is written in a variety of Brāhmī Alphabet which has not been found elsewhere but which approaches most nearly to that of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription and may perhaps represent merely a later stage of development. BUHLER calls it Drāviḍī form of Brāhmī"[11].

The obverse legend on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi reads *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa* (this is the coin) of the illustrious king Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsiṣṭhī. According to SIRCAR. this is translated on the reverse into Draviḍian Prakrit in Southern variety of Brāhmī characters which reads *arahaṇaṣa Vāhiṭṭimākaṇaṣa tiru-Hātakaṇiṣa*. In this SIRCAR says that *ṣa* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case ending while *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are derived from Dravidian words meaning "King" and "Son" respectively. He further says that in the word *arahaṇa*, '*h*' represents the change of *s* or *ś* to *h* as in Sātakarṇi or Śātakarṇi modified to Hātakarṇi and Sanskrit Vāsiṣṭhī changing as Prakrit Vāhiṭṭī with the absence of aspiration while *tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *śrī* = Prakrit *siri* as used in modern Tamil. As regards *hiru* = *siri* = *śri* on Yajña Sātakarṇi's coins RAPSON drew attention to *Haku* = *Śakti*; *Hāla* = *Sāta* etc., as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Sātavāhanas.

This interpretation is no doubt appreciable and most satisfactory. However, we humbly suggest that what is read as *ṣa* is, in our opinion, *ku* which is the sixth case ending in Telugu. This form of *ku* is also seen in the contemporary Sātavāhana records and slightly later records of the Ikṣvākus and the Bṛhatphalāyanas[12]. In our opinion the present legend is a Telugu one in a variety of Brāhmī characters prevalent in Āndhradēśa during those times.

Further, DR. SIRCAR's observation that the two words *arasan* and *makan* are made to end with final vowel sound '*a*' is a typical feature in Telugu which is an *ajanta bhāṣā* wherein all the words and sentences terminate with final vowel sounds. When the case ending *ku* follows the words, it would be prefixed by an extra sound *na* as an *āgama*. Thus the two words *arasanaku* and *makanaku* are formed.

Though a greater impact of Sanskrit on Telugu has caused many of the originally Draviḍian words to recede into background, fortunately, these two words are traceable in literature upto late medieval and even modern times. As in Kannaḍa and Tulu, in Telugu also the word equivalent to Tamil *arasan* is *arasu*, *arasuḍu* or *arusu* which means king. Its usage is traceable upto sixteenth century[13]. Similarly, the equivalent for *magan* is *magaṇḍu* or *magaḍu* with *n* sound silent and *ḍu* being the nominative case ending (singular)[14]. Though in the earlier period this word is seen used in the sense of son, later on it changed its meaning and stood for valorous or vigorous person or leader and also in the sense of husband. This may be due to the influence of Sanskrit on the language as a result of which a number of Sanskrit words such as *sutuḍu*, *putruḍu*, *tanayuḍu*, *nandanuḍu*, and *kumāruḍu* have come into usage for son. As DR. SIRCAR thinks, the long *mā* in the word *mākan*

Katare, S. L., *JNSI*, XII, pp. 127–133, Pl. 9–10 (Portrait coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi).

Ranade, P. V., *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 98–99, Pl. I-8 (Portrait coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi).

An earthen coin mould of the reverse design belonging to Puḷumāvi from Nagarjunakonda excavations (*Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1956–57, Pl. LXI-Fig. B central figure), and an unpublished coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi in the cabinet of Sri S. M. Shukla of Bombay (P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XXI-II, p. 107) are reported. [For another silver portrait coin of Yajña Sātakarni, vide I : 2 above — Ed.]

2. With the combination of the above obverse and reverse symbols no less than thirteen varieties are noticed in the Jogalthambi hoard by Sri H. V. Trivedi (*JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–98).

3. Altekar, A. S., *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 111–113, Pl. VII-5.

4. Chinmulgund, P. J., *ibid.*, IX, pp. 93–96, Pl. VII-2.

5. Shastri, A. M., 'Silver Coinage of the Sātavāhanas', *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Calcutta, 1971), pp. 113–19.

6. This is only in the beginning. Later this Greek legend became an ornamental decoration without any significance.

7. S. V. Sohoni (*JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 100–103) observes that this knot on the forehead is a bunch of hair and thus the kings are depicted as warriors in Indian *padāti* style.

8. Gupta, P. L., *ibid.*, XXI, pp. 107–109, Pl. VI-1 and 1a.

9. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 107–115.

10. Rapson, E. J., *BMC, AWK*, pp. xc–xci.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. xc–xci.

12. Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, pp. 73–74. He observes : "In the Sātavāhana inscriptions, the sign of medial '*u*' is either a straight horizontal stroke or a slight bent or a down elongated stroke standing slightly towards its end".

Ibid., p. 163, Inscription of Queen Balaśrī in the Nasik cave.

Ibid., p. 165, Inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus of Nagarjunakonda on Āyaka pillar of Mahācaitya.

Ibid., p. 167, Koṇḍamudi grant of Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman.

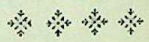
13. Kākunūru Appakavi, *Appakavīyamu*, Asv. 3, stanza 230.

14. Prabhakara Sastri, Vetur, *Telugu Merugulu*, 3rd Ed., pp. 159 ff. *Maganru* found in Telugu inscriptions (*SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 622, 632, etc.) is the plural form of *Magaṇḍu*. Vide Arudra : *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityamu*, Vol. I, p. 68.

15. Arudra, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 92 and 95.

16. Nagaswamy, R., *Sunday Standard*, Madras, dated 26–3–67.

17. Ramayya, S., *Ibid.*, dated 10–12–67.



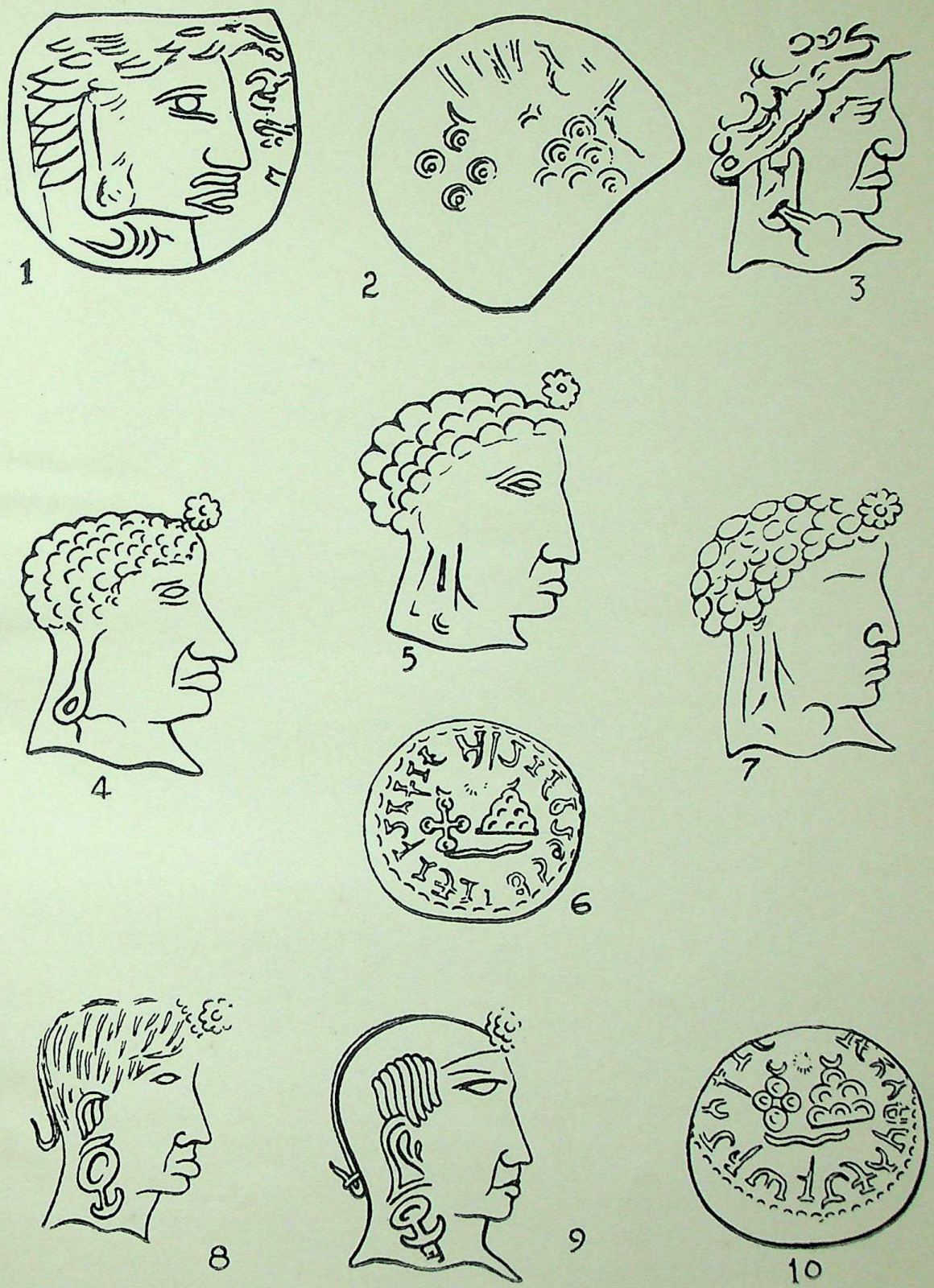


Fig. 1 : Silver Portrait Coins of the Sātavāhanas.

I : 7

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION, SEQUENCE, CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE*

By

I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA

I. *Introduction* :

Among the early rulers of the Deccan, no other dynasty has left to the posterity so varied and numerous coinage as the Sātavāhanas. Their coinage, right from the beginning, was predominantly of two metals — copper and lead. However, a few silver issues were introduced from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and continued till Yajña Śrī's period.

The illustrious rulers of this empire, according to the Purāṇas[1], endured for 460 years, at one time extending their sway even as far as Ajmer in the north and the oceans in the south. Their political and cultural history bristles with problems. This is essentially because of the incomplete nature of the source material and the dogmatic reliance on one or the other of such sources. There is no doubt in the fact that the Purāṇic accounts provide us with a fairly dependable general information about these rulers, but their individual details and facts that are required for a factual historical

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*The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :—

ABORI=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; AI*=*Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India; AIU*=*Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), Bombay; *ASIAR*=*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report; ASWI*=*Archaeological Survey of Western India; BPWM*=*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay; *BMGM*=*Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1959; *BMC*=E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Andhra and Western Kshatrapas*, etc. (1908); *BDCRI*=*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona; *CAI*=Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India; CCAI*=J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum; CHI, II*=*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Calcutta, 1957); *CCIM*=V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1906); *EI*=*Epigraphia Indica*; *EHD*=*Early History of the Deccan* (Ed. G. Yazni); *Elliot*=Elliot, *Coins of Southern India; IAR*=*Indian Archaeology, A Review; IA*=*Indian Antiquary; IHQ*=*Indian Historical Quarterly; JDHC*=*Journal of Deccan History and Culture; JMU*=*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Madras, 1959); *JNSI*=*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India; JOU*=*Journal of the Osmania University*, Hyderbad; *MSI*=Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*; *Nevasa*=H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari and Sophia Erhardt, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* 1954–56; *PASB*=*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, pp. 116–117. *Rama Rao*, 1961='*Satavahana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, A. P. Govt. Museum Series, No. 2 (Hyderabad, 1961); *Rea*=Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* (1894), pp. 21–31, Pls. XII–XXIII; *SI*=D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Second Revised Edition, 1965).

reconstruction of the Sātavāhanas within a broader framework of the history of the period (from the present day historian's point of view) lack consistency and correlation. For this purpose, we have to fall back on a few epigraphs of this dynasty, and a large number of coins whose provenances, culture-contexts and sequences are again unfortunately not precise and muddled in a majority of cases.

Nonetheless, the meagre epigraphical data could be eked out with the aid of the only other ubiquitous source, *viz.*, numismatics, as far as the Sātavāhana history is concerned. It is to be borne in mind that the literary evidence, in course of centuries, grows up (rather accumulates), never deteriorates; but the archaeological evidence, *viz.*, numismatics, epigraphy, pottery, houses and so on, as time passes, is lost and comes to us more and more inadequately. The student of history of this century has a greater burden and should be more critical in assessing, assimilating and marshalling the incomplete and inadequate archaeological data to get at the kernel out of the vast literary sources and should not simply dismiss, at the outset, the more elaborate and descriptive ancient Indian literature as merely unfounded.

Keeping in mind these guidelines, it is proposed to discuss the entire Sātavāhana coinage, more specifically the distribution-pattern (extent) and chronology (sequence). Whereas we have relied mainly on the exploratory and excavated numismatic data for purposes of distribution, the coin evidences from excavations, the epigraphs and seals etc., have together been taken into consideration to arrive at the chronology and sequence. Coupled with this study, I have finally ventured to give a sequence and succession list of the kings and their political spheres, by reverting back to the Purāṇic and literary accounts. In this study I have been immensely benefited by the earlier writings of erudite scholars.

I have ventured in the following pages to assign afresh and reassign some of the erstwhile recorded coins and for this I have relied on typology and legends, generally incomplete. It is quite likely that at some places I may have committed mistakes, because of the obvious lacunae inherent in the numismatic evidence. Also, it is possible that I may have omitted some important new discoveries of the Sātavāhana coins.

II. Some Recent Discoveries of Sātavāhāna Coins :

In the following pages I have classified the available mass of coin data reported in journals, reviews etc., keeping in mind the ancient geographical boundaries of the Sātavāhana empire at its zenith.

After the publication of the king and type-wise list of Sātavāhana coins by Dr. Rama Rao in 1958 (*JNSI*, XX), we have again from this author two catalogues containing huge collections of coins found in coastal Andhra (*BMGM*) and Kondapur-Peddabankur, Bidar-Maski, Phanigiri and Khammammet (Rama Rao, 1961) in Andhra Pradesh. The same scholar has also discussed briefly the importance and significance of the coin types in his Śaṅkara Pārvatī endowment lectures delivered at the Madras University in the year 1959 (*JMU*).

Although Kondapur and allied group of sites have yielded a rich harvest of Sātavāhana coins from the excavations, the reports do not give us any details of stratigraphy and almost all are a mixed up lot. Accordingly, the many surface discoveries at Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Karimnagar and Warangal may have belonged to these regions and sites.

Although the earlier excavations on a series of Buddhistic sites like Bhattiprolu, Jagayyapeta, Guntupalli, Gudivada, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda yielded a large number of Sātavāhana coins,

they do not help us in reconstructing the early chronology and sequence. At the best, we can make a typological study and attempt regional distribution of these issues from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi onwards. It may be noted at the outset that in the coastal Andhra and Southern Deccan we have no Sātavāhana coin data assignable even stylistically prior to this monarch. Same is the case with regard to epigraphical data also. This being so, in the present study, we shall depend more on the recent discoveries pertaining to this decade (1960–70) and try to assess briefly the enormous earlier notices. While doing so, stress will be laid more on the earlier group among the Sātavāhana coinage for obvious reasons. At the outset it is necessary to deal with some of the important excavations to arrive at the sequence of succession of the kings, and the Nevasa excavation alone has provided us the much needed substance. We shall, therefore, begin our analysis with this important site.

III. Sātavāhana Coins from Nevasa Excavations (Charts Appended) :

The Sātavāhana coins from Nevasa are unique in many respects. They are from a large-scale excavation obtained for the first time from well-recorded stratified contexts. They are of two metals — lead and copper. Their number is considerably large and they are rich in types as well as in variety of symbols. In fact our entire data on the Sātavāhana coins are processed with the help of the sequential table afforded by these coins. During this study, it is possible for us to assign and reassign some unidentified coins with certainty[2].

In a total of 283 coins obtained[3] from the digs, the coins attributable to the Sātavāhanas numbered about 83. Among these, some 67 coins could be clearly assigned to the individual monarchs, mainly by virtue of the legends as well as characteristic types. Some others, numbering 16, although of uncertain attribution, could be broadly assigned to a pre-Gautamīputra date[4]. Such types either bear the traces of the legend incompletely or have no preserved legends at all.

From the appended charts it will be clear that we have, very fortunately indeed, a good number of clearly assignable coins. Among the early group of kings, ten coins of Sātakarṇi I, nine coins of king Sātavāhana, twenty coins of Sātakarṇi II and a unique coin of Puḷumāvī I (in the mid-levels of period V) are most significant. The later group is represented by the powerful Gautamīputra, whose coins are 26 in number, and one copper coin of Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. As regards the stratigraphical correlation and the chronology of the coins at the site, we have to caution the reader that Trenches I, X and Y do not give us a consistent sequence[5], that being due to the fact that later coins clearly assignable to Gautamīputra come from the earliest levels of period IV in Trench Y much earlier than those yielding issues of Sātakarṇi I and king Sātavāhana. Again, it is clear that in these three trenches alone, we see that Gautamīputra's coins are found side by side with the issues of these early rulers in the upper levels of period IV. This evidence, when analysed and viewed in contrast with the coin data of Trenches A to H, at once makes it clear that Trenches I, X and Y give us an inconsistent stratigraphy which cannot be relied upon for finalising the sequence of the coins. Thus the larger coin evidence from Trenches I, X and Y is helpful only to study the typology and distribution of the early issues whereas the evidence from Trenches A to H, although meagre, affords us a correct chronological sequence (Charts I-II). As a result of this fresh study the following points may be noted :—

(1) At Nevasa Sātakarṇi I's coins preceded all the other issues. Even the Punch-marked, Tribal and die-struck coins belonged to a later horizon when compared to these issues. This evidence, coupled with the ceramic data, makes it amply clear that Sātakarṇi I should be dated not later than the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C.[6] and accordingly the theories assigning the rise of the Sātavāhana power to a later date like the 1st century B. C. or A. D. have no substance.

(2) It is also clear from my distribution charts that the older issues continued side by side with the new issues of the successive kings.

(3) Sātakarṇi I issued a single type only, i. e. the bull to right with a triangle-headed standard in front. The reverse symbols clearly depict a very meaningful combination. Particularly the *śrīvatsa*[7], introduced for the first time, has a great significance. This, when viewed with the name of the founder king, Simuka (Śrīmukha) Sātavāhana, assumes great importance.

(4) Lastly, Sātakarṇi I seems to be the first ruler of the dynasty to issue independent coinage.

IV. King-wise Coin Types – Their Distribution :

The original study is too voluminous of which this paper is an abridgement. Owing to stringent space limitations I am forced to be brief here, and I hope to bring out the full text, substantiated with illustrations, in a separate monograph shortly.

As a result of a methodical approach, I could find an admirable correlation between the epigraphical and numismatic data and the distribution pattern of the coins with the assumed political extent of each monarch. Also, it was possible to fix up with certainty, in most of the cases, the sequence and evolution of the coin types of each individual monarch, more clearly and systematically. After this study, I could confidently make out that the coin-types of the Sātavāhana rulers followed a systematic pattern in shape, symbolism and weight standards. That a king did not give up the coin-types of his predecessor is proved beyond doubt in every case. The change was only in the legend and whenever any new issue was introduced, the type was dictated by the erstwhile regional type with the necessary adaptations, *viz.*, the legend and a few distinct royal symbols. Thus the rigid local character of the Indian coinage has once again been amply demonstrated in the coinage of the Sātavāhana dynasty also.

The distribution pattern of the coinage, based on the entire available data (till 1970), *proves that the Sātavāhanas held the "Asika-Aśmaka-Mūlaka-Vidarbha" to start with, as well as to end with, and therefore we have got to think of their original home, rise, consolidation and decline somewhere within this well-knit Central Deccan.* No amount of inferential arguments based on literature and twisting of epigraphical data will help in changing this framework as regards the early Sātavāhana history. All the other territories, Avanti-Ākara-Anūpa of North India; Aparānta-Surāṣṭra-Kaccha of the West; Coastal Andhra upto Tamilnadu and Karṇāṭaka of the South were annexed or lost by the Sātavāhana kings in successive periods of their long history ranging from *c.* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.

In the attribution of coin-types to individual monarchs, particularly the coins bearing the name Sātakarṇi and its variants, special care has been taken. Not only the palaeography of the legend is considered but also the more substantial typology, sequence, evolution of the symbolism, regional distribution, weight standards, etc. (in short a more cumulative evidence of all these) were taken together to judge the coins. Certain kings, particularly those of pre-Gautamīputra and post-Sātakarṇi II period, did not issue any fresh types and appear to have simply continued the circulation of the older issues because of the political and economic insecurity. So we find practically no coins issued after Sātakarṇi II and before Gautamīputra and even if found they are stray types like Āpilaka's and Puḷumāvi I's which were faithful copies of the older types under circulation in the same region.

We shall give below in a tabular form the king-wise coin data.

A. Coin Types of the Early Sātavāhana Rulers.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Siri Sātakarṇi (I)	*Single Type : Bull*	Copper/Lead	*Nevasa* (1954-56), Nos. 6657, 1799, p. 188. Copper ones, Nos. 6659, 6710, 1369, p. 179, Nos. 1195 and 942. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, VIII, Pl.II, No. 1; XIII, p. 132, Pl. V, No. 2. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, p. 181, Pl. XV, No. 1.
Siri Sātavāhana	(*i*) *Bull Type continued* (*ii*) *Elephant Type introduced*		*Nevasa*, Nos. 2186, 1175, 1981, 6490, 3640, 6863, 6544, 1810 and 4695. Kondapur, *JNSI*, XI, p. 22. Aurangabad, *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141–42. Hyderabad, *MSI*, III, pp. 1–4, Pl. I, No. 1. Karimnagar, *Journal of Osmania University* (1968), pp. 123–35.
Sāti Siri	*Homo Type and other various multi-symbol coins closer to the earlier types of Ayodhyā, Eran, Kauśāmbī, Ujjain and Mathurā local coins.*		Western Malwa (Ujjaini), *JNSI*, IV, p. 28, Pl. II, Nos. 6 and 9; *BMC*, p. xcii, Pl. I, Nos. 1–2. Dr. Nagu's collection. Hoshangabad, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 94–97. Tripurī (Ḍāhala), *JNSI*, XIII, Pl. II, Nos. 13–14; XVI, pp. 70–71 and p. 81, Pl. II, No. 22, pp.95–96, Pl. V, No. 3; XV, pp. 180–82; *Excavations at Tripurī*, 1952, p. 10, Note 2, p. 126, Note 9. Prof. Bajpai's recent collections (*IAR*, 1967–68, p.24). Kauṇḍinyapura (Vidarbha), *Excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura* (1968), pp. 29, 134–35. Bheraghat and Tripurī bronze examples, *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 70–71 and 95–96, Pl. II, Nos. 15, 16 and 22, Pl. V, No. 3.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kauśikiputra (?)	*Elephant only. Closer to Siri Sātavāhana types.*	Copper	Hyderabad region, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 134, Pl. VI, Nos. 5–7; *MSI*, III, pp. 20–22, Pl. I, No. 6; *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 116–18, Pl. VIII, No. 1.
Siri Sātakarṇi (II)	*Older issues* : *(i) Bull*	Copper/Lead	*Neyasa*, pp. 190–91, Nos. 1114, 3223, 1880 and 6564. Paithan, *IAR*, 1965–66, p. I–55 (cyclostyled). Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 131, Pl. VI, No. 1. Kondapur, *Rama Rao* (1961), pp. 32–33, Nos. 13–15, 20, 22–25. Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, p. 28, Pl. II, No. 4; XIII, p. 210, Pl. IX, No. 10.
	(ii) Elephant	Potin/Lead	Awra, *Journal of M. P. Itihas Parishad*, 4 (1964), p. 33. Western India, *BMC*, pp. 17–19, Pls. I, Nos. 5–7; IV, Nos. 59–61, 74–75. Karvan, *JNSI*, XII, Pl. II, Nos. 6–7. Nasik, *Sankalia and Deo*, p. 32, Pl. V, No. 3. Malwa region, *JNSI*, IV, p. 76, Pl. II, Nos. 5–6, 7; XV, p. 97. The coin (IV, Pl. II–4) has, in addition, a six-arched hill on its reverse, introduced for the first time. Balpur (South Kosala), *IAR*, 1958–59, p. 66 (with the Archaeological Survey of India, S. E. Circle, Hyderabad).
	(iii) Three-arched Hill Type : The legend is peculiarly anti-clockwise starting at IV. This coin-type is wrongly attributed to Hāla and even Vijaya Sātakarṇi by some scholars.	Copper/Lead	Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 132–33, Pl. VI, No. 4; XXI, p. 68, Pl. I, No. 5. Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Pl. 8, Nos. 93, 95; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 55–57, Pl. III, No. 1 (Kondapur Museum Coin Acc. No. 7692).

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*iv*) *Six-arched Hill Type*	Copper/Lead	Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 33, No. 13. Western Malwa, *JNSI*, IV, Pl. II, No. 4.
	(*v*) *Lion Type*	Copper/Potin	*Nevasa*, p. 182, figs. 79, No. 3, 81, Nos. 6–7. Nasik, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 34, Pl. II, No. 12; *JNSI*, XIV, p. 55. Western Malwa, *BMC*, p. 4, Pl. I, Nos. 8–11; *JNSI*, IV, Pl. II, No. 8. Karvan and Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 28–29, Pl. II, Nos. 5, 9–11; *BMC*, p. 54, Nos. 206–09 and Pl. VIII, No. 209.
	(*vi*) *Lakṣmī Type* : The type recalls some of the local coins of Ujjayinī and Eran issues.	Copper/Potin	Paithan, *IAR*, 1965-66, p. 1–55 (cyclostyled) Vidiśā, *Prof. Bajpai's Collection*, 1970[8]. Kauṇḍinyapura, *Dikshit* (1968), p. 137, Pl. XL-A5. Nasik, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 33, Pl. II, No. 11.
	(*vii*) *Multi-symbol Coins* : These coins recall the Sāti Śri types and some of the local issues.	Copper/Potin	Brahmapuri, *Dikshit* (1952), pp. 34 and 41, Nos. 4139, 4108, 4140, 2288 and 2773. Vidiśā, *Prof. Bajpai's Collection*, *IAR*, 1967–68, p. 63. Kauṇḍinyapura, *Dikshit* (1968), p. 37, Pl. XI, Nos. 6–7. Pauni, Information from Dr. Deo and Shri J. P. Joshi, excavators of the site. Tripurī, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 36, Pl. II, No. 14; *XXI*, pp. 110–11; *IAR*, 1965-66, P. 1–41. Ujjain, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 214, Pl. XI, No. 20. Balpur, *IAR*, 1958–59, p. 66.
Āpilaka	*Elephant Type*	Copper	Balpur, *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII (1937–38), pp. 93n–94n.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Puḷumāvi I	*Three-arched Hill Type* : This is a unique type, a continuation of the issue of Sātakarṇi (II). The legend is anti-clockwise starting at IV and is only on the obverse. The type is wrongly attributed to Hāla, Sāliputasa Siri Sāta and so on.	Lead	Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 38, Pl. 7, Nos. 91-92. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 132–33, Pl. VI, No. 3; XXII, pp. 147–49, Pl. VIII, No. 10. *Nevasa*, p. 201, fig. 83, No. 6.

B. Coinage of the Time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (III).

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (III)	*Older Issues*:		
	(*i*) *Elephant Types* : The type with the metronymic is found only in the Western and Northern regions of the empire.		*Nevasa*, pp. 185–87, 195–97, fig. 80, Nos. 1–8. Ter, *B. N. Chapekar* (Poona, 1969), pp. 18–20, fig 3. Gujarat, *JNSI*, XII, p. 27, Pl. II, No. 1. Kathiawad, *Indian Culture*, V, p. 99. Ujjain, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 21, Pl. XI, No. 11; *JNSI*, XIV, p. 6. Western India, *BMC*, pp. 17–19, Pl. IV, Nos. 59–61, 64, 74–75 and 81. Kondapur, Peddabankur and Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 146, Pl. VIII, No. 9; *ABORI*, XXII, p. 171, Pl. XV, Nos. 16–18; *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 33–39; *MSI*, III, pp. 15–16, Pl. I. Chebrolu, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 89, No. 4. Nellakondapalli, *JNSI*, XVIII, Pl. V, No. 15. Aurangabad, *JDHC*, I, p. 96. Karvan and Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 28–29, Pl. II, Nos. 2, 3 and 8. Maheshwar, Navdatoli (1958), p. 79, Pl. XVI, T.57a.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*ii*) *Caitya Types* : These types were first introduced in the peripheral regions of the empire by Gautamīputra.		
	(*a*) *Three-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *JDHC*, II–2, pp. 87–89; *BMGM*, p. 15, Nos. 2–9. Brahmapuri, *JDHC*, *II*–2, p. 81, Nos. 7–8; *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, pp. 40–41, Pl. XV, No. 36.
	(*b*) *Six-arched*		Amaravati, *JNSI*, XVIII, Pl. V, Nos. 2–8. Nagarjunakonda, *BMGM*, pp. 15, 25, Nos. 14–20. Dharanikota, *IAR*, 1964–65, pp. 2–3.
	(*c*) *Ten-arched* : This type is a new introduction and indicates the extent of territorial gains of the king.		Amaravati, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 17–19, Pl. II, No. 18; XVIII, pp. 43–45, Pl. V, Nos. 11–14. Nagarjunakonda, *JDHC*, II–2, pp. 28–29, Nos. 18, 20 and 31; *BMGM*, pp. 16 and 25, Nos. 44–45.
	(*iii*) *Horse Types* : The type is mostly found in Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Karnataka. Gautamīputra issued this type for the first time, perhaps after the *digvijaya* (*Trisamudratōya–pītavāhana and Dakṣiṇāpathapati*).		Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, Nos. 81, 82, 98, 107, 113. Gudivada, *EWCI*, No. 12, pp. 21–31; Nos. 12, 38, 40. Brahmapuri, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 81, No. 76. Peddabankur and Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 39, Nos. 98–99. Western India, *IA*, IX, pp. 64–65, No. 9; VI, p. 275, No. 12.
	(*iv*) *Restruck Coin* : This is a unique coin of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra and bears on the reverse the solid–branched tree, a characteristic symbol on his copper issues.	Copper	Ajmer region, *BMC*, Intro., pp. cix, 67, Pl. IX, No. 252.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*v*) *Restruck Coins*	Silver	Jogalthambi Hoard, *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223–44, Pls. I–IV; for counterstriking devices, see *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–99.
	(*vi*) *Independent Silver Issues* :		
	(*a*) *Non-Portrait Type : Six-arched Caitya and Ujjain symbol.*		Ujjain, *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 111–13, Pl. VII, No. 5.
	(*b*) *Portrait Issue*		Balpur, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 107–09, Pl. VI, No. 1–1a. (South Kosala).
	C. Coinage of the Post-Gautamīputra Period.		
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḥumāvi (II)	*Older Issues* :	Copper/Lead	
	(*i*) *Elephant* : All the variants of his predecessor continued to be issued, but the type from now onwards is almost standardized, i. e., Elephant on the obverse X Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The reverse has no other symbols. Hence we hold that Tarhala has no coin of Gautamīputra and the type attributed to him belongs to Sātakarṇi (IV), his descendant. For details see below.		Poona, *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 99–100, Pl. IX, No. 6. Brahmapuri, *JNSI*, XX, p. 13, Nos. 65–66. Chandravalli, *AI*, No. 4, pp. 291-93. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, p. 80, Pl. XIV. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 41, 43–48, 51. Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–84, Pl. VIII, Nos. 7–14. Chanda, *BMC*, Pl. V, p. 21, Nos. 90, 91, 93, 94; *JASB* (1893), pp. 116–17.
	(*ii*) *Horse Type*		Coastal Andhra sites, *JDHC*, *II*–2, p. 80; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 164; *BMC*, p. 26, Pl. V–G4.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(iii) Caitya Types :		
	(a) Three-arched		Gudivada, Nagarjunakonda and Nelkondapalli, *BMC*, p. 20, Pl. IV, Nos. 88–89; *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 3; *BMGM*, Nos. 10–12; *IA*, IX, p. 64, Nos. 11, 12; *JNSI*, II, p. 43; XVIII, Pl. V, Nos. 9, 10, 13–14 and 16; *JDHC*, II–2, No. 6.
	(b) Ten-arched		Amaravati and Gurzala, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 83, Nos. 21, 22.
	(iv) Lion Type	Copper/Lead	Ghantasala, *IAR*, 1955–56, p. 72 (with S. E. Circle, A. S. I., Hyderabad).
			Amaravati, Krishna, Godavari, Gudivada, etc., *JDHC*, II–2, p. 84, Nos. 35–36; *BMC*, p. 10, Pl. III, Nos. 33, GP2, GP3; for variants, see pp. 11–12, Pl. III, Nos. 36–43, V, Nos. GP2, GP3.
			Dharanikota, *IAR*, 1962–63, p. 2, Pl. IV-A; 1963–64, p. 2, fig. 1.
	New Issues :		
	(v) Ship Type	Lead	Coastal Andhra upto Coromandal coast, *BMC*, pp. 22–23, Pl. V, Nos. 94–104.
			Amaravati, *BMGM*, p. 23, No. 219.
			Penumuli, *ASIAR*, 1924–25, pp. 159–61, Pls. XIV-XV.
	(vi) Cakra Type	Lead	Hyderabad, Private Collection, *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 178–79, Pl. IX, Nos. 19, 19a.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*vii*) *Silver Issues : Portrait Type*		Bhilsa, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1–3. Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, p. 38, Pl. IX-B, No. 1. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa example is a clay mould piece, containing the design repertoire of the reverse of a portrait coin of Puḷumāvi. The legend is quite clear and is composed in the ancient Telugu language, more significantly in verse. The legend has 20 letters in all, forming a *padya pāda* of one of the varieties of *Ragada* metre, a *dēśī* type depending on the '*Matrā Chandas*'. The mould piece is a unique example, first of its kind.
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi IV	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Copper/Lead	Krishna-Guntur, *BMC*, pp. 22–23, Pl. V, Nos. 174–75, 177. Chebrolu, *JNSI*, XV, p. 75, Pl. I, No. 20. Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, Pl. IX-A, Nos. 1-3. Coastal districts, *CCIM*, pp. 210–11. Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 51. Peddabankur, *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57. Bidar, *JNSI*, XV, p. 76. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 18–19; XXII, p. 116, Pl. IV. Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–84, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1–6. Chanda, *BMC*, pp. 43–44, Pl. VII, Nos. 171–72, 175, 177; *JASB* (1893), pp. 116–17. *Nevasa*, pp. 181–82, fig. 79, No. 1 (Copper). Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, No. 10; IX, No. 15.
	(*ii*) *Horse Type*		Cuddapah and Anantapur, *IA*, XL, p. 173; *BMC*, p. 25, Pl. V, Nos. 105–06, 111. Amaravati, *JDHC*, II–2, No. 75. Gudivada, *Rea*, pp. 21–31, Nos. 4, 10–11, 15. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, Pl. XV, No. 15.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*iii*) *Lion Type*		Dharanikota, *JNSI*, XV, p. 74, Pl. I, No. 19; *BMC*, pp. 10–12, Pl. III, No. 33. Padugupadu (Nellore), *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 257–59, Pl. XI, No. 1.
	(*iv*) *Caitya (both three- and six-arched) Type*		Padugupadu, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 258. Coastal Andhra, *BMC*, Pl. V, Nos. 115–16; *BMGM*, pp. 20–23, Nos. 8–9.
	(*v*) *Sliver Issues Portrait Type*		Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, Nos. 6–7. Hyderabad (Two), *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9–12, Pl. I-4, 4a; XXX, pp. 74–79, Pl. II, No. 15. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *JNSI*, XI, pp. 59–63, Pl. II, Nos. 5–6. Saurashtra, in the cabinet of Shri S. M. Shukla of Bombay and is still unpublished (cf. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 107).
Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi (III)	(*i*) *Horse Type* and (*ii*) *Caitya Type*	Lead	Coastal Andhra, *Rea*, pp. 21–31, No. 4; *Elliot*, pp. 25–34, Pls. I–II, No. 7.
	(*iii*) *Elephant*		Brahmapuri, *MUJ*, p. 153; *JDHC*, II–2, p. 81, No. 63. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 55–57, Nos. 276–94. Chanda, *JASB* (1934), *Numismatic Supplement*, 318. Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 40, Pl. III, Nos. 13, 14.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Lead	Chanda, *CCIM*, p. 213, Pl. XXIII, No. 24. Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 40, Pl. III, Nos. 15–16. Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, No. 5, p. 62. Krishna district, *BMC*, p. 46, Pl. VII–179.
Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarni	(*i*) *Portrait Issues* A stray example has, however, been reported from Meerut, which shows trade influence, not political.	Silver	Sopara, Amreli and Baroda, *BMC*, pp. lxxxix–xc, Pl. VII, Nos. E-1, 178, JB. The coin from Sopara is found within the relic casket of the *stūpa*. Besnagar, *ASIAR*, 1913–14, p. 208, Pl. IV-22. Tripurī, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 127–33, Pl. X, Nos. 9–10; XIII, pp. 46-52. Paithan, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 98–99, Pl. I-8[9].
	(*ii*) *Elephant Type*	Copper/Lead/ Potin	Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, Nos. 8, 11; *CAI*, Pl. XII-11. Gudivada, *CCIM*, pp. 212–13, Nos. 1–10; *BMC*, Pl. VII–16. Amaravati, *BMGM*, p. 21, Nos. 140–43; *Rea*, Nos. 55–57; *JDHC*, II-2, No. 64; *JMU*, p. 153. Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, p. 38, Pl. LX–A. Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, 5, p. 62; *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, p. 40. Chandravalli, *AI*, No. 4, p. 291, Nos. 4–5. Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 296–308. Peddabankur and Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 334, Pl. III-13, 13a. Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 42, Pl. III, Nos. 17–21. Chanda, *BMC*, p. 42, Pl. VII, Nos. 165–66. Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, Nos. 8, 11, 13; IX, pp. 61–65, Nos. 6, 7, 16.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*iii*) *Horse Type*	Lead/Potin	Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, Nos. 12, 91; *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 10; *CCIM*, p. 213, Nos. 1–4; *BMGM*, p. 20; *BMC*, pp. 12–13, 38–39, Pl. VI, Nos. 148–50. Padugupadu, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 257, Pl. XI, No. 7. Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, No. 9; IX, p. 63, No. 8.
	(*iv*) *Caitya Types* :	Lead/Potin	
	(*a*) *Three-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, pp. 25, 32, No. 6. Krishna and Godavari, *BMC*, Pl. VI, Nos. GP 4-5. Gudivada, *Rea*, No. 1. Amaravati, *JDHC*, II-2, Nos. 15–17, 23–24, 30, 32–33. Madugula, Thomas specimens, *IA*, VI, No. 5; IX, No. 17.
	(*b*) *Six-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 12. Krishna and Godavari, *BMGM*, p. 15, Nos. 24, 34, 41–43. Amaravati region, *BMC*, pp. 139–40, Pl. VI, Nos. 132–35; 139–40.
	(*c*) *Ten-arched with Conch and Lotus*		Amaravati, Coastal Andhra sites, *BMGM*, p. 16, Nos. 48–50. Dharanikota (Shri K. Raghavachari's Collections).
	(*v*) *Lion Type*	Lead/Potin	Dharanikota, *JDHC*, II-2, No. 64. Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, p. 17, No. 56.
	(*vi*) *Ship Type*	Lead/Potin	Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, p. 23, No. 223. Buddham and Vidyadharapuram, *JDHC*, II-2, Nos. 81, 83. Guntur, *MSI*, III, pp. 18–19, Pl. I, No. 15. Poona, *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 174–75, Pl. X, No. 1.
Vijaya Sātakarṇi	*Elephant Type*	Potin	Chanda and Tarhala, *MSI, III*, pp. 42–43, Pl. III.
Candra Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin/Lead	Coastal Andhra, *BMC*, pp. 30–33, Pl. VI, Nos. 117–119, GP-3, GP–1, 124, 126–129.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*ii*) *Three-arched Caitya Type*		Rentala, *CAI*, Pl. XII, Nos. 13–14; *Elliot*, p. 33.
	(*iii*) *Horse Type*		Amaravati, *JNSI*, *XXII*, p. 164. Gudivada, *JDHC*, II-2, No. 9; *BMGM*, p. 15, No. 13, *Elliot*, p. 34, Pl. II-12a.
	Six-arched Hill Type	Lead	Pyna (East Godavari), *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 60. Mukhalingam, *IAR*, 1957–58, p. 64. Smith's Coin, *CCIM*, Pl. XXIII, No. 24. Thomas Collection, *IA*, IX, p. 149, Nos. 13–14.
Puḷōmavi (IV)	*Elephant Type*	Potin	Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 45, Pl. III, Nos. 31–32.
	D. Other Kings not mentioned in the Purāṇas.		
Rudra Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin/Lead	Coastal Andhra districts, *BMC*, Pl. VII, No. 179, pp. 46–47, GP-2; *Elliot*, p. 34, No. 4; *Rea*, No. 70; *Numismatic Supplement* (1934), 318, p. 62.
	(*ii*) *Caitya Types*		Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, 5, p. 62; *MUJ*, p. 153. Khammammet, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 314-317. Kanchipuram, *IAR*, 1962–63, pp. 12–13; *JNSI*, XXIX, p. 23.
Śaka Sātakarṇi	(i) *Elephant Type*		Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, p. 92, Pl. VIII, Nos. 29–30. Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, p. 62; *MUJ*, p. 153. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 301–313. Coastal Andhra (Krishna-Guntur), *BMGM*, Nos. 63–65; *BMC*, pp. 10–11.
Karṇa Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*		Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, p. 91, Pl. VIII, Nos. 26–28. Chanda, *BMC*, p. 48, Pl. VII, No. 180. Coastal Andhra (?), *BMGM*, No. 144.
Kumbha Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin	Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 43, Pl. III, Nos. 24–25.

V. Chronology, Sequence and Historical Significance :

As a sequel to this extensive, though by no means exhaustive, study of the Sātavāhana coinage, it is considered worthwhile to bring the numismatic evidence into the historical framework of the dynasty. According to the Purāṇic lists, the first king and the founder of the dynasty was Rāya Simuka Sātavāhana, the Śrīmān of the Sātavāhana-kula. I accept *c.* 240 B. C.[10] as the initial date of this ruler and so also the beginning of the rule of the Sātavāhanas. The stratigraphical evidence of the coins at various sites like Nevasa, Nasik, Paithan, Kauṇḍinyapura, Tripurī and Pauni confirms the above date.

We have no coins of Simuka nor any inscriptions of his reign have come down to us. However, from a later record[11] we know clearly that he was the first ruler and the Purāṇas assign him a rule of 23 years, i. e., *c.* 240–217 B. C. He was succeeded by his brother, Kṛṣṇa, who is known to us from an ivory seal at Nevasa[12] and an inscription at Nasik[13] both belonging to his reign. Again I may point out here that this king, Kṛṣṇa, may have been depicted next to Mahāraṭhi Traṇakayirō in the Nāṇēghāṭ relievo figures[14]. Kṛṣṇa ruled for 18 years according to the Purāṇic lists; hence we assign him to *c.* 217–199 B. C. He was succeeded by his son, Sātakarṇi I (*c.* 199–181 B. C.), who seems to be a powerful monarch for he is described in the Nāṇēghāṭ[15] record as *vīra, śūra, apratihata-cakra* and *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. His coins, although a single type is known, occurred in the earliest deposits of period IV at Nevasa datable in no case later than the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. The same type of coins occurs in the regions of Medak (Kondapur) and Hyderabad which shows that this ruler may have annexed these regions to the Sātavāhana empire not long ago, as the few specimens indicate. It appears that Sātakarṇi (I) extended his sphere towards north, i. e. Vidarbha and countries above. Although this is purely a conjecture now, we can substantiate it from the ubiquitous coins of his immediate successors. The earliest capital city of the Sātavāhanas seems to be Pratiṣṭhāna[16] as the early coins from Paithan, Nevasa-Nasik and Aurangabad regions testify. The Purāṇas variously give 10 and 18 years of rule to this monarch. But the subsequent inscriptional evidences point out a period of gloom — queen Nagāṁṇikā with the help of her paternal side comes to the forefront, the royal Kumāras being minors. The eldest of them appears to be Vedisiri, the rightful incumbent to the throne.

Sātakarṇi (I) Vs. Khāravela[17] :

All was not well with the ambitiously rising Sātavāhana power. The equally ambitious Mahāmēghavāhana Mahārāja Khāravela appears to have forged into the Vidarbha territory of the Sātavāhanas. In the second regnal year Khāravela sent huge armies to the west without thinking of Sātakarṇi (I) (*achitayitā Sātakaṁṇiṁ*)[18]. The armies reached Kanhabeṁṇā and stormed the city of Mūṣikanagara. It is difficult to exactly locate Mūṣikanagara, but the river Kanhabeṁṇā or Kanhavēṇa[19] appears to be a tributary of Wainganga[20] past the village of Khapa and Takalghat, and Mūṣikanagara may be somewhere in this area or slightly west of this. Again in the 4th regnal year Khāravela subdued the Bhojakas (Berar), i. e., South Vidarbha and Raṭhikas (Khandesh-Ahmadnagar). Thus is appears that Khāravela[21] checked the rising power of Sātakarṇi (I) and his allies considerably and confined them to Mūlaka (western Maharashtra), their original territory.

The Sātavāhana power thus humbled itself at the hands of Khāravela but soon emerged again. This time queen Nāgaṁṇikā, acting as a regent to her eldest son (*Kumāravarasa*) Vedisiri and with the help of Mahāraṭhis[22], retrieved the fortunes of the dynasty. She appears to have got performed on behalf of her late illustrious husband, Sātakarṇi (I), the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice

earlier than the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record, which clearly mentions a *Rājasūya* and a second *Aśvamēdha* and numerous other sacrifices. The relievo-figures may have been caused to be put up during the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. We agree with Dr. Katare (*JNSI, XVI*, p. 83) that Nāgaṁṇikā was a widow when the sacrifices listed in the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record were performed. The first sacrifices mentioned in line 5 are *Agñyādheya* and *Aṇvāraṁbhīya*. These are followed by several other minor *dānas* and sacrifices whose names are lost in lines 7 to 9. In line 10 is mentioned a *Rājasūya* followed by a second *Aśvamedha* in line 11. It is clear that this record does not mention the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

Nāgaṁṇikā had four sons. The first was Vediśrī, the eldest who succeeded to the Imperial throne. The second was Sātiśrī. The third was Mahā-Hakuśrī and the last Kumāra Sātavāhana.

We have so far no coins attributable to Vēdiśrī but the larger Nāṇeghāṭ inscription clearly shows that he was a ruling king, and a powerful ruler at that[23]. He was perhaps assisted by his two brothers, Kumāra Hakuśrī and Siri Sātavāhana at his capital. However, we have no coins of Hakuśrī and it appears that this prince remained in his brother's service[24].

But the two *rājakumāras*, Siri Sāti and Siri Sātavāhana, were the most powerful among the princes of the royal line and seem to have greatly consolidated and extended the empire, firstly under their beloved mother, Nāgaṁṇikā, and later on under the elder brother, king Vēdiśrī. Vēdiśrī appears to have put them in charge of the most important northern and eastern territories of the Sātavāhana empire with himself and his younger brother Hakuśrī at the main seat. It appears clearly that Siri Sāti and Siri Sātavāhana were vested with power to issue in their own name coinage for circulation in their respective territories. It is significant to note the distribution of their coinages in two different localities, never commingling, a numismatic evidence which speaks volumes on the Sātavāhana administration[25].

Sātiśrī was apparently in charge of Vidarbha; his city could be Mūṣikanagara on Kanha-beṁṇā, also perhaps famous as Beṇākaṭaka in later times. This prince appears to have annexed Anūpa, the prestigious Malwa (Ujjain) and Ākara (Vidiśā). His coins, a unique type by themselves, incorporated the earlier local coin symbolism and clearly depicted the dynamic spirit of this monarch who every inch justified the name Sātiśrī, i. e. Saptiśrī. Undoubtedly it was due to him that the power of the Sātavāhanas extended northwards beyond the Vindhyas. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*c.* 184–148 B. C.) may have suffered defeat at the hands of Sātiśrī and Ākara and Avanti may have been annexed to the Sātavāhana empire. His coins closely resemble those of Malwa fabric[26]. But it is quite possible that after Sātiśrī Puṣyamitra again recovered the region as Malwa was under his son[27].

On the other hand Siri Sātavāhana (*c.* 181–163 B. C.) was wielding power from the capital under the very nose of his brother king Vēdiśrī to start with at Pratiṣṭhāna, and was later in charge of Mūlaka, Asika and Aśmaka territories. He issued a coinage in close correspondence with the earlier issues of his father Sātakarṇi I. As Dr. Deo has observed[28], no coin of king Sātavāhana is reported so far outside the region covered by Nevasa-Aurangabad, Hyderabad-Karimnagar-Warangal areas. That king Sātavāhana of the Nevasa issues was the ruler of these regions immediately after Sātakarṇi (I) is established beyond doubt by his coinage that soon followed in the home province. Besides issuing the Bull type of his father, he added the Elephant for the first time and this is, may it be stressed, not without significance[29]. Thus Prof. Altekar's pertinent observations regarding this coin-king Kumāra Sātavāhana get established[30].

But strangely enough, we find no mention of Vēdiśrī nor of any of his three brothers in the Purāṇic lists. We can justify the non-mention of Mahā-Hakuśrī, Sātiśrī and Kumāra Sātavāhana as they were only *rājakumāras* holding charge of the provinces. The non-mention of Vēdiśrī is something inexplicable and needs to be reasoned out. A clue is, however, forthcoming. As suggested by Dr. Chattopadhyaya, we take the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists as more reliable than others for the early group of Sātavāhana kings. The *Vāyu* does not specify the regnal period for Sātakarṇi (I), the *Brahmāṇḍa* gives 18 years and the *Matsya* only 10 years. As regards his successor, the *Brahmāṇḍa* mentions Pūrṇōtsanga and assigns him 18 years of rule. The *Matsya* alone gives another name, Skandhastambhi, in between Pūrṇōtsaṅga and Sātakarṇi (II). It appears that the *Purāṇakāras* were not clear as to who succeeded King Sātakarṇi (I). The *Vāyu* does not, therefore, give even the regnal period of Sātakarṇi (I). From this we can deduce that after the 10th regnal year of Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhanakula faced distress and for 8 more years Sātakarṇi (I) ruled with uncertainty. Following this period, three of his powerful sons simultaneously ruled in various territories and the later *Purāṇakāras* got confused as to who should be shown in succession and, therefore, the *Vāyu* omits mention of these rulers, whereas the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* give the name of Pūrṇōtsaṅga and assign him 18 years[31]. This king could have well been King Vēdiśri of the inscriptions whose title was pērhaps Pūrṇōtsaṅga, justly indeed.

Sātakarṇi (II) : (*c.* 163–107 *B. C.*) :

We shall now pass on to Sātakarṇi II, the most powerful king mentioned in all the Purāṇas except the *Bhāgavata* and assigned the longest rule of 56 years. As regards the coin evidence, it is not only explicit but extensive and in addition imbibed the features of the coins of the conquered territories of his time, particularly those of the local rulers of Kauśāmbī and Ujjain[32]. Of his period, we have only one inscription so far at Sanchi[33], and clearly his long rule witnessed great artistic achievements.

It is during this monarch's regime that we get the coins as far as Ahichchhatra in the north[34], Kolhapur (Brahmapuri) in the south-west, Hyderabad in Deccan and Balpur in the east. Again we get, for the first time, Sātavāhana coins in Kathiawad and Gujarat during this monarch's period and interestingly enough the troubles of the dynasty are linked with this unfortunate territory now onwards. It is surprising that we have no literary or much epigraphical data about this most powerful ruler. The ubiquitous coins of his period speak of his great prowess. They are undoubtedly masterpieces among the Sātavāhana issues. After him, the coinage virtually declined and became poorer in weight standard, depictions and artistic execution. These remarks, however, do not pertain to the silver portrait issues, a later introduction into the Sātavāhana series after the Śaka Kṣatrapas.

After Sātakarṇi (II) :

The paucity of coins attributable to this early period is due to several factors. At the outset, I regret to say that no serious and systematic attempt has been made to study the Sātavāhana coinage typologically or stylistically, particularly in such cases where the legends are partial and ill-preserved. I feel that some of the unascribable coins of the early group may fill this gap, but a detailed personal observational study is required to assign these doubtful[35] issues which are numerous in every published coin catalogue and museums containing the Sātavāhana coins. Adding to this, many coin collections are lying unreported or ill-reported with the excavators and explorers. The rulers following Sātakarṇi (II) appear to be weaklings and the Sātavāhana power was dwindling. It is

also quite possible that none of these rulers was politically and economically sound enough to issue fresh coinage and continued the circulation of older issues. This is supported by the excavated evidence of Nevasa, a site situated almost in the heart of the early Sātavāhana territory.

Lambōdara has not been[36] mentioned at all by the *Vāyu* although other lists consistently assign him 18 years of rule. No coins of this king are available so far. The *Vāyu* refers only to Āpilaka (*c.* 107–95 B. C.) after Sātakarṇi (II) and assigns him 12 years of rule. We have a single coin of this ruler from Chhattisgarh region, the easternmost border of the Sātavāhana empire. After him we get straight away to Pāṭumāvi in the *Vāyu* list avoiding the kings 9 to 14 of the *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists. Mēghasvāti, however, finds mention after Āpilaka in all the purāṇic lists except the *Vāyu*, and RAPSON[37] has attributed one doubtful coin of lead to this monarch. This is accepted by all scholars. This coin came from coastal Andhra region. I am not convinced of the attribution and feel that the coin does not belong to the Sātavāhanas, not to talk of the early group of kings. The size, weight and type do not correspond to any of the early Sātavāhana issues. The legend, its palaeography, etc. prove it so, and no conjecture is necessary to assign this exotic specimen to an early Sātavāhana ruler. The coin may belong to some other ruler of Andhra of 1st century A. D. After Āpilaka and before Puḷumāvi (I) we have a gap in the coin evidence for a period of about 54 years, extending from *c.* 95–41 B. C. calculated backwards from the initial date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

Puḷumāvi (I) (c. 41–17 B. C.) :

Puḷumāvi (I) or Pāṭumāvi is referred to by all the Purāṇic lists except the *Brahmāṇḍa*. I take the *Vāyu* statement of 24 years of rule as authentic and this ruler appears to be the reviver of the Sātavāhana power, although we have presently no other data except numismatic. I have, for the first time, assigned a few coins of Three-arched Caitya type to this monarch. Following him, another powerful ruler was Nēmikṛṣṇa whose reign lasted 25 years, *c.* 17 B. C.–8 A. D. He was followed by Hāla (*c.* 8–13 A. D.), a famous king-poet whose rule lasted only five years. We have no coin of this king and two specimens attributed to this ruler have been reassigned by us to an earlier king, Puḷumāvi (I). It is quite understandable that Hāla did not issue any coin during his short rule and diverted his attention towards literature. He bequeathed a steady and peaceful empire.

Following him and till the time of Śivasvāti (*c.* 26–54 A. D.), we have no evidence of any powerful ruler and the empire weakened much as can be seen from the quick succession of kings within a short duration.

Śivasvāti finds mention in all the Purāṇas except the *Brahmāṇḍa* and ruled for 28 years, indeed a much longer time. Although no coins or inscriptions of this ruler are so far known, a study of the political conditions prior to Gautamīputra's accession provides us a glimpse of this monarch's regime.

Kṣaharāta House :

Among the foreign chiefs occupying the northern regions the Kṣaharāta house appears to have built up a strong principality in the Gujarat-Kathiawad, Ajmer and western Malwa regions as the coins of Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka[38] reveal. His successor, Nahapāna, extended his influence southwards along the Western Coast, held Aparānta and adjoining parts of Mūlaka territory, perhaps upto Vaijayantī in the Kuntala country, as the various Nasik inscriptions of his son-in-law[39] reveal. It would follow then that Nahapāna inflicted a crushing defeat on the predecessor, possibly the father

of Gautamīputra, perhaps captured the Sātavāhana capital Pratiṣṭhāna (Nasik-Poona), as a result of which we find Gautamīputra addressing himself as *Beṇākaṭakasvāmī*[10] having got crowned at this new capital. In fact, the prideful claim of Gautamīputra as a *Sātavāhanakula-yaśaḥ-pratiṣṭhāpa-nakara* appears thus justified in every sense of the term, particularly when we see the background prior to or at the time of his coming to the throne. It took Gautamīputra a long time, say 17 years, to consolidate his power at home and then he embarked upon a huge military campaign. He recovered in his 18th regnal year the Nasik-Poona region, Aparānta and Kuntala, sent a fleet to Vaijayantī (*Sēnāye Vaijayaṁtiyē*) soon after this success, further proceeded to north[11] (Avanti and Ākara) and killed the Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, thus avenging the atrocities committed by Nahapāna on the Sāta-vāhana-vaṁśa earlier. He not only restruck the silver currency of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna with his royal symbols as at Jogalthambi but did not spare even the copper issues[12].

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*c.* 54–88 *A. D.*) :

Gautamīputra issued copper as well as silver (non-portrait) coins for Ujjain and Ākara and we find his coins in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala also. In this northerly campaign he also crushed temporarily the Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava chieftains who were holding the northern regions of Kaccha, Surāṣṭra, Kukura-Maru and Śvabhra regions at this time. Coins of Gautamīputra from Saurāṣṭra, southern Gujarat (Lāṭa) and western India corroborate the epigraphical evidence. We place his southern expedition much later, perhaps after the 24th regnal year. It was a *digvijaya* in the wake of his tremendous victories in the north. Gautamīputra performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice and issued the unique Horse type which was specially under circulation in coastal Andhra. After his *digvijaya* and annexation of the 10-hill territories as enumerated in a later inscription (*SI*, p. 203, ll. 2–3), he appears to have struck the 10-arched Caitya coinage, again for circulation in the newly acquired territories. Thus for the first time in their history, the Sātavāhanas extended their sway towards the long coastal belts. Prior to Gautamīputra, the illustrious Sātakarṇi (II) had perhaps the privilege of tasting the waters of the sacred Ganges but it was left to Gautamīputra to own the title *tri-samudra-tōya-pīta vāhana*. From now onwards, we get Sātavāhana coins throughout the long eastern coastal belt of Andhra, the southern Deccan and the Aparānta country. In fact, at least two (east and west), if not the third, seas remained with the Sātavāhanas till the end of the dynasty.

Śaka Threat (*c.* 78–88 *A. D.*) :

Gautamīputra's absence in the North proved a boon. The Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava chiefs joined under the Kṣatrapa Caṣṭana of the Kārdamaka house tried to avenge. We know that Caṣṭana was at this time a Kṣatrapa in Surāṣṭra and Rajputana regions[13]. He appears to have successfully broken the Sātavāhana superiority and captured the entire northern regions. Ākara, Avanti, Kukura, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha and Surāṣṭra were recovered from the Sātavāhanas.

Thus Caṣṭana inflicted a crushing blow upon Gautamīputra, now an aged monarch, and the great *Dakṣiṇāpathapati* who, as the fate would have it, saw the decline of his empire during his own life time. Caṣṭana commemorated his great victory with the heralding of the Śaka era (78 A. D.)[11], and by transferring his seat of power to the prestigious Ujjainī, a centrally located city for his dominions. Thus the foundation of the famous Śaka era must be linked with the Śakas, Sātavāhanas and Ujjainī. The rechristening of the Śake era as Śālivāhana (a later and corrupt form of Sātavā-hana) era (*CHI*, II, p. 294), very much enshrined in tradition and literature, may have to be linked with Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi who gave a death blow to the Śakas again and revived the Igory of the Sātavāhanas and recovered Ujjainī.

Not satisfied with these achievements, it appears that Caṣṭana restruck the copper issues of Gautamīputra under circulation in Gujarat and Akota regions[45]. This appears to be in retaliation to Gautamīputra's restriking of Nahapāna's treasury. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* states that Gautamīputra ruled for 34 years and in fact we have inscriptional evidence (*ASWI*, IV, p. 105, No. 14) upto his 24th regnal year and quite reasonably this king may have ruled for ten more years after this Nasik record (*SI*, p. 200), although this decade proved to be most unfortunate for him.

Puḷumāvi (II) (*c.* 88–116 *A. D.*) :

Following the death of Gautamīputra by about 88 A. D., his eldest son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (II) succeeded to the throne. Ptolemy clearly refers to Ozene, a place in Larike as the royal residence of Tiastenes, his contemporary ruler at Baithana being Siri Polamaios. This then surely indicates that Puḷumāvi shifted to Pratiṣṭhāna, the original capital, perhaps the same as the Navanagara of the Nasik record of the year 22, sometime after Gautamīputra's death[46]. This shifting appears to have been necessitated due to the threatening[47] power of Caṣṭana now in collaboration with his young grandson Rudradāman. The ubiquitous coin issues of Puḷumāvi found in coastal Andhra, southern Deccan[48] and western coast (Aparānta), not to speak of the Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Vidarbha territories, clearly point out a drift of Sātavāhana power towards the two coastal belts. Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa specially became prominent seats and in fact Puḷumāvi appears to have consolidated these newly annexed territories under Dhānyakaṭaka; hence the title *Dhanakaṭakasāminēhi* (*ASWI*, IV, p. 111, No. 15.1.2).

Sātavāhanas appear to have lost interest in the northern territories. Coins of Puḷumāvi's period are absent in Avanti-Anūpa, Lāṭa-Surāṣṭra-Kathiawad regions. However, a few coins from Bhilsa and Tripurī reveal the hold of Puḷumāvi on the Ākara and Ḍāhala regions. Puḷumāvi was undoubtedly a ruler of great capabilities and looked to the larger interests of the Sātavāhana empire which saw an economic prosperity under him. Sea-trade appears to have gained significance as revealed by his ship type coins. Puḷumāvi, assisted by his dear younger brother,[49] had to face often the powerful Śakas, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. He appears to have suffered defeat and as a result had to patch up with the powerful śakas to avoid further humiliation. His younger brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was accordingly married to the daughter of Rudradāman[50].

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (*c.* 116–145 *A. D.*) :

Sātakarṇi (IV) thus succeeded to the throne by force of circumstances, setting aside the main line of Puḷumāvi. The Purāṇas, therefore, do not generally mention this collateral except the *Brahmāṇḍa* which again strangely enough omits Puḷumāvi. That Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (IV) was an imperial ruler and ruled for 29 years is clear from the evidence of coins also which were found almost throughout the vast empire like those of Puḷumāvi. In fact, he continued to issue all the types of his brother including the rare silver portrait currency. His coins have been found as far south as Nellore-Anantapur region in Andhra, Chandravalli in Mysore and Brahmapuri, Ter, etc. in southern Maharashtra.

Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi (*c.* 145–152 *A. D.*) :

Sātakarṇi (IV) was succeeded by Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi of the coins. Śivaśrī appears to be a son of Puḷumāvi (II) and not grandson as suggested by Prof. Mirashi (*MSI*, III, p. 41). It is this king, who came in conflict with Śaka Rudradāman for the second time and about whom Rudradāman speaks that he did not destroy him because of nearness of relationship.

The coins of Śiva Śrī are found in coastal Andhra, Mūlaka and Vidarbha only. He ruled, according to the Purāṇas, for seven years only and appears to have been replaced by his cousin, Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi.

Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (*c.* 152–159 *A. D.*) :

He is the Khada Sātakarṇi of the coins as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi (*MSI*, III, p. 42, note 1) and appears to be the son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. He is referred to by all the Purāṇas except the *Vāyu*. His coins, very few indeed, were found in coastal Andhra, Mūlaka-Aśmaka and Vidarbha territories. It appears from this that during this period the Śaka predominance continued unabated and Sātavāhana power was virtually reduced to the minimum although the conquered southern territories seem to have remained under the firm hold of the imperial authority.

Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi (*c.* 160–189 *A. D.*) :

Luck favoured this ruler. He came to the throne soon after the power of Śaka ruler Rudradāman was no more. The Western Kṣatrapa territories were once again merged into the Sātavāhana empire under this powerful ruler, who appears to have revenged the Śakas, crippled their power for some generations[51] and captured the prestigious Ujjainī (Avanti) and Surāṣṭra again. *Thus the territories knocked away by Caṣṭana from his great grand predecessor Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi were now fully restored and perhaps Śaka era was now replaced virtually by a Śālivāhana era in the real sense of the term.*

We now find Sātavāhana coins at Sopara, Amreli, Baroda, Besnagar, Tripurī, etc. The coins and inscriptional evidence of this monarch corroborate well. His coins were found as far south as Cuddalore in Tamilnadu. He was the last powerful ruler of the Imperial Sātavāhana house and indeed an *Arka Śrī*, a *Yajña Śrī* and *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. That this king was a staunch *bhakta* of Viṣṇu and Śrī is clear from the symbolic depictions on his coins — Caitya, Horse and Ship types which contain the *śaṅkha*, *padma*, fish and *śrīvatsa*.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi (*c.* 190–196 *A. D.*) :

Śrī Yajña was succeeded by Vijaya who ruled for six years (*EI*, XXXVI, pp. 273–74). Coins issued by him are known to us from Tarhala-Chanda hoards only, but this extreme paucity of coin data need not be taken to doubt his rule over other areas as the coins of his immediate successors indicate. But one thing is clear. The Sātavāhana rulers were losing hold over the northern territories after Yajña Śrī. The power drifted to south and east.

Candra Sātakarṇi (*c.* 196–206 *A. D.*) :

This king appears to have ruled for 10 years. An inscription dated in his 2nd regnal year came from Kodavolu near Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari district. This together with his coins from Pyna, Mukhalingam (Srikakulam) and Guntur-Krishna regions proves that this king ruled over the entire coastal Andhra. His coins are not found in any other territories.

Puḷumāvi (IV) (*c.* 207–215 *A. D.*) :

The coins of this king, the last of the Purāṇic list, were found only in the Tarhala hoard and we feel that this king was truly the last ruler, and the four rulers not mentioned in the Purāṇic lists but available to us from the numismatic evidence may be assigned to a later date or at best may be regarded as contemporary to this ruler.

Others (*c.* 216–225 *A. D.*) :

Rudra and Śaka seem to have ruled over considerably big territory extending over the entire coastal Andhra region upto Kanchipuram in the south and Chanda-Tarhala and Hyderabad regions in Central Deccan.

Karṇa and Kumbha lingered as local rulers for some time to come, and their coins are known only from Vidarbha. It was now the turn of the early Pallavas in the extreme south, Ikṣvākus in Andhrāpatha, Kadambas in Karṇāṭaka, Ābhīras in Mūlaka, Śakas-Yavanas in northern territories and Vidarbha to devour slowly but steadily the Sātavāhana empire. But the tradition established by this great power continued all through the centuries.

REFERENCES

1. *ABORI*, 1968, pp. 375–377, 381. Dr. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya made some interesting suggestions. He says that the statement of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* that Andhras ruled for 460 years may include some pre-Sātavāhana rulers also, while the statement of the *Vāyu* that Andhras ruled for 272 years may specifically refer to Sātavāhanakula. It is for this reason perhaps that *Purāṇakāras*, in general, do not refer to the dynastic appellation Sātavāhana. Further, as pointed out by this scholar, the *Vayu* and the *Brahmānaḍa* lists seem to be comparatively authentic for the early rulers whereas for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his successors the *Matsya* account is more reliable. Also it is a fact, that the Purāṇas have left out many names of the Sātavāhana rulers, more particularly the later kings, as would be shown below.

2. Prof. S. B. Deo informs me that a large number of Sātavāhana coins were picked up from the renewed digs of 1959–61 at Nevasa. We eagerly await the publication of these coins from the renewed digs. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 25; 1960–61, p. 21.

3. *Nevasa*, p. 161.

4. These statistics were based on the specimens mentioned in the report both illustrated and unillustrated. The charts are after figure 84. See *Nevasa*, pp. 67–70.

5. It is also to be noted that the Trenches I, X, Y, yielded a lot of mixed evidence possibly due to their location at the lower contours of the mound. We draw the attention of the reader to the contour map. See *ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Further, we feel that the date of the early historical period IV (150–50 B. C.) needs a revision on the earlier side by about 100 years at least. In the earlier digs (1954-56), the sequence was dated by relative method whereas the C-14 dates now available for periods IV and V of Nevasa pertained to the later digs of 1959-61. Even here there is no C-14 date for the early levels of Period IV as such, and all the dates belong to the upper levels of Period IV onwards to Period V. Cf. *Radio Carbon*, No. 1 (1959), p. 183; No. 5, TF. 38, 39, 41. [For a different view about the date of Period IV, see *infra* I : 8-Ed.].

7. I. Karthikeya Sarma, "The names 'Sātavāhana', 'Satakarṇi' and the Significance of the 'Śrīvatsa' Symbol on the Sātavāhana Coinage", paper submitted to the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India (Nagpur, 1970).

8. [Vide I : 2 above-Ed.].

9. [For a silver coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi from Meerut, see I : 2 above-Ed.].

10. The chronology is adopted from *CHI*, II, pp. 301 ff., with minor deviations. For the latest summary on the initial date of the Sātavāhanas, see *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 1–4, Note 1. For the Purāṇic lists refer to *BMC*, Introduction, pp. lxvi–lxvii. [For another view on this problem, vide I : 8 below-Ed.].

11. Nāṇeghāṭ Cave figure label inscriptions of the time of Nāgaṁnikā-Vedisiri, *SI*, pp. 190—192, No. 76, Pl. XXXIII, No. 1. It may clearly be stated that we do not subscribe to the view of Prof. Mirashi that the coins of king Sātavāhana belong to the founder of the dynasty who preceded the Purāṇic king No. 1 – Simuka. *MSI*, III, pp. 6–11. From the above label inscriptions it is clear that Simuka — Śrīmukha was the personal name of the king and he was a Śrīmān of the Sātavāhanakula. The family name was Sātavāhana, mentioned specifically in his case only in the relievo label inscriptions, with the express intention perhaps to indicate that he was the first independent ruler of the dynasty, a real Śrīmān of the family.

12. *Nevasa*, fig. 171, Nos. 1 and 4. From Trench E, layer 9. The early Sātavāhana royal symbols like *svastika*, *śrivatsa*, *triratna* and triangle-headed standard are most significant, and this unique seal of ivory from the early levels of period IV amply confirms the date of the beginning of the Sātavāhana power in the second half of 3rd century B. C. Further, as could be seen from our fresh classification, the seal of ivory from Nevasa is certainly earlier than the coins of King Sātavāhana and may have been in continuous use during the time of his son and successor Sātakarṇi I.

13. *ASWI*, IV, p. 98, No. 1, Pl. li. It may be noted that the record ends with the Imperial symbols *svastika* and *triratna*.

14. It was Dr. Gopalachari who tried to identify the two destroyed statues after No. 3 (*CHI*, II, p. 302, note 1). Dr. Sircar also pointed out that two of the eight label inscriptions and figures are totally lost and "that Kṛṣṇa may have been actually mentioned in one of them". Cf. *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 197–98, note 1. Our study confirms the above views with a little amendation. The order accordingly would be :—

(1) *Rāya Simuka-Sātavāhano Sirimāto.*

(2) *Devi Nāyanikāya Raño ca Siri Sātakaṇiṇō.*

The position of the figures of queen Nāgaṁṇikā and King Sātakarṇi made some scholars to speculate much on the relationship of Nāgaṁṇikā to Sātakarṇi and even Simuka (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 39; XVI, pp. 77–85 and *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 71 ff).

(3) Above the figure, the label is read as *Kumāro Bhā....ya.* On a comparison of the published plate in *ASWI*, V, Pl. LI and the illustration in *SI*, Pl. XXXIII, we feel that the latter is a reliable copy of the original inscriptions on the cave walls. In particular in the label inscription No. 3, the letter following *Kumarō*, appears to read *Ve* or *Vi*, not *Bhā* as read by many scholars. The lower part is not angular but looped and hence we feel that the letter is *va* and the missing letters may thus be read in full as '*Kumāra-vara-Vedasiriya*' or *Kumāro Ve* (*dasiri*) *ya*. Thus this figure belongs to Vedisrī.

(4) *Mahārathi Traṇakayirō* : Queen Nāyanikā's father and maternal grandfather of Kumāra Vēdiśrī, the minor prince, heir apparent to the throne. The mention of Mahārathi Traṇakayirō has thus a great significance because of the fact that during the troublesome days of Sātakarṇi I during which time perhaps the latter lost his life, Nāgaṁṇikā sought her father's help in restoring family fortunes. These cave records and figures belong to that period and quite appropriately and necessarily the name of Mahārathi was mentioned first, after the king-designate Vēdiśrī.

(5) The figure is lost and we conjecture that the figure of Kṛṣṇa, the father of Sātakarṇi (I), was carved and perhaps he was also no more at this time.

(6) This is also a lost figure. We bring here the name of *Kumāra Sāti Siri*, another son of Nāgaṁṇikā, also mentioned in the larger Nāṇēghāṭ inscription, *Satinō Sirimatasa ca mātuya* (*SI*, p. 194).

(7) *Kumāro Hakusiri* is wrongly equated to *Sāti Sirimata* (*SI*, p. 197, note 1). We may point out that in line 4 of the larger Nāṇēghāṭ inscription we have after *Satinō Sirimatasa ca mātuya* clearly three letters...., '*Kumāro* –, and quite reasonably the names of Haku Śrī and Kumāra Sātavāhana were also mentioned in the record which is unfortunately badly damaged here beyond repair. See *SI*, Pl. XXXIII, Part II.

(8) *Kumāro Sātavāhano* : The form is clearly *Sātavāhano as well as Sādavāhano*, as in the Nasik record of Kṛṣṇa. Cf. *Sādavāhanakulē Kaṇhē Rājini* (*EI*, VIII, p. 93, Pl. VI.22).

15. *EHD*, p. 77.

16. D. C. Sircar in *JNSI*, III, p. 88.

17. We accept the date of Khāravela in the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. as discussed in *CHI*, II, pp. 112–13.

18. Note the expression '*Sātakaṇiṇi*'. Significantly the coin legend on the Pauni find reads likewise.

19. Prof. Mirashi identifies it with the river Kanhan, a tributary of the Wainganga. *JNSI*, III, pp. 64–66. This city near Kaṇhabeṁṇā may not be the capital but a prominent city of the Sātavāhanas in Vidarbha.

20. We are now in a position to say this because of the discovery of a great Buddhistic centre at Pauni (1968–70), which yielded considerable number of Sātavāhana coins in 2nd century B. C. levels. Among these a few copper issues belong to Sātakarṇi I and II. The coins are under study by the excavators. Prof. Mirashi and Sircar, basing on the slender evidence of Tarhala hoard, vigorously argued for and against the Berar home of the Sātavāhanas (*JNSI*, II, pp. 83–94). In fact there is no coin of even Gautamīputra in this hoard and all belonged to later rulers like the Chanda hoard. [Only one coin of Sātakarṇi I has been found at Pauni. See my section on coins in the *Pauni Excavatians* – Ed.].

21. It may be noted that Khāravela, after securing the Vidarbha region, moved downwards south along the east and occupied Pitundra (Maisolas), and it appears that coastal Andhra regions were under the Kaliṅga kings quite for some time, i. e. till the time of Gautamīputra. Dr. Subrahmanyam recently reported from Guntupalli a record of a Cēdi Mahāmēghavāhana ruler. Cf. *The Guntupalli Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, A. P. Govt. Epigraphical Series, No. 3 (1968), pp. 1–3.

22. Firstly this is borne out by the fact that among the Nāṇeghaṭ relievo figures, Mahārathi Traṇakayirō preceded the king's father, Rājan Kṛṣṇa, who was no more and secondly it is clear that Khāravela worsted the Bhojakas and Mahārathis too. It is, therefore, quite likely that all the aggrieved joined together, revenged on the Cēdi king and got back the lost territories. This was befittingly commemorated by the performance of an *Aśvamēdha* and the relievo figures perhaps belonged to this period, i.e. slightly earlier than the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record which enumerates many other sacrifices when Vēdiśrī was the ruler. *SI*, pp. 192–95.

23. *SI*, p. 193. The record was put up in the reign of *Kumāravara Vēdisiri*. The date portion after this is lost in line 1. Again in line 6 after *Rāyasa*, it could only be filled as *Vēdisiri*.

24. We have an interesting record in the Nasik cave (*EI*, VIII, p. 91), which mentions the building of a *Caityagṛha* by a daughter of Mahā-Hakuśrī, daughter of royal officer (Rāyamaca). This shows that the line of Hakuśrī remained in the Imperial service.

25. The princes of the royal blood were styled as *Kumāras* and, like the Mauryas, they were appointed as viceroys (provincial governors). Perhaps some of them were vested with unfettered authority so far as their provinces were concerned. *CHI*, II, pp. 28 and 316.

26. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 532.

27. *CHI*, II, p. 98.

28. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 145.

29. Dr. Subrahmanyam points out that Elephant represents Kaliṅga and says that its adoption as the main symbol on the coins of King Sātavāhana proclaims victory over the Kaliṅga ruler Khāravela. *JOU*, Part 2, p. 130.

30. *EHD*, II, pp. 789–90.

31. This is only a presumption. It may also be noted that the *Matsya* gives another king, Skandhastambhi, after Pūrṇotsaṅga and assigns him a rule of 18 years. We have no evidence for this king anywhere. Are we to take these 36 years of rule as of Vēdisiri along with his brothers Sātiśrī and Siri Sātavāhana ? There is nothing improbable.

32. J. Allan, *CCAI*, Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 6–16.

33. Bhilsa Inscription, *MASI*, No. I, pp. 5, 21; *EI*, II, p. 88.

34. [No coin of Sātakarṇi II has been found at Ahicchatrā-Ed.].

35. At Nevasa itself our study has shown that several coins of early group could not be properly assigned. See Charts. Also *Rama Rao*, 1961. Many coins of this catalogue are early but too difficult to make out as the illustrations are deplorably bad.

36. Strangely enough, Dr. Gopalachari takes Lambodara as the issuer of Śrī Sātavāhana coins. *CHI*, II, p. 304.

37. *BMC*, pp. lxxvii, 28, Pl. V–GP5; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 163.

38. *BMC*, p. 63, Pl. IX, Nos. 237-42; *CHI*, II, pp. 273–79.

39. *SI*, pp. 164–68; *CHI*, II, p. 279.

40. It is quite reasonable to hold that Beṇākaṭaka was in Vidarbha (*JNSI*, III. pp. 65–66). The actual city may be Mūṣikanagara which was earlier a provincial head-quarter under the Sātavāhanas and became capital due to the Kṣaharāta onslaught over the traditional Pratiṣṭhāna.

41. *The Periplus* states that Nambanus inherited western Malwa. Again it is stated that Nahapāna was ruling over Barygaza when Kalyana was blockaded by Saraganes (Sātakarṇi). Cf. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 30.

42. *BMC*, Intro., cix. Pl. IX, p. 67, No. 252.

43. *CHI*, II, p. 807. His coins from Junagadh, Pushkar, Ajmer regions. See *BMC*, Intro., pp. cxv, 72, Pl. X, No. xli, 259. As a Mahākṣatrapa both silver and copper issues, *BMC*, p 74, Pl. X, Nos. 262, 264.

44. See the Kutch Museum inscription dated in the year 11 of Caṣṭana recently discovered at Bhuj (*IAR*, 1967–68, p. 52) and edited by Dr. Shobhana Gokhale. This inscription sets at rest the speculations about the foundation of the Śaka era by a royal house other than the Śakas. Also this most important record helps us to arrive at a firm date for the Sātavāhanas from the time of Gautamīputra. Caṣṭana made his son Kṣatrapa Jayadāman a viceroy of the Junagadh-Pushkar-Ajmer regions (*BMC*, pp. cxii, 76–77, Pl. X, Nos. 265-67, 269) after his capture of Ujjainī. Jayadāman died prematurely.

45. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 77–78, Pl. I, Nos. 10–11. Dr. Trivedi conjecturally attributes the original striking to Puḷumāvi (II).

46. *ASWI*, IV, p. III, Nasik, No. 15.

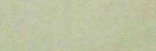
47. Caṣṭana appears to have been closer to Nasik (Ptolemy's Larike), and this may have forced Puḷumāvi (II) to shift to the original capital sometime later in his reign.

48. The coins clearly indicate that the last Andhra king of the Purāṇic list, Puḷumāvi (IV), did not extend his sway over the coastal Andhra or Karṇāṭaka, nor anywhere in the North. The coins bearing the name of Puḷumāvi found in large numbers at the sites in coastal Andhra including Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Karṇāṭaka region and the *inscription of Jungligunḍu referring to the 8th regnal year of Puḷumāvi should be attributed to this early monarch, not the last ruler of that name as taken by Dr. Sukthankar, D. C. Sircar and others* (*EI*, XIV, p. 155; *SI*, pp. 212–13). It appears, therefore, clearly that after Candra the Sātavāhanas lost their hold everywhere and their dominions were restricted to the Vidarbha region only.

49. Rudradāman appears to have been, during his long rule, in conflict with two Sātakarṇis. The first one was perhaps Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the brother of Puḷumāvi (II). This relates to the earlier conflict when Rudradāman was a Kṣatrapa under his grandfather. This ended perhaps in a temporary setback to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who acted under his brother's command. A sort of patching up was made between the two royal houses by a marriage alliance (Rudradāman's daughter was married to Sātakarṇi), and soon Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi came to the imperial throne (*SI*, p. 178; *EI*, VIII, p. 44, l.12.).

50. Kanheri inscription, *ASWI*, V, p. 78. This monarch appears to be the same as that mentioned in a Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. *CHI*, II, p. 322, note 1.

51. After Rudradamān's Śaka year 72 till the time of Rudrasiṁha I, Śaka year 103 (Gunda inscription), the Śaka power declined. *BMC*, Intro., pp. cxxiii–iv, 86–87.



Correlation of Trenches and Layers	*Attribution of Sātav*		
	Siri Sātakarṇi	*Sātavāhana*	*Sātakarṇi II*
A to H, Layer-2.	..	..	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. D), No. 1114.
A to H, Layer-3.	..	..	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. G), No. 3223, p. 191.
A to H, Layer-4.	..	..	..
A to H (*except C*), Layer-5.	..	..	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. D), No. 1880.
A, E, F to H, Layer-6.	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. F), No. 6657.	..	..
E, F and H, Layer-7.	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. F), No. 6659.	..	..
A, G–7, B, D–6, E, F, H–8.	1–Copper/Sq. (Tr. F) Bull No. 1799.	2–Copper/Circular Elephant. Nos. 6863, 6544 (Tr. F, H). 1–Lead/Circular No. 6490 (Tr. E).	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. F), No. 6564.
C-6, A–G-8, B, D-7, E, F, H-9.	1–Copper/Sq. Bull p. 188 (Tr. E). 1–Ivory Seal, p. 202 (Tr. E).	..	..
C-7, B, D-8, A, G-9, E-10	..	..	..
C-8, A, G-10, E-9, E-11.	..	..	..
C-9, E-12.	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. E), No. 6710.	..	..
Total	5 + 1 (Seal of Kaṇha)	3	4

After *Fr*

CHART I

NEVASA EXCAVATIONS (1954–1956)

STRATIGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS AND CORRELATION OF COINS

Attribution of Sātavāhana Coins				*Other Coins*			
Sātakarṇi II	*Puḷumāvi I*	*Unascribed (but early)*	*Gautāmīputra Sātakarṇi*	*Tribal*	*P. M. C.*	*Bullae*	*Viṣṇukuṇḍins*
1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. D), No. 1114.	..	..	2-Copper/Circular No. 825 (Tr. A) and Tr E. 1-Same (Tr. F), No. 669, 2-Copper/Circular Nos. 1754,3597 (Tr. H).	..	..	1–Lead No.902 (Tr. D).	1–Copper/Circular Lion No.855 (Tr. C).
1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. G), No. 3223, p. 191.	..	3-Copper/Circular Nos. 1420,1579,1224 (Tr. C). 1–Lead/Circular No. 3136 (Tr. C).	6–Copper/Circular Elephant Nos. 1443 (Tr. C), 1398, 1189 (Tr. D), 2593, 2691+one (Tr. E). 1–Copper/Circular No. 1462 (Tr. D). (*Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi*)	..	..	..	1–Copper/Circular Lion (Tr. G), No. 1545.
..	1–Lead/Circular Three–arched hill (Tr. E), No. 4106	1–Lead/Circular Elephant No. 1968 (Tr. C). 1-Copper (Tr. C.), No.1800.	7– Copper/Circular, Elephant Nos. 3416, 3199+1 (Tr. E), 2287, 1708 A (Tr.B), 4306(Tr.G),3910(Tr.H).	1-Copper/Tribal Sq. Ujjain No. 4363.	1–Copper/Sq. No.4012(Tr. E).	1–Gold/Circular Bullae, No.1890.	..
1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. D), No. 1880.	..	1-Copper/Sq. Elephant (Tr. C), No. 2226.	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	1-Copper/Sq. Ujjain No. 5287 (Tr. F).	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ar Ele- 3, 6544 lar . 1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. F), No. 6564.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	1	7	18+1 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi	2	1	2	2

After *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, Fig. 84.

I : 8

THE EPOCH OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA RULE : A RE-APPRAISAL

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

1. The date of the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan forms one of the most debated and yet unsettled problems of ancient Indian history. While some historians are inclined to place this event sometime in the latter half of the third century B. C. soon after Aśoka[1], others relegate it to about the middle or the latter half of the first century B. C.[2] Still others divide the Sātavāhana history into two phases placing the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the third century B. C. and the supposed restoration of the allegedly lost independent status of the dynasty under Simuka in the latter half of the first century B. C.[3]

2. The main reason for such widely divergent opinions on the question lies in the fact that the Purāṇas make conflicting statements as regards the total number of what they style the Andhra or Andhra–jātīya kings and the period of their total rule. Thus, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* make the general statement that there were thirty kings[4], but the number of names actually given by them ranges between seventeen and twenty-five[5]. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, on the other hand, gives the total number of kings as nineteen[6], but some manuscripts of the work actually name thirty, while the names found in other manuscripts vary between twenty-one and twenty-eight[7]. Similar is the case with regard to the total duration of their rule. Most of the Purāṇas dealing with the subject agree that the Andhra kings ruled for a period of over four centuries, though the actual figures supplied by them differ from one another by a few years[8]. According to another tradition recorded in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, however, the Andhras ruled for three hundred years[9]. As against this, the total of the years assigned to individual reigns is 448½ according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* and 272½ according to the *Vāyu*[10]. It follows from this that there were two different traditions on these points : according to one of them there were altogether some thirty rulers the duration of whose reigns covered over four centuries while according to the other tradition there were about nineteen kings with some three centuries or a little less as the total length of their rule. Considering the fact that the Sātavāhana rule came to an end about the close of the second or early in the third century A. D., the champions of the first tradition date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the latter half of the third or about the commencement of the following century B. C. Those who rely on the second tradition place this event sometime in the first century B. C. However, while there exists such a wide divergence in the Purāṇic traditions regarding the total number and duration of the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas, all the Purāṇas without a single exception are unanimous about another tradition according to which Simuka[11], the first in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings,

obtained the earth by overthrowing the last Kāṇvāyana ruler, Suśarman[12]. The second view about the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule has precedence over the other opinion inasmuch as it is in conformity with this unanimous tradition.

3. In view of the disagreement among the Purāṇas, scholars have approached the problem from some other angles. Mention must in this connection be made of the Naneghat larger sacrificial inscription of Nāyanikā, widowed queen of Sātakarṇi I, the third Andhra–Sātavāhana king according to the Purāṇas, and the shorter label inscriptions[13]. BUHLER[14] and, following him, some other scholars[15] are inclined to assign these records to the first half of the second century B. C. on palaeographical grounds. The statement of the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela that the Kaliṅga king despatched an army to the West without caring for Sātakarṇi[16] has also been taken to support this early date of the Naneghat inscriptions. The Sātakarṇi of the former epigraph is generally identified with the first Sātavāhana king of that name and the inscription of Khāravela is also placed as early as the other records[17] on grounds of supposed references therein to the 165th year of the Muriya-kāla[18] and the 103rd year after Nandarāja[19]. Others contest it stoutly, place these records not much earlier than the end of the first century B. C., dispute any allusion to the Maurya era and interpret the relevant expression, *viz.*, *Nandarāja-ti-vasa-sata*, as referring to three hundred years since the Nanda king[20]. It is worth mentioning in this connection that even BUHLER, who placed the Naneghat record in the first half of the second century B. C., observed that 'the characters of the Naneghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi I and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi'[21]. He further emphasises the point by stating that 'the differences between the characters of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi's and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them at a distance of more than about 100 years'[22]. He could place the Naneghat inscriptions as also the Nasik epigraph of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa)[23], the second king of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇas, in the first half of the second century B. C. because he believed that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi lived a little earlier than the middle of the following century before Christ[24]. But now that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is almost unanimously believed to have flourished in the first half of the second century A. D., the Naneghat documents should, following BUHLER's suggestion, be naturally placed about the beginning of the Christian era, in any case, not prior to the middle of the first century before Christ, a date which would agree with the unanimous Purāṇic tradition that the last Kāṇvāyana king, Suśarman, was overthrown by the first Andhra-Sātavāhana ruler, Simuka. It is also noteworthy in the present context that BUHLER did not believe that the Andhra–Sātavāhanas ruled for over four centuries. 'Nor is there', he avers, 'any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi'[25]. However, those who place the event of the coming of the Sātavāhanas to power in the latter half of the third century B. C. connive at BUHLER's verdict regarding the palaeographical differences between the Naneghat inscriptions on the one hand and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's records on the other and the interval of time warranted by them obviously because it is inconvenient to them and continue to place the two sets of epigraphs at a distance of over three centuries.

Moreover, it must be remembered that palaeographic evidence, though of some help in the absence of other evidences, is not very reliable in fixing exact dates or even a period within narrow limits of inscriptions. In some cases dates fixed exclusively on palaeographical grounds have been proved to be wide off the mark not merely by decades but by centuries. Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas[26] and Somavaṁśīs[27], for example, which were placed by earlier epigraphists like BUHLER and

FLEET about 800 A. D., have now been proved to belong to dates centuries earlier. The same is the case with the Sagar inscription of Vāparājadeva, the first known Kalacuri king of Tripurī[28].

4. An important evidence for dating the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule has been afforded by the stratigraphy of the recent extensive archaeological excavations at Nevasa situated on the river Pravarā, a tributary of the Godāvarī, in the Ahmadnagar district of the Maharashtra State. These diggings have brought to light six periods of human habitation the last three of which belong to the historical period. The last one is the Muslim-Maratha period which does not concern us in the present inquiry. Period IV styled Early Historical and Period V designated Indo-Roman or Late Early Historical, however, have an important bearing on the problem under study. Period IV has yielded, among other things, coins of two early Sātavāhana rulers, Siri Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana, while the finds of Period V include the coins of the later Sātavāhanas. Therefore, the determination of the chronological limits of these periods, particularly of Period IV, will go a long way in solving the perplexing riddle shrouding the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. Period IV was characterised by the use of iron, black-and-red ware, the coarse red and a sprinkling of Northern Black Polished Ware. This, coupled with the coins of the early Sātavāhanas found in the various layers of this Period, has led the excavators to date its beginning to the first half of the second century B. C.[29]. As regards the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV, the excavators first dated it in *circa* 50 B. C. but revised it later bringing it down to the beginning of the Christian era[30]. The cultural equipment of Period V included the Red Polished Wares such as Megarian-like, the Rouletted ware, the amphorae and the criss-cross painted Andhra ware and the coins of the later Sātavāhanas such as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi. It has been pointed out by the excavators that at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh the Rouletted ware has been dated from *c.* first century B. C. to the first-second century A. D. and at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli from the first to the third century A. D. The amphorae have been assigned to *c.* first century B. C. at Taxila and *c.* first century A. D. at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like is also assignable to the same period. The Andhra painted ware from Nevasa is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri and may not be earlier than the first century A. D. On these grounds Period V has been sought to be assigned to *c.* first century B. C. — second–third century A. D.[31]

However, a close examination of the relevant data leads one to question the above dating. None of the evidences relied upon by the excavators can form a firm base for dating these periods within well-defined chronological limits. As admitted by DR. SANKALIA, the NBP in the Deccan cannot be dated as early as in the north (5th–4th centuries B. C.) and its date in the former region can be determined only on the basis of the circumstantial evidence of associated finds like coins. It must be remembered in this connection that NBP ware sherds have been reported even from the topmost layers of Period IV which, according to the excavators themselves, can in no way be placed much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era[32]. The silver-plated copper punch-marked coin also comes from the upper-most layers of this period[33] and consequently cannot be dated much earlier than the beginning of the first century A. D. DR. DEO, who has contributed a large section on coins to the Report, seems to have employed the coins of the early Sātavāhana rulers found in the various strata of Period IV as a double-edged weapon for fixing the date of the Period on the one hand and the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule on the other. Thus, on the one hand we are told that 'the set of five coins bearing the legend Siri Sātavāhana and coming from layers earlier than those giving the coins of Gautamīputra are new and help in assigning the layers of period IV to about the second century B. C'.[34] It is argued on the other hand that "their (of the coins of Sātavāhana)

association with the antiquities of pre-Red Polished ware horizons supports their dating to about the 2nd century B. C. In view of this new evidence", it is added, "it may not be incorrect to push back the origin of the Sātavāhanas to 3rd-2nd century B. C. rather than to assign them to 1st century B. C. as some scholars try to advocate"[35]. The reasoning behind these arguments is quite unintelligible. First, when the epoch of the Sātavāhana power itself is the bone of contention, the occurrence of Sātavāhana coins of uncertain dates cannot be pressed into service for dating the layers in question. Secondly, the dates of the Sātavāhana kings whose coins are met with in stratified excavations must be fixed on the basis of the layers proper wherein they have been recovered and not on that of the general cultural period to which the coin-yielding layers belong. Now, all the coins of king Sātavāhana are encountered in the uppermost strata of Period IV which the excavators themselves do not assign to a date much earlier than the first century A. D.[36] Moreover, it is also not quite correct to aver that these coins came from the pre-Red Polished ware layers. A glance at the chart explaining the concordance and correlation of the layers at Nevasa would reveal that coins of king Sātavāhana have been reported from layer No. 3 of Trenches I, X and Y and layer 8 of Trench E which are co-eval with layer 5 of Trench C which has yielded Red Polished wares like the amphorae and the Megarian-like. Then again amphorae are encountered in layer 4 of Trench Y which underlies the layer yielding coins of king Sātavāhana[37]. And as we have already seen, Red Polished ware continued to be used for some three centuries after Christ. It would thus follow that nothing found in the layers of Period IV supports the 3rd-2nd century B. C. epoch theory. Further, there is reason to believe that the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV and the *terminus a quo* of the following period lie not about 50 B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century A. D. as contended by the excavators but considerably later. The Red Polished ware having been current for three or four centuries A. D., it cannot be relied upon for dating Period V within closer limits. The only firm base for determining the chronological limits of this period is furnished by the late Sātavāhana coins on the one hand and the coins doubtfully described as Pallava coins on the other[38]. As regards the upper limit, coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi would seem to place it not much earlier than the early second century A. D. The coins doubtfully designated as Pallava really belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins a large number of whose coins has been reported from various ancient sites in Maharashtra. Three such coins from Paunar in the Wardha district were published and for the first time attributed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins by the present author[39] and this attribution has been followed by Drs. Deo and Dhavalikar in their report on Paunar excavations while reporting the discovery of a large hoard of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins[40]. Now, the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A. D., and the discovery of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins in the topmost layers of Period V would naturally lead one to date the *terminus ad quem* of this period about late fifth-early sixth century A. D. We would thus propose to date Period V between the second and fifth-sixth centuries A. D. Conversely, the chronological limits of Period IV will also have to be brought down by about a century and may be placed between late first century B. C. or early first century A. D. and early second century A. D. And consequently the discovery of early Sātavāhana coins in the layers of Period IV would only lend support to the theory that the Sātavāhanas rose to power sometime in the latter half of the first century B. C.[41]

5. The evidence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* also deserves to be studied from this point of view. It is admitted on all hands that the play is based on historical events. According to an episode narrated in it, Vidarbha rose to the status of an independent kingdom under Yajñasena, a close relation of the minister of the last Maurya king, who was on hostile terms with the Śuṅga upstart Puṣyamitra (*c.* 187–151 B. C.) and his son Agnimitra. Mādhavasena, a friend of Agnimitra and a

cousin of Yajñasena, was arrested by an officer (*antapāla* or protector of frontiers) of Yaijñasena while going to Vidiśā, Agnimitra's headquarters. When asked by Agnimitra to release him, Yajñasena insisted on the prior release of the Maurya minister by Agnimitra who, being enraged thereupon, sent his brother-in-law Vīrasena on an expedition against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and Mādhavasena released. The kingdom of Vidarbha was partitioned between Yajñasena and Mādhavasena both of whom accepted Puṣyamitra's suzerainty. It would thus follow that during the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga Vidarbha was at first an independent kingdom and later divided into two dependencies ruled over by Yajñasena and his cousin Mādhavasena under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's hegemony. Recently two potin coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I on typological grounds have been reported from Pauni, an ancient site in the Bhandara district of Vidarbha. One of them is a surface find and the other was recovered in course of archaeological excavations[42]. These coins being of base metal, there is little likelihood of their having come to Pauni from some distant locality. The discovery of these coins, therefore, seems to suggest that the Vidarbha region formed part of Sātakarṇi I's dominions. According to those scholars who date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the second half of the third century B. C. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and Sātakarṇi I were either contemporaries or the latter flourished somewhat earlier than the former[43]. In case the latter view is accepted, the non-mention of Sātakarṇi by Kālidāsa in connection with Vidarbha will have to be accounted for. In the time of Puṣyamitra, Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Vidarbha which was ruled over by Yajñasena and Mādhavasena under Puṣyamitra's suzerainty. In fact, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* gives the impression that Vidarbha came under the possession of Yajñasena immediately after the collapse of the Maurya empire. And if the former view is conceded, one will have to reconcile the rule of Sātakarṇi I with that of Yajñasena and Mādhavasena over the same region about the same time, which is ridiculous. It would thus appear that the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* also supports the first century B. C. epoch theory.

6. Consideration of the evolution of legends on early Indian coins also leads us to the same conclusion. There is some difference of opinion on this question. The earliest Indian coins, those known as punch-marked coins and some cast pieces, are uninscribed. Legends began to appear on Indian coins at a comparatively late phase in the history of Indian numismatics. According to some scholars, this represents an indigenous development while others hold that this was a result of the impact of the coins of the Greek rulers of India[44]. We are of the opinion that while legends on Indian coins may have begun to appear as a result of the gradual development of the technique of minting, the appearance of the names of the issuing chiefs accompanied by regal titles, such as those we come across on the Sātavāhana coins, was in all likelihood inspired by the coins of the Indo-Greeks. This new development, which transformed the character of Indian coinage, took place not earlier than the first century B. C.

It has been recently suggested that prior to the first century B. C. Sātavāhanas may have issued coins without any legends such as the punch-marked coins[45]. However, the question at stake is not whether the Sātavāhanas issued uninscribed coins also, but the dating of the coins of the earliest Sātavāhana rulers which, we know, are inscribed. And these, we have seen, belong to a date not much earlier than the middle of the first century B. C.

7. The above view also finds support from another consideration. Sātakarṇi I and Sātavāhana issued lead coins together with those in copper and potin. While lead as an alloy is known to Kauṭilya who lived in the fourth century B. C., it first came to be employed by itself as a metal for

striking coins much later. Excluding the Sātavāhanas and their neighbours and successors Strato II (first cent. B. C.) is the earliest king to issue a solitary type in lead[46]. Lead by itself never enjoyed popularity as a coin-metal in the north and even in south and Deccan it ceased to be used for this purpose after the Ikṣvākus and the Sātavāhanas. The employment of this metal for striking coins constitutes a peculiar feature of Indian numismatics during a particular period. In view of this fact the earliest Sātavāhana kings who issued coins in lead cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C.

8. To sum up. All the evidences, literary and archaeological, when properly sifted, co-ordinated and correlated, lead us to the incontestable conclusion that the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule lies somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C.

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2. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th Ed., Calcutta, 1953), pp. 403-406 and D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. Majumdar and Pusalkar, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1953), p. 195 (30 B. C.), etc. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that the 112 years assigned by the Purāṇas to the Śuṅgas really included the 45-year period of the rule of the four Kāṇvāyana rulers also and accordingly dates the accession of the first Andhra king Simuka in 73 B. C. (*Early History of the Deccan* (*Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III), pp. 44, 48. Also *vide* D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, pp. 69 ff.

3. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, The Purāṇic Account of the Sātavāhanas, *JIH*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 359-365. This view, which is based solely on the use of the word *punar* in a stanza of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, has nothing to commend itself.

4. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 36.

5. Thus the *Vāyu* MSS name 17, 18, 19 or 25; *Brahmāṇḍa* 17; *Bhāgavata* 23; and *Viṣṇu* 22, 23 or 24. *Vide ibid.*, p. 36.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 43, left column, line 5. Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. lxiv and note 4) takes '19' as an error for '29'.

7. Pargiter, *op. cit*, p. 36.

8. Thus the *Matsya* gives 460 years, *Vāyu* 411; *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* 456. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Some *Matsya* MSS, however, give 412 years. *Ibid.*, p. 43, fn. 32.

9. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and fn. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11. The name of the first Andhra king is variously spelt in the Purāṇas as Śiśuka, Sindhuka, Chismaka, Śipraka, etc., which are due to corruption in the course of copying and re-copying. The correct form of the name is given in a label inscription at Naneghat.

12. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

13. *ASWI*, Vol. V, pp. 60 f., 64; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), pp. 192 ff., 190-191.

14. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.

15. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xix; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 477-78; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III (Nagpur, 1962), p. 2, etc.

16. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 79, text-line 4.

17. Some scholars, however, place the Hathigumpha inscription later than the Naneghat ones and identify the Sātakarṇi of the former record with Sātakarṇi II. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 303.

18. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Konow and Jayaswal found a reference to 165th year of the Maurya era, but Jayaswal later gave up this view. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 74. This reading was, however, followed by Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xvii) and Bühler (*Indian Palaeography* (Calcutta, 1959)), p. 57.

19. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 75, 87. Also see Lüders' *List*, No. 1345; Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26.

20. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-06; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 215, note 7, p. 220; B. M. Barua, *IHQ*, Vol. XIV, p. 469 and notes 136-137. For the palaeographic dating of the Hathigumphu inscription, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 213, note 1.

21. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 65.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 98; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 93; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 189.

24. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

26. *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. xv; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 260 (Vākāṭakas); *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294 (Tīvaradeva).

27. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. (Vākāṭakas); Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (1st Ed., Nagpur, 1960) pp. 220 ff. (Tivaradeva).

28. It was assigned by Hiralal to the end of the 9th century A. D. (*Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd Ed., Nagpur, 1932, p. 49, No. 84), but Prof. Mirashi has convincingly shown that it really belongs to early eighth century A. D. (*CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 174-75). For the reading of the name Vāparāja *vide* my *Tripurī* (Bhopal, 1971), pp. 41–42.

29. H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari and Sophie Ehrhardt, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa* (Poona, 1960 — hereinafter cited as *Nevasa*), p. 69. On p. 67, however, Period IV is stated to have lasted from *c.* 150 B. C. to 50 B. C.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 69–70; *Indian Archaeology–1959–60–A Review*, p. 25.

31. *Nevasa*, pp. 67, 69–70. According to the later revised date, however, the beginning of Period V has to be placed about the commencement of the Christian era.

32. NBP ware sherds have been encountered in layers 3 and 4 of Trench Y assigned to Period IV. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.

33. This coin has been found in layer 3 of Trench Y. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 163.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Also cf. p. 69, where coins have been stated to have been used as a principal evidence for dating the occupation of the weathered layer by the inhabitants of Period IV.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 162; *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 145.

36. These coins come from layer 8 of Trench E and layer 3 of Trenches I and X. *Nevasa*, Fig. 84 and pp. 171–172.

37. *Ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.

39. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 164–169.

40. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation* (Nagpur, 1968), pp. 13–14.

41. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *infra*, II : 3, where he also suggests, on independent grounds, first century B. C. or A. D. as the beginning of Period IV. However, his date for the *terminus ad quem* of Period V, *i. e.* third-fourth century A. D. is not acceptable to us for reasons discussed above.

42. S. B. Deo, A New Type of Śrī Sātakarṇi, *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1970), pp. 111–112; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Paunī Excavations*, pp. 99–100.

43. K. Gopalachari, for instance, places Sātakarṇi I's reign between *c.* 212 and 195 B. C. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 301.

44. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, (Hyderabad, 1961), pp. 31–33; *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 86–87; D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159. We do not intend to suggest that these legends were based on or borrowed from those found on Indo-Greek coins. But the idea of including legends on Indian coins was probably inspired by Indo-Greek issues.

45. *JNSI*., Vol. XXIX, Pt. I, p. 4.

46. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 325.

SECTION II

SEMINAR II

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

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SEMINAR II

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

1. *Lahiri, Bela* .. Tribal and Local Coins from Excavations.
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II : 1

TRIBAL AND LOCAL COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

BELA LAHIRI

Tribal and local coins are the main source of our information for the reconstruction of the history of Northern India between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas. They were issued by various indigenous states of both monarchical and non-monarchical constitution, which sprang up in Northern India after the decline of the Mauryas. Many of these states lost their independence with the extension of the Kuṣāṇa power over the major portion of Northern India. Some of them revived after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas but were ultimately submerged into the Gupta empire.

In the recent times, large-scale archaeological excavations over different parts of India have helped us greatly to add to our knowledge of the history of ancient India and are expected to throw more light on its different aspects. The discovery of coins in a stratified condition is much more significant than stray finds. On the one hand, the stratification of different series of coins suggests their relative chronological position. As for example, the Hastināpur excavations have yielded punch-marked coins, uninscribed cast coins, five Mathurā coins, six Yaudheya coins and some pieces imitated from the issues of Vāsudeva from various levels of Period IV which is dated from about 200 B. C. to 300 A. D.[1] The stratification shows that the Mathurā and Yaudheya coins were later than the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins but earlier than the Kuṣāṇa issues. Of them, again, Mathurā coins are earlier than the Yaudheya pieces.

Of course, we should be very cautious while assessing the proper implications of stratification. Antiquities obtained from lower levels may not necessarily indicate that they are earlier in date than those unearthed from upper ones. For, natural or man-made disturbances in the layers may often cause stratified materials to be misplaced, so much so that objects belonging to a particular period may be found with those belonging to another period, separated by one or two centuries; and this may mislead us to a wrong conclusion about the date of the objects recovered from the concerned layers.

Anyway, apart from the question of date, the discovery of coins in a stratified condition generally helps us to a great extent in locating certain ancient cities or tribes whose names we get from their monetary issues. For, local coins, which are of copper, are not expected to travel far from the place of their origin. Hence, a locality which generally yields coins of a particular city or a tribe may be identified with that city or taken to be the area where the concerned tribe lived.

Unfortunately, proper reports with necessary details of coins unearthed are not always available for all the excavations, and we have often to depend on sketchy and vague references to coins as found in archaeological publications like *Indian Archaeology, A Review*.

Available archaeological evidences show that the uninscribed cast coins started earlier than the inscribed ones. The stratigraphic evidence of the excavations at Hastināpur, Kauśāmbī, Rajghat, Śrāvastī, Sohagaura, etc. indicates that the uninscribed copper pieces started about the fourth-third century B. C. and are found usually associated with punch-marked coins and sherds of the N. B. P. ware[2]. At Kauśāmbī the square uninscribed cast coins antedate even the silver and copper punch-marked pieces[3]. Excavations in Eastern India, such as at Vaiśālī, Chirand, Sonpur, Kumrahar and places in West Bengal, however, show that they started in these regions a little later, about the middle of the second century B. C. These pieces continued upto the beginning of the Christian era, while in Bengal they seem to have remained in circulation upto the Gupta period[1].

The local and tribal coins are the earliest inscribed issues of India. The numismatic issues of each particular locality or tribe had their respective marks distinctive from those of the others. They bear the name of a particular city or a ruler or a whole tribe. Accordingly, they may be classified into the following groups :—

A. City Coins, i. e. those which were issued in the names of particular cities mainly located in the Narmadā-Yamunā belt, e. g. Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Erakiṇa, Ujjayinī, Tripurī, Māhiṣmatī and others. The nature of the *Negamā* coins of the Taxila area indicates that they were possibly also a sort of 'city-issues'.

B. Dynastic Coins, i. e. those which were issued in the names of rulers of various monarchical states of Madhyadeśa, such as Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Kanauj, Pañcāla and Almora.

C. Tribal Coins, which were issued in the names of particular tribes of the Punjab region, *viz.*, the Agratyas, Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Rājanyas, Trigartas, Vemakis, Vṛṣṇis and Yaudheyas.

D. Tribal Coins of the Rajasthan area, *viz.*, those of the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Śibis and Uddehikas, and the coinage of the Nāgas of different localities.

Of these the city issues are found in many cases in association with the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins from layers dated about the third-second century B. C. They are rare in layers dated after Christian era. In the Kauśāmbī and other excavations, coins bearing the names of local rulers come from layers datable to a period later than those yielding uninscribed issues. Thus, the city coins which are generally found in association with the uninscribed cast pieces may be dated earlier than the dynastic issues of the local rulers. The cryptic legends and Prākṛit forms of the names of the cities in the nominative also indicate an earlier date for the city issues.

A. City Issues :

Vārāṇāsi—Vārāṇasī is well-known as the capital of the ancient kingdom of *Kāśī*. During the 1940 excavations at Rajghat, the discovery of a sealing bearing the inscription *Vārāṇasy = adhiṣthān-ādhikaraṇasya* in Gupta characters has proved that the ancient site of Vārāṇasī is represented by Rajghat to the north-eastern outskirts of the modern city of Vārāṇasī. Further excavations in

1957–58 at that site have brought to light six periods of human habitations, ranging from the 6th-5th century B. C. to the 17th century A. D.[5] From the dig of Period II (dated between the second century B. C. and the first century A. D.) have been unearthed 5 inscribed seals, as well as some uninscribed cast copper coins. Further excavations at the site in 1960–61 have yielded some uninscribed copper coins from layers of Period III (first century A. D. to third century A. D.) as well as a number of inscribed seals[6].

Two coins collected by S. SINGH ROY from the ruins of Rajghat in 1944 are said to bear the legend *Vārāṇasī* in characters of the first century B. C.[7] One of them is supposed to contain the name of the issuer also. These were probably the city coins of Vārāṇasī, but since they did not come from actual excavation, it is not possible to verify their date.

Vidiśā—Vidiśā was a renowned city of ancient India and was the capital of Ākara or Eastern Malwa. Some coins in the cabinet of Mahant Ghasidas Museum of Raipur, coming from Vidiśā, are said to bear the legend *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* in characters of the early second century B. C.[8] These are apparently the city coins of Vidiśā.

The discovery of some coins with the legend *Vedisa* from the Besnagar excavations of 1963-64[9] shows that ancient Vidiśā is represented by the modern village of Besnagar near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. Out of 300 coins excavated from Besnagar, one coin bearing the name of the city came from Period II (sixth to third century B. C.), associated with N. B. P. ware sherds and punch-marked coins, and another from the top level of Period III (about third to second century B. C.). These city coins may, therefore, be dated about the third or second century B. C.

Erakiṇa—Erakiṇa or Airikiṇa was another important city of Eastern Malwa and is identified with Eran situated on the right bank of the Bīnā river in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh[10]. The old form of the name is preserved in the Sāñchī inscriptions[11] and those of Samudragupta and Toramāṇa found at that place[12].

The coinage of Eran, as pointed out by CUNNINGHAM, offers specimens of the four different classes of old Indian money — punch-marked, uninscribed cast, die-struck and inscribed coins.[13] The supposed earliest inscribed coin of India bearing the name of its issuer Dharmapāla comes from Eran[14]. Three coins with the inscription *Erakaṇya* in characters of about the second century B. C. are ascribed to the city of Eran or Erakiṇa[15].

Recent excavations at Eran have yielded a good number of punch-marked and other uninscribed (local ?) coins along with a seal having the legend *Raño Idagutasa* in Mauryan Brāhmī characters from the deposits of Period II (datable to a few centuries before the Christian era)[16]. Some coins with the legend *Erakanya* are also reported to have been dug up from the deposits of the same Period[17]. The city coins of Eran may therefore be dated about the second century B. C.

Ujjayinī—Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain) was a great emporium of ancient India and the capital of Western Malwa. An extensive series of copper coins, closely linked up with the coinage of Eran, is attributed to Ujjayinī. The great majority of Ujjayinī coins is uninscribed. Known inscribed pieces which are few in number bear the legend *Ujeni* and were evidently the city issues of Ujjayinī.

Recent excavations in the northern outskirts of the city of Ujjayinī have revealed the remains of a fortified citadel and a continuity of occupation of the site from a period prior to the sixth century B. C. upto the Muslim conquest of Malwa in the fourteenth century[18]. Three city coins with the legend *Ujeni* are reported to have come from the mid-level of Period II (dated about 500 B. C. to 200 B. C.), which is characterised by the occurrence of punch-marked coins and N. B. P. ware sherds[19]. Two inscribed ivory seals have also been recovered from the upper levels of this period and are assigned to the third-second century B. C. This fact indicates that the city issues of Ujjayinī were possibly of a little earlier date, say about the third century B. C.

Uninscribed coins of Ujjayinī are also found in layers of Period IV (400 B. C. to 100 B. C.) of Navdatoli and Period V (100 B. C. to 100 A. D.) of Maheshwar[20], which shows that they started earlier than the city issues but continued till a later time.

Tripurī—Coins with the legend *Tipuri* in characters of 'the late third or early second cenrtury B. C.'[21] are ascribed to the ancient city of Tripurī, identified with modern Tewar, 8 miles from Jabalpur on the road to Bheraghat. It was the capital of the Kalacuris in the early medieval period. These coins are available from the site of the city as well as from the far-away Hoshangabad District and places in Western India[22].

Recent excavations at Tripurī (in 1966–67 and 1967–68) by the Sagar University have brought to light four cultural periods, ranging in time from 500 B. C. to 400 A. D.[23] Some inscribed, punch-marked and cast copper coins as well as several rare issues of the Sātavāhana kings and those of some unknown Bodhi chiefs have come to light. Relics of the Kalacuri period were also recovered from the upper layers. A coin of the city of Tripurī came from Period I and is dated about the third century B. C.[24] The palaeography of the legend as well as the fact that these city issues are single-die pieces with the 'seal-like impression', characteristic of early Indian single-die coins[25], also confirms the early date of the 'city coins' of Tripurī.

Māhiṣmatī—Some coins with the legend *Mahisati* have been assigned to the city of Māhiṣmatī, which was the capital of Southern Avanti and a town of great antiquity[26]. But opinions differ about the identity of that ancient city : some scholars identify it with Māndhātā[27], while others believe that it is represented by modern Maheshwar on the Narmadā[28].

However, of the four known coins bearing the name of the city of Māhiṣmatī, two are in the British Museum and their findspots are unknown[29]. The third specimen came from the river bed at Ujjain[30], while the fourth was procured at Maheshwar[31]. But since the Maheshwar piece is a surface-find and was not actually dug up in course of excavations, it is not easy to say if Maheshwar marks the site of ancient Māhiṣmatī.

Recent excavations at Maheshwar and Navda Toli on both sides of the Narmadā have brought to light the remains of a great Chalcolithic Culture of Central India, followed by the remains of three historical periods[32]. A coin similar to the city issues of Māhiṣmatī was discovered in the excavations at Navda Toli[33]. But since the coin is unfortunately broken at the bottom, its legend, if any, is lost, and we are consequently unable to determine the identification of Māhiṣmatī with Maheshwar. The stratigraphy of the broken coin, if it was really the city-issue of Māhiṣmatī, however, suggests a date in about the third-second century B. C., which fact agrees with the date of the known city coins.

(*City*) *Coins of Takṣaśilā or Taxila*—The city of Takṣaśīlā or Taxila, the celebrated capital of of Eastern Gandhāra, which has been identified with modern Shah Dheri, 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, and is represented by the three main sites of Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh[34], has yielded a large number of ancient copper coins of indigenous origin. The majority of the coins which are ascribable to Taxila itself is uninscribed. But, curiously enough, the legends of the inscribed pieces, which are not so rare, do not include the name of Takṣaśilā. They bear on the obverse interesting legends like *Negamā, Pañcanekame*, etc.[35], and on the reverse curious legends like *Rālimasa, Atakatakā*, etc. (evidently in the nominative). They are believed to have been the issues of different merchant-guilds with some system of co-ordination from a central authority[36], which probably had its headquarters at Takṣaśīlā proper. Prolonged and large-scale excavations at Taxila have produced numerous local issues along with those of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas[37], which help us to determine the date of the Taxila issues. According to ALLAN, the local coinage of Taxila was a short-lived one, starting from the time of the Maurya governors (about the third century B.C.) and ending with the Greek occupation of the city (about second century B.C.)[38]. Although the earlier date is confirmed by the Taxila excavations, the later date is not altogether undisputable. Taxila coins in the Bhir Mound excavations come from the Maurya-Śuṅga levels and cannot be dated earlier than the third century B. C. But since Sirkap, which came into existence *only after the Greek conquest*, has produced from excavations more of these local issues, we have to hold with MARSHALL that they 'continued to be struck for some time after the Greeks, and possibly after the Śaka conquest also'.[39]

B. Dynastic Issues of Madhyadeśa :

Kauśāmbī—Kauśāmbī was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Vatsa, and has been identified by CUNNINGHAM with modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the south-west of Allahabad[40]. The discovery of the city issues with the legend *Kosabi* from the site of Kauśāmbī has since confirmed this identification. Kauśāmbī, which has produced all three categories of early Indian money, viz., punch-marked, uninscribed cast and inscribed coins, is a prolific site for local coins of numerous varieties.

The local coinage of Kauśāmbī may be divided into two broad classes :—

(A) the early uninscribed cast pieces,

and (B) the inscribed issues.

The latter inscribed coins may again be sub-divided into four groups, *viz.*—

(1) the City Coins,

(2) the dynastic issues of the so-called Mitra rulers,

(3) those of Dhanadeva and their imitations,

and (4) those of the Maghas.

Of the dynastic issues, ALLAN thinks that the cast pieces of Sudeva and Bahasatimita were the earliest and belonged to the first half of the second or even the third century B. C.[41] He places the uninscribed cast coins before the dynastic issues, while the city coins, which are also cast and linked up by style and types with the uninscribed cast pieces on the one hand and those of Sudeva and Bahasatimita on the other, may be placed midway between the two groups of coins. The early inscribed cast pieces were followed by the struck coins of the Mitra rulers, which are dated about the

end of the second and the first century B. C.[42] The coins of Dhanadeva and their imitations were later than the Mitra coins and are assigned to the early centuries A. D.[43] Next followed the Magha coins which belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.

The above chronological sequence of the Kauśāmbī coins is also supported by the evidence of the recent excavations at Kauśāmbī conducted by the Allahabad University. Moreover, these excavations have thrown further light on the relative chronology of the different series of the local issues of Kauśambī[44]. Of the four categories of cast coins of Kauśambī the square pieces are the earliest and come from Structural Period II.5 to Structural Period III.16. Next come the round cast coins which are available from S. P. III.10 to S. P. III.14. These are followed by the so-called 'Lankey Bull' type of cast coins coming from S. P. III.13 to S. P. III.15, which in their turn are followed by the tiny cast pieces which come from S. P. III.10 to S. P. IV.20. The silver and copper punch-marked coins are available from S. P. III.10 to S. P. III.14. The inscribed Mitra coins (of Sudeva, Bahasatimita, Agnimitra, Aśvaghoṣa and others) are found from S. P. III.15 and S. P. III.16, and are followed by the Magha coins coming from S. P. IV.20.

Thus we find that the square uninscribed coins are the earliest and their origin antedates even the silver punch-marked coins at Kauśambī. The round inscribed cast pieces seem to be contemporary with the punch-marked coins, while the other types of uninscribed cast pieces remained in circulation even after the issue of the punch-marked coins was stopped there. The inscribed issues of the Mitras were later than the uninscribed pieces and the Magha coins are the latest.

Ayodhyā—The ancient city of Ayodhyā (in Fyzabad District) was the capital of the Kingdom of Kosala. The coinage of this locality falls into three distinct series. The first and the earliest one consists of some rare uninscribed round pieces, analogous to those of Kauśāmbī and comparable to the City coins. They are assigned to about the third century B. C.[45] To the second series belong the square cast dynastic issues of the Devas and the Dattas, datable to about the second century B.C.[46] The third series consists of the round struck pieces of the Mitras of a later date, covering the first two centuries A. D.[47]

The excavations at Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts) conducted in 1958–59 have yielded some copper coins including a coin of the Ayodhyā series dated to the middle of the second century B. C. from the upper levels of Period II[48]. A coin of Āyumitra was found along with some Indo-Scythian and Kuṣāṇa coins in a jar from the excavations at Sahet-Mahet in 1908–09[49]. Another coin of this ruler was unearthed from the Kuṣāṇa level in the excavations at Bhīṭā in 1911–12[50]. These facts confirm that the Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā flourished during the post-Kuṣāṇa period and were later than those represented by the square cast pieces.

Almora—The Almora coins are distinctive by their metal and weight and are assigned to about the second century B. C.[51] Three silver-plated copper pieces of lighter weight belonging to Śivadatta of the Almora coins have been found at Sahet-Mahet along with other issues of Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Mathurā[52]. But since these coins were picked up by villagers, and not found in course of excavations, they do not help us much in the matter of dating. It may only indicate commercial intercourse between Śrāvastī on the one hand and Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Almora on the other.

Kanauj—No coin ascribed to Kanauj is reported to have come from the limited excavations carried out at Kanauj in 1955–56[53].

Mathurā—The coins of Mathurā are of two distinct series; those of the local Hindu rulers of the second-first century B. C., and the others of the Śaka Satraps who succeeded them[54]. Small-scale excavations at Mathurā in 1954–55 yielded some square copper coins from the middle layers of Period II (*c.* 5th to 2nd centuries B. C.), while some other copper coins came from the latest layers of the same period[55]. From Period III also came some copper pieces along with those of the Kuṣāṇas. But we do not know the details of these coins.

Mathurā coins are also dug up from the excavations of Hastināpur, Rupar and Purana Qila. At Hastinapur, coins of Mathurā rulers including two of Śeṣadatta come from the earliest levels of Period IV (second century B. C. to third century A. D.), which is preceded by the occurrence of punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins and the N. B. P. ware in Period III (sixth to third century B. C.)[56]. The Mathurā coins are however found in earlier levels than those producing Yaudheya issues with the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ bahudhañake*, and both of them are earlier than the Kuṣāṇa coins.

At Purana Qila also Mathurā coins are preceded by the N. B. P. ware, punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins and succeeded by the Yaudheya and Kuṣāṇa issues. They are found associated with terracottas of the Śuṅga style[57]. At Rupar, Mathurā coins are found from the early levels of Period IV (*c.* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.), which also yielded Indo-Greek and local Taxila coins[58]. Thus, archaeological evidences confirm the date of the coins of the Hindu rulers of Mathurā as the second-first century B. C.

Pañcāla—Ahicchatrā (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District) which was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Pañcāla has produced a remarkable series of local coins of the so-called Mitra rulers. The excavations at Ahicchatrā, resumed after 20 years, in 1963–64 yielded some copper coins including those of Pañcāla, the Kuṣāṇas and Acyu from Period III or the Kuṣāṇa level[59]. This shows that the Pañcāla coins continued even after the Kuṣāṇas. Some coins of Indramitra come from the Kumrahar excavations of 1912–13[60].

C. Tribal Coins of the Punjab Region :

No coin belonging to the Rājanya[61], Trigarta, Vemaki and Vṛṣṇi tribes has so far been discovered from excavations. The Vemaki and Vṛṣṇi issues are found along with those of the Audumbaras[62].

Agratyas—The Agratya Janapada is known from some coins in the British Museum which were obtained by RODGERS at Barwalla in the Hissar District of the Punjab[63]. Fifty-one more coins of similar type and legends were procured from the excavations at Agroha, a few miles west of Barwalla, in the same square and at the same depth as that which yielded four coins of later Indo-Greek rulers[64]. We may, therefore, hold that Agrodaka, the headquarters of the Agratya Janapada, was situated at Agroha in the Hissar District and that its coinage is to be dated about the latter part of the Indo-Greek rule in the Punjab, i. e. about the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century B. C.

Audumbaras—The coins of the dynasty of Audumbara Dharaghoṣa are assigned to the first century B. C. on palaeographic grounds[65]. Archaeological evidences also confirm this date. In the Rupar excavations, Audumbara coins came from the mid-level of Period IV (*c.* 200 B. C. to 400 A.D.), suggesting a date later than that of the Indo-Greek coins and the local issues of Mathurā and Taxila but earlier than that of the Kuṣāṇa coins[66].

One silver coin of Audumbara Dharaghoṣa was found in a field near Jwalamukhi along with three silver pieces of the Kuṇindas and 28 silver coins of Apollodotus II Soter Philopator[67]. This fact may indicate that the silver coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas and, in fact, those of all the Punjab tribes, were imitated from the later Indo-Greek silver issues and that they may be dated about the second half of the first century B. C.

Kuṇindas—The Kuṇinda coins are of two classes : those that bear the name of Amoghabhūti Kuṇinda, assigned to the first century B. C. and those bearing the name of Chatreśvara, dated three centuries later[68]. Some Kuṇinda coins were unearthed from the same layers as those yielding Audumbara coins at Rupar[69]. The Kuṇinda coins are therefore to be dated about the same time, i. e. the first century B. C. A coin of Amoghabhūti Kuṇinda coming from Stratum II of Sirkap in the Taxila excavations also points to the late first century B. C. as its date[70]. A Chatreśvara type of Kuṇinda coin was discovered from the excavations at Bhītā (in 1911–12) in the Kuṣāṇa level[71] which shows that Chatreśvara pieces were of the post-Kuṣāṇa period.

Kulūtas—Before the Taxila excavations, the Kulūtas were represented by a unique silver piece of Vīrayaśas, dated about 100 A. D.[72] But the Taxila excavations have thrown considerable light on the history of the Kulūtas by yielding 11 copper coins bearing the names of Vijayamitra, Vīrayaśas and probably two other rulers[73]. Of them, only Vīrayaśas was known earlier from his unique silver coin. The discovery of these copper pieces, which are not expected to travel far from their place of origin, in a stratified condition in Taxila is significant. It is not unlikely that the Kulūtas originally lived in the Taxila region, but were forced (like some other Punjab tribes like the Mālavas and the Śibis) to migrate eastwards to their later home, the Kulu Valley, due to the pressure of the Kuṣāṇa invasion. For, the find seems to have been buried during the period of Kadphises II and Soter Megas. The copper coins are, therefore, assigned a date of about the beginning of the first century A. D. by both MARSHALL and WHITEHEAD[74]. Since Vīrayaśas is also represented by these copper coins, his silver piece cannot be dated later than the first half of the first century A. D.

Rājanyas—The Rājanya coins are of two classes : those with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and those with Brāhmī inscriptions. A Rājanya coin with Brāhmī legend came from Stratum II of Sirkap in the Taxila excavations[75]. Thus, ALLAN's dating of the Rājanya coins with the Brāhmī legend about the first century B. C. is apparently confirmed.[76]

Yaudheyas—The Yaudheya coins are divided into 6 classes which are assigned to three different periods, Classes I, II and V belonging to the late second and the first centuries B. C., Classes III and IV to the latter part of the second century A. D. and Class VI to the third and early fourth centuries A. D.[77]

Six Yaudheya coins of the *Bahudhañake* type were unearthed in the Hastināpur excavations from a level later than that which yielded Mathurā coins, but earlier than that producing Kuṣāṇa coins[78]. Thus, the coins of Class II were pre-Kuṣāṇa and their dating about the first century B. C. would not be wrong.

Two mint-sites of the Yaudheyas are marked by Rohtak, which produced terracotta moulds for Yaudheya coins of the Bahudhānyaka type (Class II), and Sunet which produced moulds for later Yaudheya issues of the Kuṣāṇa type (Class VI)[79]. Certain excavations were carried out at Khokra

Kot mound at Rohtak during the year 1880[80]. Some small coins found during this digging were assigned by HOERNLE to the late Śaka period. An excavation of Sunet, another mint site, which has produced about 80 moulds for the Yaudheya coins of the third-fourth century A. D., is expected to throw more light on the history of the Yaudheyas.

D. Tribal Coins of Rajasthan Area :

No coin of the Ārjunāyanas is so far reported from excavations. The excavations at Rairh have produced 5 great hoards of punch-marked coins (totalling 3075 specimens) and some copper coins, most of which were, however, surface finds[81]. These include over 300 Mālava coins and 14 coins of the Mitra rulers of Uddehika-Sūdavāpa series, 6 Senāpati coins, 7 Vapu coins, besides other issues. But since these coins did not come in the process of actual digging, they do not help us much in determining their chronology. It may only be said that the territories of the Mālavas as well as the Uddehika-Sūdavāpas were close to each other and situated near about Rairh.

Śibis—The 1915–16 excavations conducted by MARSHALL in the Hāthibāḍa site at Nagarī yielded some coins of the Śibi Janapada from the floor of a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a stone wall (*pujā-śilā-prākāra*, referred to in the Ghosuṇḍī inscription, which was erected in honour of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva)[82]. Later excavations at Nagarī in 1962–63 also produced some coins of the Śibi Janapada of Madhyamikā[83]. The identification of Madhyamikā with Nagarī in the Chitorgarh District is now confirmed by these excavations. As ALLAN thinks, the Śibi Janapada coins were issued in the second century B. C.[84].

The Nāgas—The Nāga coins are procured from various places, *viz.*, Padmāvatī (in Gwalior District), Mathura and Vidiśā, which seem to be their main centres[85]. D. R. BHANDARKAR's Besnagar excavations of 1913–14 yielded some Nāga coins, including the issues of Bhīmanāga and Gaṇapati-nāga[86]. The excavations at Eran in 1961–62 and 1962–63 have also produced some Nāga coins from Period III (above the N. B. P. level) along with silver and copper punch-marked, Western Satrap and other coins[87]. These show that Eastern Malwa was included within the Nāga kingdom which was contiguous to the Western Satrap territories in Western Malwa. The Nāga coins which are of the post-Kuṣāṇa period were also to some extent contemporary with the Western Satrap issues.

The above survey is an attempt to show how a proper study of the archaeological evidences relating to the Local and Tribal coins may help us in determining their dates as well as areas of their circulation.

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13. Cf. *CAI*, p. 99.

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43. *Ibid.*, p. xcvii.

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57. Cf. *SPLCNI*, p. 64.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

59. *IAR*, 1963–64, p. 44. The first excavations at Ahicchatrā were made in 1940–44. Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 1; also *SPLCNI*, p. 106.

60. *ASR*, 1912–13, p. 84.

61. [But as stated later, a Rājanya coin with the Brāhmī legend was found in Stratum II at Sirkap in Taxila excavations — Ed.].

62. Cf. *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV.6 (Vemaki); p. 70, Pl. IV.15 (Vṛṣṇi).

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68. *BMC* (*AI*), pp. ci–ciii.

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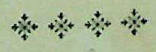

II : 2

BEARING OF THE EXCAVATIONS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AUDUMBARAS

By

M. D. N. SAHI

The present paper attempts to reconstruct the early history of the Audumbaras in the light of archaeological finds obtained during the excavations at Rupar. Since the detailed report of the excavations has not yet been published, we will have to depend on the brief report thereof[1].

The Audumbaras are placed in the *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini (III.2.53) near the people of Jālandhara. *The Mahābhārata* (II.48.12) mentions them with the people of the north, while the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* puts them in the middle country. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Jīvaka is represented as taking a journey from Taxila to Bhadraṅkara, Udumbara, Rohītaka and Mathurā. Thus the Audumbaras were established on the ancient highway which passed through Śākala, Agrodaka and Rohītaka and carried the trade of the Gangetic valley to Taxila. This location is quite in accord with the findspots of their coins at Jwalamukhi, Pathankot, Irippal and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. ALLAN places them in the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Ravi[2]. Przyluski has shown that the coins and the Buddhist texts agree about the location and the high material prosperity they had attained before the commencement of the Christian Era[3].

Audumbara coins have been found in association with those of Apollodotus, Kuṇindas, Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophernes as well as Kaniṣka and Huviṣka from the different regions referred to above. On palaeographical grounds the silver coins which were based on the metrological standard of the Indo-Greek models have been dated to about 100 B. C. by CUNNINGHAM,[4] ALLAN[5] and J. N. BANERJEA[6]. Let us now examine the relative chronological position of the Audumbara coins on the basis of excavated finds from Rupar.

At Rupar[7] the punch-marked coins of Period III were succeeded by the coins of the rulers of Mathurā and those of Antialkidas and Apollodotus II, obtained from an early level of Period IV, dated between 200 B. C. and 400 A. D. The mid-level of the same period yielded the coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas, whereas the coins of Kuṣāṇa rulers came forth from the later level of the same period. Thus on the basis of their stratigraphical position it can be inferred that—

(a) Mathurā and Indo-Greek coins are contemporaneous;

(b) Mathurā and Indo-Greek coins are pre-Audumbara;

and (c) Kuṣāṇa coins are post-Audumbara[8].

It further establishes the fact that most probably the Audumbaras emerged into prominence during the closing years of the 2nd century B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century B. C.

This chronological position, however, does not help us to ascertain precisely in what period the Audumbaras entered into the realm of history. TARN asserts that the territories of the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas were included within the kingdom of Menander[9]. On the other hand A. K. NARAIN holds that during the 2nd century B. C. the territory of the Audumbaras was under the Mitra kings of Pañcāla, with whose coins some of the Audumbara coins have been found[10].

TARN's contention is not corroborated by the evidence from Rupar since Menander's coins were not found in the stratified deposits. There is much less possibility of the extension of the territory of either Antialkidas or Apollodotus up to the river Satlaj, covering the entire Audumbara territory. Antialkidas' capital was at Taxila and the territory lying to the east of his kingdom was precariously held by the successors of Menander. If the territory of the Audumbaras was not under the occupation of Menander, it could not have been held by Apollodotus II, unless he made a fresh conquest over the region. But this conquest was too remote a possibility, because after the death of Menander the Indo-Greeks fell on evil days and fortunes of the family were adversely affected, which is proved not only by the indifferent style and execution of the coins of the later rulers but also by the fact that the joint rulers (Strato I and II) had to issue coins of lead[11]. Therefore, the presence of Indo-Greek coins in the early levels of Period IV at Rupar may at the most be interpreted according to the observations made by WHITEHEAD that they are evidence not of their rule in these districts but of popularity of their money as international currency[12]. Thus in the light of these observations corroborated by the literary evidence, referred to later, it may be said that during the 2nd century B. C. the Indo-Greek rulers did not occupy the territory between the Ravi and Satlaj.

Let us now examine the proposition made by A. K. NARAIN that during the 2nd century B. C. the territories of the Audumbaras were under the Mitra kings of Pañcāla. The basis of his contention is that Audumbara king Bhānumitra is identical with Bhānumitra of Pañcāla. On a comparative study of the two coins in question it may be observed that the symbol is commonly found on both the coins. But the two rulers cannot be identified simply because of the similarity of the name and a common symbol. To illustrate the point, it may be argued that the similarity of the names such as Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra and a common symbol on the coins of Mathurā as well as on those of Pañcāla rulers do not lead us to the conclusion that Mathurā was under the occupation of Pañcāla rulers or *vice versa*. Secondly, palaeographically also Bhānumitra of Audumbara family appears to be a different ruler than Bhānumitra of Pañcāla line[13]. Audumbara Bhānumitra flourished during the 1st century A. D. and cannot in any case be taken to have flourished in the 2nd century B. C.

Thus the Audumbara territory was neither under the Indo-Greeks nor under the Pañcālas. In all probability it emerged as an independent kingdom along with other kingdoms like Mathurā or Pañcāla after the decline of the Mauryas. This is also indicated by a few literary evidences, specially the *Milindapañha*[14]. It's author, while mentioning about the wealth of the city of Sāgala, says that the merchandise which was in abundance there was the 'clothes from Kāśī and Kotumbara'. He further says that among the people of various 'countries' who were coming to take up their residence there, there were also 'those from Kotumbara and Modura'. It clearly establishes that during Menander's time Audumbara as well as Mathurā were independent states.

This literary account gets further corroboration from the numismatic evidence. The square copper coins bearing the tribal name of the Audumbaras in Kharoṣṭhī illustrated by CUNNINGHAM[15] appear to be the earliest and distinctly Indian in style[16]. Since they appear to be earlier than the silver

currency, assigned to 100 B. C., these square copper coins may safely be ascribed to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. The other variety of square copper coins bearing bilingual legends reveals the names of four rulers, *viz.*, Dharaghoṣa, Rudradāsa, Śivadāsa and Mahādeva[17]. It may safely be conjectured that one of these rulers must have been a contemporary of Menander. Out of these square copper coins if the one illustrated by CUNNINGHAM bearing only the tribal name in Kharoṣṭhī be the earliest of the series, as it appears to be so, being modelled on the cast copper coins, then it may be reasonable to conjecture that in its initial stages the kingdom of the Audumbaras, after throwing off the Mauryan yoke, got established as a republican state but soon changed into the monarchical form of government.

The absence of Audumbara coins from the early levels of Period IV at Rupar is suggestive of the fact that in the early stages the Audumbara territory most probably was not very extensive and positively did not extend upto the river Satlaj. Perhaps at this stage it remained confined between the Ravi and the Beas.

With these facts in view, the presence of Mathurā coins in the early levels of Period IV at Rupar assumes greater significance. It may tentatively be postulated that probably the kingdom of Mathurā extended in the north upto the river Satlaj. With the closing years of the 2nd century B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century B. C. the state of the Audumbaras shoots up into prominence as a political force synchronising with the decline of the Indo-Greeks. This fact is fully corroborated by the occurrence of Audumbara coins in the mid-level of Period IV at Rupar. It appears that it extended its sway upto the river Satlaj beyond which lay the kingdom of Mathurā. It is during this period of their heyday that we find king Mahādeva probably crossing the Satlaj and inflicting a crushing defeat on Uttamadatta, the ruler of Mathurā, whose coin Mahādeva is found to have counterstruck[18]. They appear to have been ruling for some time in the region till finally they were overthrown by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, a fact which is also corroborated by the archaeological evidence from Rupar.

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II : 3

SĀTAVĀHANA COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

PARAMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

I

In the absence of proper published reports or any other record it could not be possible for me to know as to how many Sātavāhana sites have been excavated so far and how many of them have yielded any kind of numismatic material. I know only five sites of the Sātavāhanas, where some kind of excavations were made. They are Paithan, Kondapur, Chandravalli, Brahmapuri and Nevasa.

Paithan and Kondapur were excavated in the pre-independence days by the Archaeological Department of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Paithan is said to be the ancient Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Its importance is self evident. Koṇḍāpur is not far from it; so its excavations might well have complemented and supplemented the Paithan excavations. But the excavations at these two places were almost like treasure-hunting; no systematic or scientific method was applied in their diggings. What was dug at these sites is not even known to scholars. No report about them was ever published. I am not aware if anything was ever published about the Paithan excavations; but kondapur excavations were widely publicised. Whatever is said there is of little use to scholars. In the context of coins, it may be said that the coins of the Sātavāhanas that were found there were of the Chanda-Tarhala type bearing an elephant on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse. They were all of copper and belonged to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi and Yajña Sātakarṇi. There was also a coin having the legend *Raṁño Siri Sādavāhanasa* which was related to king Sādavāhana. There is nothing available in the published material which could throw any light on the chronology and relationship of these rulers. And as such they are hardly of any use for the Sātavāhana history.

II

The other three sites were excavated by the disciples of WHEELER on the basis of the stratigraphic method. The finds of coins in these excavations are useful for the study of the Sātavāhana history and numismatics. But the reports, as they are published, need careful analysis before any thing could be made out of them.

The excavations at Brahmapuri, an elevated area on the outskirt of the city of Kolhapur, situated on the bank of the river Pañchagaṅgā, were carried out in 1945-46 by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona. A detailed report of the excavations was published by the

Institute in 1952. But it is regretting to say that the *Report*, so far as the numismatic material is concerned, is not the least reliable. The entire numismatic material was re-examined and was critically analysed by me and its results are incorporated in a paper published in the *Bulletin* of the said Institute. It brings out the following facts :—

(1) Uninscribed coins were found in the lowermost layers of Square I and Extension II, and they are the earliest coins found in these excavations.

(2) In Square I, layer 9 was found an inscribed coin (No. 2230). It is the earliest inscribed coin in the excavations and suggests that it followed the uninscribed coins. The coin bears a tree-in-railing with a wavy line below and some symbol (not distinct) to right on one side and a hill of six arches with the legend on the other. The legend has been restored conjecturally as *Mulānanḍasa*. Though the name is quite similar to that known from the Karwar coins, the form of the tree-in-railing on the reverse is very much different from the form found on the Karwar coins and the wavy line below the railing is also not known on them. The form of the hill on the present coin also differs very much. So, the coin cannot be attributed to Mulānanda of Karwar. This ruler, by the coin-type, is closely associated with the Kura rulers.

(3) Thirteen coins bearing the legend *Mahāraṭhisa Kurasa* and one bearing the legend *Mahāraṭhisa* (*Viḷivā*)*yakurasa* were found in layers 8, 9 and 10 of different trenches. These coins have a bow with an arrow and legend around on the obverse and may be classified into two groups according to their reverse :—

(i) Tree-in-railing of four squares. Only one coin with this motif is known.

(ii) Tree over a three-arched hill with dots and a wavy line in a rectangle below it. All the other coins have this reverse.

These coins show that they were issued by two rulers (i) Kura and (ii) Viḷivāyakura, who held the title *Mahāraṭhi*. Kura seems to be the earliest ruler of the dynasty, which adopted his name as the dynastic one. He was either contemporary of Mulānanda in the later days of the latter or was his immediate successor. He was succeeded by Mahāraṭhi Viḷivāyakura.

(4) The largest number of coins found in these excavations are those of the rulers named Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura. They number 36 and were found in various trenches in layers 4 to 9 and a majority of them are confined to layers 6 to 9. Of the 36 coins found in the excavations, 23 are of copper; but unfortunately most of them were flaked and left only such traces as enabled them to be attributed to these rulers. On only a few the name could be identified. Two coins (Nos. 2590 and 2973) disclose the name of Māḍharīputra Sivalakura, and on one (No. 2235) *Vāsiṭhiputasa* can be read and it may conveniently be identified as the coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura. Of the 13 coins of lead, three (Nos. 1958, 2380-A and 2661) are so worn out that they cannot be attributed to any particular king. One discloses the legend *Raño Sivalakurasa*. The remaining nine coins belong to Viḷivāyakura. Here again we have two coins with the legends *Raño Viḷivāya*(*kurasa*) (No. 1537) and (*Raño Viḷi*)*vāyakurasa* (1833) and have no matronymic. The others have full legend *Raño Vāsiṭhi-putasa Viḷivāyakurasa*.

It may well be suggested that the coins with and without matronymics belong to one and the same rulers Māḍharīputra, Sivalakura and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, as we find the same thing amongst the coins of the Sātavāhanas. But it would be interesting to know if Mahāraṭhi

Viḷivāyakura and Rājan Viḷivāyakura were one and the same. But we have no means to determine it. It is not unlikely that both might be one and the same. He first adopted the title *Mahāraṭhi* following his father or predecessor Kura and later discarding the title *Mahāraṭhi* adopted the more showy title of *Rājan*.

The coins of Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura have been found almost in the same layers mixed together; so there is no clear indication about the succession. But two hoards of the coins of these rulers were found earlier, one in 1873 and the other in 1877 from this very site; and in them were a number of counterstruck coins, which showed that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura was succeeded by Māḍharīputra Sivalakura. The two hoards also disclosed the coinage of a third ruler of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, who succeeded Māḍharīputra Sivalakura; but his coins could not be located amongst the excavated finds. It is not unlikely that they might have existed amongst the unidentifiables.

(5) Seven Sātavāhana copper coins were found in this excavation in layers 3 to 6 and thereby suggest that the Kura kings were supplanted by the Sātavāhana rulers in this area. This excavation thus removes the wrong belief that the Kuras were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. And this is one of the most important contributions of this excavation to history.

Of the seven coins, three coins were of the Chānda-Tarhala type; but two of them are flaked (1400 and 2468); only on the third (No. 801) the legend can be made out as ....*ra Yaña sa*....and restored as *Raño Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*. Two thin square coins (Nos. 4139 and 4140) are very much worn out; so they cannot be attributed. Of the remaining, one (No. 801A) bears an elephant on the obverse and tree-in-railing on the reverse, similar to *B. M. C., A. W. K.*, Pl. IV. 74–75. A number of coins of this type have been found in the excavations at Nevasa. The seventh coin bears a three-arched hill with a wavy line below with the legend around on the obverse and Ujjain symbol with a crescent over one orb on the reverse. It broadly resembles the lead coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi found in Krishna and Godavari districts (*B. M. C., A. W. K.*, Pl. V. 88, 89, etc.). A similar copper coin but square in shape was published by MIRASHI from KAUS Collection with a fragmentary legend *kaṇa* which he reads as *ṇaka*. There the legend was read outwardly; but on the present coin the partly visible legend may be read inwardly as–*putasa Sara Sātakaṇisa*. Thus this is a little different from it. If the initial portion, i. e. matronymic, was Gotamī or Vāsiṭhī cannot be suggested.

Whosoever might be the issuer of the Hill-Ujjain symbol type, he must be the exterminator of the Kuras, since this is the earliest coin in the excavation layers, belonging to the Sātavāhanas. He was a predecessor of Yajña Sātakarṇi as his coin is known in a later stratum.

(6) In layer 4 of Square II was found a copper coin having a rayed circle containing a jar flanked by a trident on either side on the obverse and a lion to right on the reverse. Two similar coins have been found in the excavations in the post-Sātavāhana layers at Nevasa. The coins of this type were till recently considered to be Pallava coins; but now they are taken to be Viṣṇukuṇḍin issues. Thus it makes it clear that the Brahmapuri site was occupied by the Sātavāhanas only for a short period just before they were eclipsed by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

III

The second excavated site of Chandravalli is situated in a valley near the town of Chitaldurg in Mysore State. There the excavations were conducted in 1947 by the Department of Archaeology,

Government of India. It is described in a paper published in the *Ancient India* (No. 4). Fifty-five coins were found there; of them only forty-five are listed in that paper; the other ten were left out as they were illegible.

Of the forty-five coins listed in the paper, seven are known from unstratified area and are of no use in the context of the present paper. The remaining were found in between layers 5 to 10. The earliest strata 8 to 10 have yielded uninscribed coins as well as the inscribed one belonging to Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi and his family. This shows that uninscribed coins were the earliest coins of the region. They were followed by the coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya and his family. Their coins are found in large numbers in layer 7. These rulers were three in number. The earliest of them was Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. His coins are found in layers 7 to 10. He was most likely succeeded by Mahāraṭhiputa Sadakaṇa, whose coins are known in strata 7 and 8. The last ruler was Sadakaṇa Cuṭu Kaṇha Mahāraṭhi, whose coins are known exclusively from stratum 7.

A pit, attributed to stratum 6, has yielded a coin of Cuṭukulānanda, who is well-known from a find from Karwar. If he succeeded the Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhis in this region cannot be suggested on the basis of this lone coin. It may be a drift or intruder; but it undoubtedly indicates that the issuer of the coin was more or less contemporary to the Kaḷalāya rulers.

The Kaḷalāya rulers were exterminated by the Sātavāhanas whose coins are known in strata 5 and 6. The Sātavāhana coins found in both the strata are of the Chanda-Tarhala type having elephant on one side and Ujjain symbol on the other. One coin found in stratum 6 bears the legend *(si)r(i) Yaña s(ā)ta*; it may conveniently be attributed to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. In stratum 5 was found another coin with the legend *(ṇa) Sata(ka)*; its full legend would be *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*. Stratigraphically this would be the coin of a ruler later than Yajña Sātakarṇi. A third coin of this type, attributable to Puḷumāvi, was found in the second layer from the top in another cutting where the stratification was less reliable and cannot be related with that of the main site; yet it may be said that he was later than the above two rulers.

A coin of quite a new variety, probably belonging to the Sātavāhanas, was also found in stratum 6. It bears an elephant standing left and a small bow and arrow above it on the obverse and a three-arched hill with crescent and probably a tree-in-railing to its left and a wavy line below on the reverse. The legend on the obverse is truncated; so it cannot be attributed to any king.

On the basis of these coins, it may be conveniently said that the Chitaldurg region was occupied by the Sātavāhanas in the time of Yajña Sātakarṇi or only a little earlier in the time of his predecessor, whom we cannot name on the basis of excavated numismatic material.

A well-defined coin — A Roman *denarius* of Tiberius (26–37 A. D.) of the type of Livia Pax came in the excavations from stratum 5 and is in a good condition. It gives a fairly good indication that stratum 5 is later than the first half century A. D.; but how much later, remains a matter of guess, as the Roman coins were coming by way of trade in large number for quite a considerable time. This Tiberius coin is not the lone find of Chandravalli. Earlier, the coins of Augustus and Tiberius were found from this site and a hoard from the vicinity of Bangalore contained coins only upto the time of Claudius (41–54 A. D.). Though these coins are not enough for any conclusive deduction, yet they seem to indicate that the later Roman coins were unknown in the Mysore region. If it be so, the date for Yajña Sātakarṇi may be suggested in the first half of the first century A. D. or in the vicinity of it. This, however, needs further probe.

IV

The third Sātavāhana site, where any proper excavation was carried out, is Nevasa, which is situated on the banks of the river Pravarā in the district of Ahmadnagar. It was conducted by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, during the years 1954–55 and 1955–56. Its results are incorporated in a voluminous work entitled *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*. A chapter covering about 43 pages is devoted to the numismatic material found in the excavations. This material is much more important than the material found in the other two excavations, described earlier, for two reasons. Firstly, the site is not very far from the places where the early inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas have been found; secondly, this excavation has brought to light almost exclusively the coinage of the Sātavāhanas.

The excavations were carried out at three points in a line on one and the same mound; one at the top of it which, according to the contour plan, stood at the height of 60–65 feet. Here eight Trenches – A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H – were laid out. The second digging was done 10 feet below it at the height of 50–55 feet; here only one Trench – Trench I – was laid out; and the third was dug still below at the height of 40–45 feet. Here two Trenches, X and Y, were laid out. All the trenches were dug quite deep. For our purpose, it would be enough to say that they touched the weathered horizon, which was like virgin soil for the habitation with which we are here concerned.

Above the weathered horizon (virgin soil) 12 layers were found in Trench E; others showed lesser number of layers. The concordance and co-relation of various layers of Trenches A–H is simple; their layers are almost parallel to each other. Trench I showed only 4 layers, X 3 layers and Y 4 layers. They are concorded and co-related amongst themselves and their layers are parallel to each other. Layers 3 and 4 of Trenches I, X and Y are equated by the excavators with layers 8–12 of Trench E; layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y was equal to layer 8 of Trench E and their layer 4 represented the layers below layer 8 of Trench E. Layer 2 of Trenches I, X and Y represented layers 2–7 of Trench E.

Now, no coins have come to light from layers 8–12 of Trenches A, B, C, D and G. One coin each was found in layers 8 and 12 of Trench E. Layer 8 of Trenches F and H yielded 2 and 1 coin respectively. Layer 4 of Trench Y yielded a battered coin and is of no use for us. Layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y, which is said to be coeval with layer 8 of the other trenches, brought to light 6, 10 and 6 coins respectively. They may be described as follows :

1. No. 6710 (Pl. 76.3) E. 12; Lead Round.
   No. 1369 (Pl. 77.2) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 1712 (Pl. 77.3) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 1810 (Pl. 76.2) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 4695 (Pl. 78.1) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 6659 (Pl. 77.1) F. 7; Lead Round.

   Obverse : Humped bull facing right; a triangle-headed standard in front. Legend around *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

   Reverse : Tree-in-railing with five bold round leaves, one at the top and the other four placed in two rows; the railing is composed of a rectangle having a horizontal and two vertical bars; to right triangle-headed standard and a *nandipada*; to left *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*; above on either side of the top leaf, a circle; below two fishes and a wavy line[1].

2. No. 1175 (Pl. 74.1); X. 3; Lead Round.
No. 1981 (Pl. 75.1); I. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Humped bull facing right; three-arched hill above; legend around *Raño Siri Sātavāhanasa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coin 1; to left *śrīvatsa* and *nandipada*; to right triangle-headed standard and probably a *nandipada*; above on either side of the top leaf a circle; below two fishes and a wavy line.

3. No. 2186 (Pl. 74.3); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.
No. 1799 (Pl. 81.2); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.
No. 2288 (Pl. 81.10); Y. 3; Copper Rectangular.

Obverse : Bull facing right; legend above *Sātavāhanasa.* (Legend is not visible on the last two coins).

Reverse : Tree-in-railing; auxiliary symbols are not visible but might be existing on preserved coins (here only seen on 1799).

4. No. 6843 (Pl. 78.2); H. 8; Copper Round.
No. 6544 (not illustrated); F. 8; Copper Round.
No. 3277 (not illustrated); Y. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; above a symbol of four unconnected circles with a crescent placed vertically over the rightmost circle. Legend around *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coins 1 and 2; symbols on either side, above and below probably as on 2 but not clear on the illustrated coin.

5. No. 6490 (Pl. 75.2); E. 8; Lead Round.
No. 3640 (Pl. 76.1); X. 3; Lead Round.
No. 3486 (Pl. 82.7); Y. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; above symbol as on coin 4; in front triangle-headed standard; legend *Raña Siri Sātavāhanasa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coins 1 and 2; auxiliary symbols are not effaced, but might be similar to those on coins above.

6. No. 3007 (Pl. 79.3); I. 3; Lead Square.

Obverse : Lion with tail curled up walking right; *svastika* above; legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol with crescent on top orb placed side by side.

7. No. 1573 (Pl. 82.6); X. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; below wavy line with fishes; traces of legend.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing with pointed leaves, one at the top, others placed in three branches.

8. No. 1447 (Pl. 81.6); X. 3; Lead Rectangular.
   No. 1580; X. 3; (Pl. 81.7); Lead Rectangular.
   Obverse : Within a border of line, puissant lion facing right, with upraised curled tail.
   Reverse : Five-branched tree-in-railing as seen on coins 1 and 2.

9. No. 1252 (Pl. 74.6); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.
   Obverse : Six-armed symbol with arrow, taurine and circle with two ends open, (partly visible on the coin), staff and a standing human figure.
   Reverse : A bold *svastika* with small taurine at each point, solid triangle and taurine.

10. No. 1195 (Pl. 81.4); Y. 3; Lead Round.
   Obverse : Bull standing to right; probably *nandipada* below the mouth; traces of legend above.
   Reverse : Tree (complete motif not visible on the coin).

11. No. 942 (Pl. 81.5); X. 3; Lead Round.
   Obverse : Bull standing to right; above three-arched hill with crescent; traces of legend.
   Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves with railing.

12. No. 6564 (Pl. 81.9); F. 8; Copper Square.
   Obverse : Within a dotted border, a motif of which only the lower part is available on the coin as a humped bull standing facing right; below its dewlap a circle with pellet; to its right some stalk and dot like objects placed over a railing (?); above the bull was perhaps some legend.
   Reverse : A motif which is not clear in the illustration; but it is described in the *Report* as 'hill of three arches'; a taurine in the left top corner.

13. No. 1194 (Pl. 80.4); Y. 3; Copper Round.
   Obverse : Elephant walking right; trunk off the flan; a symbol on the back, which appears to me as *nandipada* but identified in the *Report* as four circles; traces of legend above.
   Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves in a railing; but different in form from that seen on Coin-Type 11.

14. No. 2849 (Pl. 74.2); Y. 3; Silver-coated Copper; Irregular Rectangular.
   Worn punch-marked coin of most likely pre-Mauryan type; very much worn out.

15. No. 2389 (not illustrated); I. 3; Lead Square.
   The obverse and reverse of the coin are extremely defaced.

All these coins were found in co-eval layers and thus they may be taken as contemporary. Coin-types 14 and 15 are of no use for the determination of the chronology of the coin-types. About the remaining types, too, there is little in the *Report* to help much in the matter. It may, however, be said on the basis of the results of the Brahmapuri and Chandravalli excavations that the uninscribed coins were followed by the inscribed ones. Accordingly, the uninscribed coins (Types 8 and 9) may be placed at the top of all other types of coins found in this excavation.

Coin-type 9 is the same as the Ujjain coins of Class 3 Varieties *b* – *c* of the British Museum Catalogue (*B. M. C., A. I.*, pp. 253–54) and may have travelled from Ujjain to this place. As such, only Type 9 is a local one. 13 coins of this type were found in this excavation. One of them is said to be of copper and the rest were of lead. This shows that the coins of the same type were issued in copper and lead simultaneously. Only two of these coins are described in the *Report* and no locus is given of the rest. It is only said that 11 of the coins belonged to Period IV, i. e. to the period to which the layers under discussion belonged. The other two are attributed to Period V, which means that they belonged to layer 7 or earlier of Trenches A–H, if they were found in them or to layer 3 if they belonged to Trenches I, X and Y. This means that the coins were current for quite a long period. The obverse of these coins is quite new, unknown anywhere else; but their reverse is well connected with the reverse of Types 1–4 by the main tree symbol, which is alike on all these coins. If the uninscribed coins had the auxiliary symbols, cannot be said on the basis of the published coins.

This uninscribed coin-type might have been followed by the coins of Types 1–2 and 4–5 which belong to rulers named Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Sātavāhana. All these four types have almost similar reverse motif but may be distinguished into two groups by their obverse as having bull and elephant. If the two obverses indicate two rulers each of the names Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Sātavāhana is a matter which needs careful consideration. In the *Report* while it is conceded that there were a number of Sātavāhanas, all the coins found in the excavations are attributed to one Sātavāhana, and similarly the Siri Sātakarṇi of all the coins has been said to be one. In the case of the coins bearing the name Siri Sātavāhana, an attempt has been made to scrutinise closely the palaeography of the coins, but nothing of the kind was done in the case of coins bearing the name of Siri Sātakarṇi. However, in my opinion, any attempt to suggest any date or chronology for any coin on the basis of palaeography is nothing more than hair-splitting and serves no purpose. For this only the motifs of the coins themselves may be of some help.

Here it deserves notice that the coins of Bull type (Type 1) with the name Siri Sātakarṇi have a triangle-headed standard in front of the animal, while the Elephant type (Type 4) with the name Siri Sātakarṇi has the symbol four circles with a crescent above the animal. Similarly the coins of Type 2 with Bull and the name Sātavāhana have a three-arched hill above the animal and the coins of Type 5 with the Elephant and the same name have the four circle symbol above the animal, like that of Type 4 and also another symbol, *viz.*, triangle-headed standard before the animal. Thus each of the types is different. These distinctions of small symbols on the obverse surely had some meaning; and to my mind it could only be that the issuers of the types were not one and the same. Thus there were two Siri Sātakarṇis and two Siri Sātavāhanas during this period. That those who issued coins with Bull obverse were earlier and those with Elephant later may very well be inferred from the fact that Elephant motif continued in the later period while the Bull motif became rare if not obsolete. Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Bull type was the earliest, as his coin was found in the earliest layer 12 of Trench E. After his coin, no coin is known in layers 9–11 and then they are known in layer 8 and above in Trenches A–H and in layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y.

The chronology of the coins would thus be—

Bull Type with triangle-headed standard in front — Siri Sātakarṇi I;

Bull Type with three-arched hill above the animal — Siri Sātavāhana I;

Elephant Type with four circles and crescent above the animal — Siri Sātakarṇi II;

Elephant Type with the symbol above the front of the animal — Siri Sātavāhana II.

Coins with simply the name *Sātavāhana* in copper and square in shape (Type 3) have also been found in these trenches and layers. They probably belonged to a third Sātavāhana. This type has no symbol above the bull, which places it distinct from the above coins; but reverse being not fully restored, it is difficult to say anything more for the present. Similarly a third Sātakarṇi is suggested by the coin with lion motif (Type 6). Issuers of Types 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 might be different from all the above; but on them the legend is not visible; so nothing can be said about the chronology of Types 7, 10 and 12. About Types 11 and 13 it may be said with absolute certainty that they were issued by the last ruler of the series, as the reverse bears a type of tree, which is distinct from the types of tree seen on all other types; and this type of tree is frequently seen on the coins found in layers above layer 8 and its co-eval layers.

Layers 6 to 2 of Trenches A–H bear out a neat and clean chronology for the coins they have yielded. Just above the coins described above, we have the coins which may be described as follows :—

1. No. 6657 (Pl. 81.3); F. 6; Copper Square.
   No. 1880 (Pl. 79.2); D. 5; Copper Square.

   Obverse : Humped bull facing right; legend above *(Ra)ño Kochiputa(sa) Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

   Reverse : Tree of five leaves in railing; the railing is rectangular with one horizontal and two vertical bars. All enclosed in a double-line border.

The first of these coins is described in the *Report* under the group of coins with uncertain legend and with doubt *ño ccha* has been read on it. But the illustration clearly shows *ko* after *ña* and is followed by *cha*, thereafter truncated *pa* and traces of *ta* are also seen. As such, the legend on it may be read with certainty as *(Ra)ño Kochiputa*. The other coin is described in the *Report* under later Sātakarṇis. Here the legend above the bull is off the flan while that below the bull is quite clear, which is read as *Sātakaṇisa*. The two coins are quite alike and suggest that they are of the same series and on them the legend began from the top left corner and continued over all the top and left side and came down to the lower side. Thus the complete legend may well be restored as *Raño Kochiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*. These coins are in the continued tradition of Type 3 with the name Sātavāhana described earlier; only the auxiliary symbols are missing from the reverse of these coins. This brings a new name. An identical coin had occurred in layer 9 of Trench E according to the *Report*; but unfortunately, for unknown reasons, the coin is not described. This indicates that the coin is a fairly early one, but may be placed after Sātavāhana II. The king having this matronymic is not known from any other source so far. A coin (No. 2026) of copper, square in shape, is reported to have been found in layer 5 of Trench C; but it is not illustrated. However, it is said in the *Report* that it bears on the obverse an elephant with some symbol at the back; the reverse is peeled off. This was an interesting coin, which would have been issued in this period by probably some other rulers; but unfortunately it is damaged and is not illustrated.

2. No. 5287 (Pl. 83.7); F 6; Copper Rectangular.
   Obverse : A very big and bold *svastika* with the tips probably pronged.
   Reverse : defaced.

This coin-type, so far as the metal and shape are concerned, is similar to above coins and has been found in a co-eval layer; its type is new but unfortunately nothing can be said about it.

3. No. 4106 (Pl. 83.6); E. 4; Lead Round.
   Obverse : Three-arched hill with crescent; the base is protruding on either side and is a little thick; below it a line; around traces of legend.
   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb (not illustrated).

4. No. 4363 (Pl. 74.5); H. 4; Lead Rectangular (fragment).
   Obverse : Three-arched hill.
   Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

The type of these coins is well-known from the Deccan; but unfortunately the legends are missing from these coins. So, no definite attribution is possible. But it may be pointed out that the coins of Type 3 are known elsewhere as exclusively having the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.* So, on the basis of those coins this may also be attributed to him. As regards the coin of Type 4, it is not possible to say anything, but in all probability it belonged to some other ruler.

5. No. 2287 (Pl. 80.1); B. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1708A (not illustrated); B. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1986 (Pl. 78.3); C. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3416 (not illustrated); E. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3199 (not illustrated); E. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 4305 (not illustrated); G. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3910 (Pl. 80.2); G. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1448 (Pl. 80.3); C. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 1189 (not illustrated); D. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 1398 (Pl. 82.2); D. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 2691 (not illustrated); E. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 2593 (Pl. 82.3); E. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 825 (Pl. 80.6); A. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 669 (Pl. 82.5); F. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 3597 (Pl. 82.1); H. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 1754 (not illustrated); H. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 4977 (Pl. 80.7); Y. 1; Copper Round.
   No. 1952 (Pl. 80.3); Y. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 133 (not illustrated); Y. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 1941 (Pl. 82.4); Y. 2; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant walking right with trunk upraised. Some coins do not seem to have any auxiliary symbol; but some have a symbol over the back or in front of the animal. They need proper scrutiny. Traces of legend above.

Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves in a railing. The tree is depicted in various forms like(i) one leaf at the top; three leaves on either side placed either straight or slanting up; (ii) one leaf at the top; one branch on either side and each branch has the leaves as three prongs; (iii) leaves arranged in the form of a circle.

6. No. 3126 (not illustrated); F. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Elephant facing right.

Reverse : Effaced.

All the copper coins of Type 5 belong to one fabric and are distinct from other coins. They have been found in almost all the trenches in layers 2 to 4. They mainly belong to layers 3 and 4 and in layer 2 they are only survivals. The legend on all the coins is extremely truncated. In the *Report*, attempt has been made to read parts of *Gotamiputa* on some coins and of *Sātakaṇi* on some others. But I could see only *puta* or *putasa* on some of the coins and only traces of *sa* on some others. So, I consider it hazardous to attribute these coins to any ruler on the basis of the fragments of the legend. However, it may be said on the basis of the forms of the tree on the reverse and different auxiliary symbols on the obverse that the coins were issued by more than one ruler, and it is not unlikely that the issuers might be three or four. The lone lead coin (Type 6) has little in itself to make out anything.

7. No. 1462 (Pl. 79.1); D. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant facing right, above *ño Satakaṇi(sa)*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol (with crescent which is off the flan).

This is the coin of the well-known Chanda-Tarhala type. Its find in the upper layer (layer 3) is an indication that coins of this type were issued very late in the history of the Sātavāhanas. The rulers issuing this type of coins were posterior to the rulers who issued the coins of the types described earlier. Thus, this is most important.

8. No. 1545 (Pl. 83.3); G. 3; Copper Round.
No. 855 (Pl. 83.1); Copper Round.

Obverse : A lion standing facing right with some kind of standard in front; surrounded by a circle.

Reverse : A conch shell or vase flanked by trident on either side; all in a rayed circle.

The coins of this type were also found in Brahmapuri excavations. ELLIOT had described similar coins in his *Coins of Southern India* (p. 152-b); but the latest view about these coins held by the scholars is that they belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Coins of this type, in the collection of P. S. Vaishampayan of Nasik, were picked up from some ancient mounds around Nasik. These show that whosoever had issued these coins had succeeded the Sātavāhanas in this region.

9. No. 1114 (Pl. 81.8); D. 2; Copper Round.

Obverse : Within a dotted circle a humped bull standing to right; perhaps some symbol before the mouth and on the back of the animal.

Reverse : Within circle, tree of five branches.

10. No. 730 (Pl. 81.1); X. 1; Lead Round.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised walking right; traces of blurred legend.

Reverse : *Svastika*; perhaps a thick crescent to its right.

These two coins have been found from the top layers. Coin-Type 10 seems to be a survival from the layers below, and it might be a Sātavāhana coin of a type not known elsewhere. It might be of Type 2 described above; but the metal and shape differ and the description available is also not the same.

Coin-type 9 apparently looks like associated with the Bull-Tree-type Sātavāhana coins; but in fabric it is quite different and is much closer to the later South Indian uninscribed coins of sixth-seventh century and after.

Thus the Nevasa excavations afford a very good chronological sequence for the various types of Sātavāhana coins. As regards the date, it can only be said that at the bottom layer the uninscribed coins were found which are attributed to second-first century B. C., though not on any firm ground. So the earliest date for the coins may only be placed sometime in the first century B. C. or at the most in the last part of the second century B. C. The Sātavāhana coins are sealed at the top by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins here as well as at Brahmapuri. So that might indicate the end of the Sātavāhanas.

The excavators have divided the layers disclosing Sātavāhana coins into two periods :—

(i) Period IV, which they have named as Early Historic and dated between 150 B. C. and 50 B. C.;

and (ii) Period V, which they have called Late Early Historic (Indo–Roman) and dated between 50 B. C. and 200 A. D.

Though I do not agree with these dates for reasons of my own, I would not dispute here the date assigned for the beginning of Period IV, i. e. 150 B. C.

For B. C. 50 as the date for the end of Period IV and the beginning of Period V, the excavators have relied on two evidences :—

(i) The Red Polished Ware of Roman type;

and (ii) the Roman Bullae found in the excavations.

The dating of the Wares depends on circumstantial evidences. They have referred in this connection to the finds of some other excavations. They say that the Rouletted ware has been dated at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh from about the first century B. C. to the 1st-2nd century A. D. At Brahmagiri and Chandravalli it has been assigned to a period from 1st to 3rd century A. D. The amphorae have been put to about the 1st century B. C. at Taxila and *c.* 1st century A. D. at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like also belongs to this period. The Andhra criss-cross painted

ware from Nevasa, which is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri, may not be prior to the first century A. D. I do not know what firm evidence the archaeologists had for these datings; but as a numismatist I know that finds of Roman coins reveal that Roman trade in India began only in the time of Augustus (31 B. C.–14 A. D.). As such no Roman find can be dated in the pre-Christian era. Roman trade activities shifted from the lands of the Cholas to the lands of the Sātavāhanas only in the second century A. D. The coins of Rome found in the northern Sātavāhana region only belong to the latter part of the second century A. D. So, if any Roman object is found in the Sātavāhana territories it could not be dated earlier than the second century A. D. So the end of Period IV could only be placed towards the end of the first century A. D. or the beginning of the second century A. D.

The bullae, which are said to be copies of Roman coins, were found in the Nevasa excavations in layer 2 of Trench D (No. 902; Pl. 83.4) and on surface (No. 902A; Pl. 83.5). I do not think that any of them is a copy of the coins of Emperor Augustus; but even if they be, I do not know how they can be used for dating layers 6, 7 and 8 when they have been found almost on the top. The third piece, which is called bulla (No. 1890; Pl. 83.2), is of gold and, in fact, is not a bulla but a Sassanian coin. It has been found in Trench D, layer 4. It may give some idea for dating. Unfortunately, the coin is mutilated; otherwise we could have known the name of the issuer and also his period and then could say something with precision. As it is, any Sassanian coin on Indian soil cannot be placed at any date earlier than the beginning of the third century A. D. If this be the date of the gold coin, then the date for the end of Period IV and the beginning of Period V could be placed on this evidence only in the second century A. D. And this would naturally shift the beginning of Period IV to a later date in the first century A. D.[2]

As to the end of Period V, any date may be fixed on the basis of the later uninscribed coins in the third-fourth century A. D.[3]

There might be places of disagreement; but I am sure here in this paper is some thought-provoking material for the history and chronology of the Sātavāhana rulers. I hope the historians, the numismatists and the archaeologists would ponder over these suggestions patiently and carefully.

REFERENCES

1. The motifs described here and elsewhere in the following pages are based on the restoration made with the help of several coins either in this excavation or known from elsewhere.
2. [Cf. I : 8 above — Ed.].
3. [For a somewhat different suggestion on this point, see I : 8 above — Ed.].

II : 4

GUPTA COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

K. D. BAJPAI

The study of the Gupta coinage started in the year 1783 with the discovery of a hoard of gold coins at Kalighat near Calcutta. These coins were of the later Gupta emperors. Since then several hoards of Gupta coins have been discovered in various parts of northern India. In West Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Rajasthan and Haryana, several important hoards of the coins of the Imperial Guptas have been discovered. A few hoards are also known from Damoh, Khargon and Betul districts of Madhya Pradesh. The biggest hoard of Gupta gold coins, originally numbering about 2,100, was found in the year 1946 near Bayana in Rajasthan. But out of the entire hoard, only 1821 gold coins could be rescued. They belong to six Gupta emperors beginning from Candragupta I to Skandagupta.

Apart from the hoards of the Gupta coins, stray gold, silver and copper coins, both of the Imperial Guptas and of other Gupta rulers, have been obtained from various sites in northern India. It may be noted that very few Gupta coins are reported from the South. Barring the Kumarkhan hoard in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat, no Gupta hoard, worth mention, is known from the region south of the river Narmada. The Kumarkhan hoard contained only 9 gold coins of the Imperial Guptas.

Excavations have been conducted during the last 25 years at several historical sites in northern India. Some of these sites have yielded Gupta coins, mostly in gold and copper. The excavations conducted at Eran by the University of Saugar have brought to light four types of copper coins of Rāmagupta. These types are (1) Lion, (2) Garuḍa, (3) Garuḍadhvaja and (4) Border – legend type. All the coins of Rāmagupta are of copper, varying in weight from 20 to 30 grains. The coins are circular in shape and their fabric is very much similar to the Nāga coins, which have been discovered in large numbers at Eran, Vidiśā, Kutwār (ancient Kāntipurī) and Pawāyā (Padmāvatī). The name of Rāmagupta is clearly written on some of the coins excavated at Eran. The symbols — Lion, *Garuḍa* and *Garuḍadhvaja* — are also quite distinct on them. The Brāhmī legend on the coins is early Gupta. The stratigraphic evidence tallies with the numismatic evidence. On the basis of this it can be said that the coins were issued about the close of the 4th century A. D.

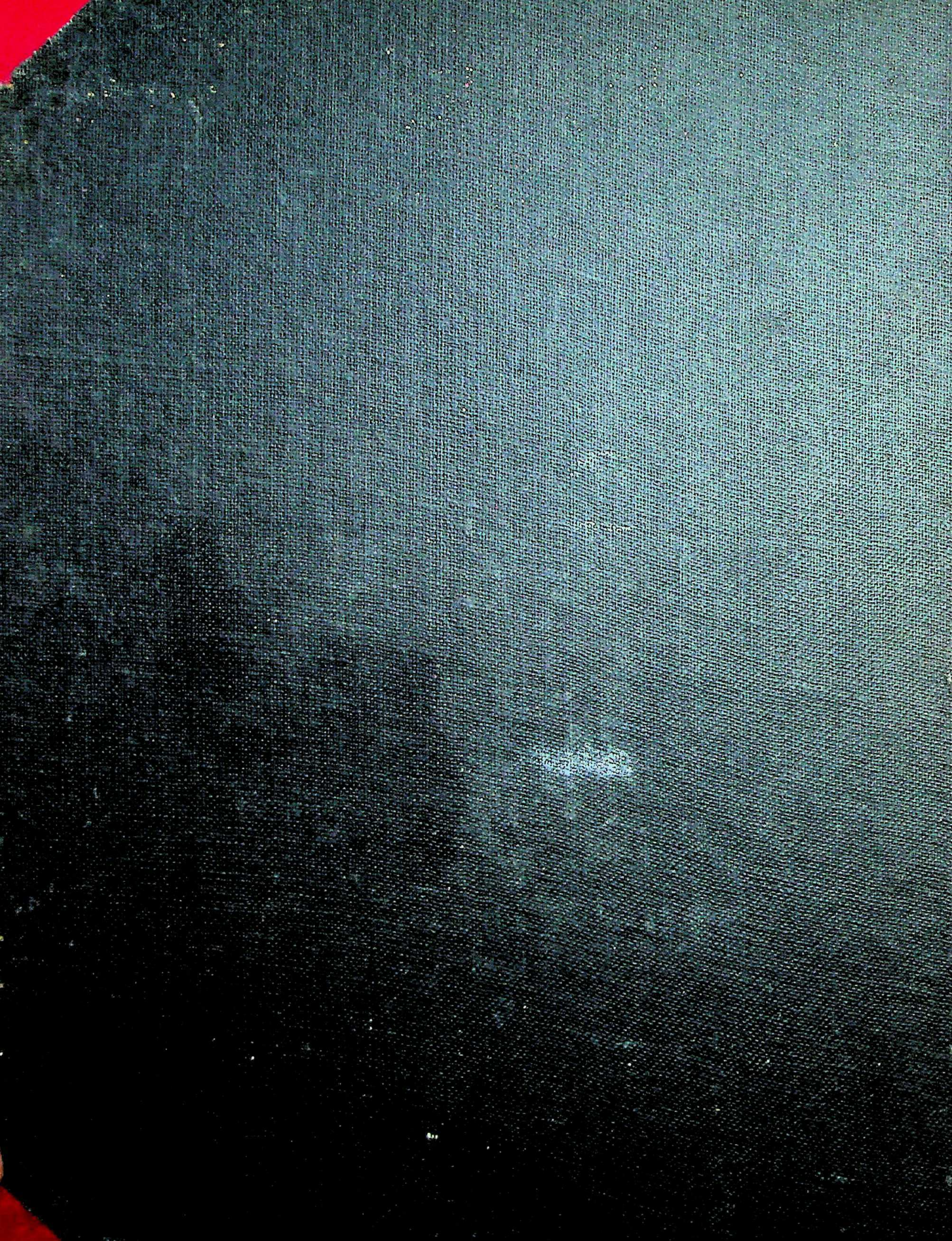
Besides the coins of Rāmagupta, Eran has also yielded copper coins of Candragupta Vikramāditya. These are of two types, Cakra and Pūrṇaghaṭa.

The excavations at Vidiśā conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India have also brought to light copper coins of Rāmagupta. In size and fabric they resemble the Eran coins of that ruler.

Rāmagupta can be called the originator of the copper currency in the Imperial Gupta dynasty. His numerous copper coins with certain characteristic features of this dynasty should be taken into consideration when we study the coinage of the Imperial Guptas. It is true that the monetary issues of Rāmagupta were minted in eastern Malwa, specially in the mints at Eran and Vidiśā. Prior to the conquest of this area by Samudragupta, the mints at Eran and Vidiśā used to coin the money of the local Nāga rulers. It is a well-known fact that several Nāga chiefs were conquered by Samudragupta. It was in the fitness of things that the coins of Rāmagupta, after the conquest of the Nāga territories and after the death of Samudragupta, were prepared in the mints of the region previously occupied by the Nāgas. The same procedure was followed by Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I also, whose coins of the Malwa type are too well-known.

ALLAN, and following him, several other scholars have mistaken the figure of *garuḍa* for an *altar*, a *fire-altar* or a *Tulasī Vṛndāvana*. We have to remember in this connection that various varieties of the bird *garuḍa* occurring on the coins of Rāmagupta are met with on the silver and copper coins of the Gupta rulers from Candragupta II onwards. On some coins of these kings we also notice the figure of *garuḍa* holding snakes, a feature so common on several coins of Rāmagupta.

The depiction of three-headed Garuḍa on certain coins of Rāmagupta reminds us of the multi-headed figures of Śiva and Kārttikeya found on the Kuṣāṇa and certain tribal coins of India as well as on sculptures. This kind of three-headed *garuḍa* can be seen on some silver coins of Kumāragupta I, illustrated by ALLAN. Some coins of Candragupta II represent *garuḍa* similar to the figure found on Type IV of the coins of Rāmagupta.

Recently three inscribed images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been discovered at Vidiśā. The Brāhmī inscriptions incised on their pedestals mention *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Rāmagupta*. On palaeographical and artistic grounds the statues can be assigned to the last quarter of the 4th century A. D. The numismatic evidence is thus supported by the newly discovered inscriptions. This new evidence has given weightage to the historicity of Rāmagupta. Coins of Rāmagupta have been discovered from surface in large numbers from Vidiśā and the region around.

Excavations conducted at the well-known historical sites like Kauśāmbī, Rājghāṭ, Vaiśālī, Śrāvastī, Kanauj and Mathurā have yielded a few coins, seals and sealings belonging to the Gupta period. No adequate study of this important material has so far been made. The only published information about this material is available from the pages of *Indian Archaeology – A Review* and from a few articles. It is extremely necessary that the numismatic evidence obtained from the excavations of these and other sites is studied and duly published. This will help scholars in the study of some problems pertaining to the history of the Gupta period.